FRONTIS PIECE.



Metx delin. Grignion sculp.

BRITANNIA *supported on one side by* Wisdom & Strength, *and on the other by* Justice & I
crowning HISTORY *with a wreath of Laurel beneath the latter of whom are represe*
Genius & Industry *unfolding the records of Antiquity: — Over Wisdom & Strength*
the Muses, *above whom is* Fame *blowing her Trumpet, and on the opposite si*
under Justice and Plenty, the Emblems of Commerce *and* Navigation.

A

NEW, UNIVERSAL and IMPARTIAL

History of England,

FROM THE EARLIEST

AUTHENTIC RECORDS,

AND MOST

GENUINE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE,

TO THE

Summer of the YEAR 1786.

CONTAINING

A Clear, Authentic, Candid, Accurate, Faithful, and Circumſtantial Account of every Memorable TRANSACTION, intereſting EVENT, and remarkable OCCURRENCE,

RECORDED IN

The ANNALS of *GREAT BRITAIN.*

WITH A COMPREHENSIVE

ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESSIVE STATE,

The various Revolutions it has undergone, and the Conqueſts and Acquiſitions it has obtained in different Parts of the World.

ALSO

A conciſe View of the Conſtitution and political Eſtabliſhments of Britain, its Laws, Inſtitutions, Parliaments, Charters, Commerce, Arts, Sciences, Inventions, Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, Military and Naval Tranſactions, &c.

LIKEWISE

An Accurate and Chronological Account of all the Sovereigns who have ſwayed the Britiſh Scepter; with an *impartial* Diſplay of their Characters, whether diſtinguiſhed for their Wiſdom in the Cabinet, their Military Atchievements in the Field, their private Virtues, or their public Vices. Including Anecdotes of other Illuſtrious and Extraordinary Perſonages, ſuch as Hiſtorians, Poets, Orators, Admirals, Generals, Statesmen, Patriots, Heroes, Heroines, Divines, Phyſicians, Philoſophers, &c. &c. whoſe private Virtues, and public Actions, have combined in promoting the Honour, and ſupporting the Dignity, of the Britiſh Nation.

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By GEORGE FREDERICK RAYMOND, Eſq.

Aſſiſted by ALEXANDER GORDON and HUGH OWEN, Eſqrs. and others, who, for many Years paſt, have made the Hiſtory of this Country their peculiar Study.

LONDON: Printed for J. COOKE, at *Shakeſpear's Head*, No. 17, Pater-noſter-Row.

TO THE

MOST HIGH, PUISSANT AND ILLUSTRIOUS

GEORGE AUGUSTUS-FREDERICK,

PRINCE OF WALES,

EARL OF CHESTER,

PRINCE OF GREAT-BRITAIN,

ELECTORAL PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURG,

DUKE OF CORNWALL AND ROTHESAY,

EARL OF CARRICK,

BARON OF RENFREW,

LORD OF THE ISLES, &c.

THIS

NEW, UNIVERSAL AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY OF HIS OWN COUNTRY,

IS

WITH ALL DUE SUBMISSION, HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS's

MOST FAITHFUL

AND

DEVOTED SERVANT,

G. F. RAYMOND.

A New and Correct MAP OF GREAT BRITAIN, from the most accurate SURVEYS, By Thos Bowen.

GERMAN OCEAN

IRISH SEA

ST GEORGE'S CHANNEL

ENGLISH CHANNEL

FRANCE

Western Islands

Orkney Isles

Scotland

England

Wales

Ireland

Sky I.

Mull

Coll I.

Tyree I.

Jura

Illay

Arran

Ruthlin I.

Isle of Man

Anglesey

Holy Head I.

Lundy I.

Scilly Is.

Lands End

Dublin

Carlingford B.

Dundalk Bay

Drogheda B.

Wicklow

Cardigan Bay

Barnstable B.

Bascastle

Padstow H.

St Davids Hd

St Brides Bay

Milford Haven

Pembroke

Carmarthen

Brecknock

Monmouth

Glamorgan

Bristol Channel

Caln

Bath

Wells

Taunton

Exeter

Plymouth

Torbay

Dartmouth

Falmouth

Penzance

Calais

Boulogne

Samme R.

Dover Strait

North Foreland

Thanet I.

Sandwich

Dungeness

Rye

Hastings

Beachy Hd

Brighton

Arundel

Chichester

Portsmouth

Isle of Wight

Yarmouth

Cowes

Christ Church

Poole

Weymouth

Portland I.

Lyme

Sidmouth

Exmouth

Dawlish

Teignmouth

Torquay

Plymouth

Falmouth

Helford R.

Padstow

Hartland Pt

Lundy I.

Barnstable

Ilfracombe

Minehead

Hinkley Pt

Bridgewater

Weston

Clevedon

Portishead

Severn R.

Gloucester

Cheltenham

Tewkesbury

Worcester

Evesham

Stratford upon Avon

Warwick

Coventry

Birmingham

Lichfield

Tamworth

Ashby de la Zouch

Leicester

Derby

Nottingham

Newark

Boston

Lincoln

Gainsborough

Retford

Chesterfield

Sheffield

Doncaster

Pontefract

Wakefield

Leeds

Halifax

Bradford

Otley

Skipton

Settle

Ingleton

Kirkby Lonsdale

Lancaster

Preston

Wigan

Manchester

Liverpool

Chester

Nantwich

Newcastle under Lyme

Stafford

Shrewsbury

Oswestry

Wenlock

Bridgnorth

Ludlow

Leominster

Hereford

Ross

Monmouth

Abergavenny

Cardiff

Swansea

Carmarthen

Aberystwith

Cardigan

Pembroke

Haverfordwest

Brecon

Llandaff

Bridgend

Neath

Caerphilly

Newport

Chepstow

Gloucester

Cirencester

Tetbury

Malmesbury

Swindon

Marlborough

Devizes

Salisbury

Shaftesbury

Blandford

Dorchester

Wareham

Ringwood

Southampton

Winchester

Basingstoke

Alton

Farnham

Guildford

Godalming

Reigate

Dorking

Kingston

London

Brentford

Windsor

Reading

Abingdon

Oxford

Woodstock

Banbury

Daventry

Northampton

Towcester

Buckingham

Aylesbury

Wycombe

High Wycombe

Henley

Maidenhead

Slough

Hertford

Ware

Bishops Stortford

Saffron Walden

Cambridge

Ely

Wisbech

Peterborough

Stamford

Grantham

Sleaford

Boston

Spalding

Lincoln

Gainsborough

Hull

Beverley

Driffield

Bridlington

Scarborough

Whitby

Guisborough

Stockton

Darlington

Durham

Newcastle

Tynemouth

Sunderland

Hartlepool

Richmond

Northallerton

Thirsk

Malton

Helmsley

York

Selby

Pontefract

Wakefield

Huddersfield

Rochdale

Bolton

Wigan

Warrington

Knutsford

Macclesfield

Stockport

Ashton under Lyne

Manchester

Salford

Bury

Preston

Lancaster

Kendal

Ambleside

Keswick

Cockermouth

Whitehaven

Workington

Carlisle

Penrith

Appleby

Brough

Barnard Castle

Durham

Hexham

Morpeth

Alnwick

Berwick

Holy I.

Coquet I.

Farne Is.

Tweedmouth

Kelso

Jedburgh

Hawick

Selkirk

Peebles

Lanark

Glasgow

Paisley

Greenock

Dumbarton

Rothesay

Campbeltown

Inveraray

Oban

Tobermory

Mull

Iona

Staffa

Fort William

Inverness

Nairn

Elgin

Banff

Cullen

Portsoy

Keith

Huntly

Aberdeen

Peterhead

Fraserburgh

Banff

Macduff

Cullen

Buckie

Forres

Nairn

Inverness

Fort Augustus

Fort William

Arisaig

Mallaig

Skye

Portree

Dunvegan

Broadford

Kyle of Lochalsh

Lochcarron

Gairloch

Ullapool

Lochinver

Scourie

Kinlochbervie

Cape Wrath

Durness

Tongue

Thurso

Wick

Dunbeath

Helmsdale

Golspie

Dornoch

Tain

Cromarty

Dingwall

Strathpeffer

Beauly

Kilmorack

Glen Urquhart

Glen Moriston

Glen Garry

Glen Coe

Glen Orchy

Loch Awe

Loch Fyne

Loch Long

Loch Lomond

Loch Katrine

Loch Tay

Loch Rannoch

Loch Ericht

Loch Laggan

Loch Ness

Loch Oich

Loch Lochy

Loch Arkaig

Loch Shiel

Loch Eil

Loch Leven

Loch Linnhe

Loch Etive

Loch Creran

Loch Sunart

Loch Moidart

Loch Nevis

Loch Hourn

Loch Alsh

Loch Duich

Loch Carron

Loch Torridon

Loch Maree

Loch Broom

Loch Inver

Loch Assynt

Loch Shin

Loch Naver

Loch Eriboll

Loch Hope

Loch Stack

Loch Laxford

Loch Eye

Loch Fleet

Loch Brora

Loch Ruthven

Loch Insh

Loch Vaich

Loch Glass

Loch Morlich

Loch Garten

Loch Mallachie

Loch Rothiemurchus

Loch Pityoulish

Loch Alvie

Loch Kinord

Loch Skene

Loch Davan

Loch Builg

Loch Muick

Loch Callater

Loch Clunie

Loch Marlee

Loch Benachally

Loch Rannoch

Loch Tummel

Loch Faskally

Loch Dunmore

Loch Earn

Loch Lubnaig

Loch Voil

Loch Doine

Loch Venachar

Loch Achray

Loch Ard

Loch Chon

Loch Katrine

Loch Arklet

Loch Lomond

Loch Long

Loch Goil

Loch Striven

Loch Ryan

Loch Indaal

Loch Gruinart

Loch Tarbert

Loch Fyne

Loch Crinan

Loch Gilp

Loch Sween

Loch Caolisport

Loch Swin

Loch Ranza

Loch Kilbrannan

Loch Riddon

Loch Striven

Loch Eck

Loch Goil

Loch Long

Loch Lomond

Loch Katrine

Loch Voil

Loch Earn

A NEW, UNIVERSAL AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the Earlieſt Accounts of Britain, to its being firſt invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæſar.

CHAP. I.

Introductory remarks. Etymology of the name Britain. Its ſituation, form, extent, and natural advantages. The manner of its being firſt peopled, and its diviſion into Principalities and States, with the Appellative names given to the inhabitants of each reſpective diſtrict.

THE moſt ſecret ſatisfaction that can be enjoyed by mortal is, no doubt, the acquirement of knowledge, becauſe, when once poſſeſſed, it can never be obliterated but by the common defects incident to human nature. The tranſmitting and perpetuating events ſeems to have been the firſt, and moſt important effort of human genius, and has taken place, with conſiderable improvements, at different periods, and in different parts of the world, as the ages have become more refined and poliſhed.

The ingenuity of the human mind cannot be diſplayed in more ſtriking colours, or ſhine with greater luſtre, than in the formation of Hiſtory, which not only preſents us with the moſt ſingular and memorable events, but alſo points out to us the reſpective cauſes which have produced the overthrow of one nation, and the riſe and proſperity of another.

In the delightful ſtudy of Hiſtory a variety of objects preſent themſelves to our view: we become acquainted with the moſt elevated characters, ſuch as kings, heroes, legiſlators and philoſophers, many of whom have particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their reſpective capacities, and have been the means of inſtructing, poliſhing and reforming mankind.

This has taken place in moſt parts of the world, but in none more materially than in the country about which we are now going to treat. Of all the diſtricts into which the world is divided, there cannot be any one whoſe Hiſtory claims more attention, (and particularly that of an Engliſhman) than Great Britain. In contemplating the annals of this country the faculties of the mind are opened and enlarged, a prodigious fund of important intelligence is procured, and that curioſity, which is naturally inherent in man, gratified to the utmoſt extent.

No Hiſtory whatever can exhibit more illuſtrious ſcenes and characters, or produce a richer fund of entertainment and inſtruction, than that of Britain, which furniſhes us with the moſt intereſting events and incidents relative to thoſe very people from whom we ourſelves are immediately deſcended. Here we behold the manner in which a once barbarous nation has been gradually poliſhed and brought to a perfect ſtate of refinement, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition it has met with from ſome of the moſt bold and enterpriſing invaders. No country whatever has

undergone greater revolutions, nor can the History of any afford more ſatisfaction to the curious. It contains numerous occurrences of the moſt important nature, and furniſhes us with ſuch intereſting examples, that, upon ſerious reflection, the mind naturally glows with a laudable emulation to rival the practice of recorded virtue.

At the time the Roman empire was in its meridian ſtate, the iſland of Great Britain was ſcarce known; but, ſince that period, it has become famous throughout the world, and its inhabitants, from their natural courage and ingenuity, have explored thoſe parts, which, in all probability, would otherwiſe have been ſtill in embrio. By theſe means it has become one of the moſt powerful and opulent nations in Europe, and, from its extenſive commerce, and naval ſtrength, has been long the envy of other nations.

Having made theſe introductory remarks, we ſhall now proceed to the laborious taſk we are about to undertake, namely, to give an accurate, comprehenſive, impartial and faithful account of the origin, revolutions, progreſſive and preſent ſtate of Great Britain, in which we ſhall minutely preſerve every incident, that has occurred of a material nature, from its firſt being known, to the lateſt period of authentic intelligence.

To endeavour to trace minutely the origin of any country has ever been found a taſk of the moſt arduous nature, and to accompliſh it effectually a matter morally impoſſible. Such is the caſe with Great Britain, its origin, like that of other nations, being either loſt in fable, or buried in obſcurity.

Among other uncertainties, there is not any thing which appears to have puzzled the ſearchers into antiquity more than to account for the name of this iſland, which has received various terms from different nations, according to the particular genius of each reſpective language.

The firſt name it is ſuppoſed to have received was that of BRATANACK, which it is ſaid was given it by the Phœnicians, who firſt traded to the weſtern coaſt of the iſland for tin, lead, and other articles. This aſſertion appears highly probable, the word BRATANACK, in the Phœnician language, ſignifying *the land of tin*. It was afterwards called by the Greeks ALBION, a term derived from the Greek word *Alpos*, which ſignifies *white*, in alluſion to the whiteneſs of the chalky cliffs with which the iſland is ſurrounded, and this is confirmed by the writings of the antient Britiſh bards themſelves, who call it INIS-WEN, which, in their language, ſignifies *White Iſland*. It was called by the Romans BRETANEA, and afterwards BRITAIN, which laſt epithet is ſuppoſed to have been derived from the Britiſh word *Berith*, ſignifying, in that language, *blue*, and which was peculiarly characteriſtic of the cuſtom of the then natives, who took a pride in ſtaining their bodies with a dye of that colour. The more modern term ENGLAND is derived from an Anglo-Saxon province called Anglen, the inhabitants of which emigrating from their own country, gave that name to thoſe parts of which they became maſters by conqueſt, and in the courſe of time it was fixed as the ſtaple name of the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

But whatever may have given birth to the name, Britain, (the miſtreſs of wealth and commerce, the favourite reſidence of liberty and plenty, and the undoubted ſovereign of the ſea) is certainly one of the largeſt and moſt ſpontaneous iſlands in the univerſe. It is commodiouſly ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean, being bounded on the eaſt by the German Ocean; on the Weſt, by the Iriſh Sea, or St. George's Channel; on the north, by the Deucaledonian or Northern Ocean; and on the ſouth by the Britiſh Channel. It is of a triangular form, and extends in length, from north to ſouth, 540 miles: that is, according to aſtronomical calculation, reckoning ſixty miles to a degree; but in Engliſh ſtatute meaſure, its length is exactly 622 miles and four furlongs. Its breadth, which muſt be taken from the Land's-End in Cornwall to the South Foreland in Kent, is 285 miles, and its circumference, including the windings of the coaſt, 1830. Its longitude is from 9 deg. 45 min. to 17 deg. 15 min. and the latitude from 50 to 59 deg. north.

The iſland of Great Britain, from the peculiarity of its ſituation, enjoys many advantages unknown to the inhabitants of other countries. The air, though moiſt, is far from being unhealthy; and the ſoil is ſo prolific as to produce all the neceſſaries and comforts of life. The ſummer is not ſcorching, nor the winter ſevere, the former being tempered with cooling breezes, and the latter ſoftened by the ſalt vapours that ariſe and ſpread themſelves from the ſurrounding ſeas. The ground is cloathed with an almoſt perpetual verdure, and the whole country diverſified with hills and dales, ſo as to exhibit to the view a variety of the moſt delightful and enchanting proſpects. It produces ſuch an abundance of corn as not only to ſupply the inhabitants for home conſumption, but alſo to allow the exportation of great quantities to foreign parts: and the paſturage is ſo fine and rich, that the cattle are eſteemed the largeſt and beſt in Europe. The various windings and indentions of the coaſt afford numberleſs harbours for the ſecurity of ſhipping, and the ſurrounding ſea teems with myriads of fiſh, which not only gratify the inhabitants as food, but turn to their advantage, by the traffic they make with them in foreign countries. In ſhort, from the natural fertility of the iſland, the ſurrounding ſeas, and interſecting ſtreams, Britain is plentifully ſupplied with every neceſſary article that nature can crave, and moſt of the delicacies that luxury can wiſh for; beſides which, from the great extent of her commerce, ſhe is no leſs acquainted with thoſe dainties which are particularly diſtinguiſhed in foreign climes. Her inhabitants likewiſe enjoy bleſſings to which thoſe of other countries are total ſtrangers: the ſyſtem of the conſtitution is ſo oppoſite to the leaſt conſtraint, that the meaneſt ſubject has an equal freedom in enjoying the fruits of his induſtry as the moſt exalted character in the abundance of his poſſeſſions; ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid

Here Liberty, delightful goddeſs, reigns,
Gladdens each heart, and gilds the fertile plains;
Here firmly ſeated may ſhe ever ſmile,
And ſhower her bleſſings on her favourite iſle.

When we conſider the great natural advantages attendant on this now famous iſland, it is not to be

be wondered at that, in very early times, it ſhould have attracted the notice of a people who had long before been accuſtomed to commerce, and who were deſirous of increaſing the advantages ariſing therefrom by endeavouring to diſcover places before unknown. This was the caſe with the Phœnicians, Greeks and Romans, who extended their commerce and navigation as far as the iſland of Britain, with the inhabitants of which (who were even then numerous and powerful) they traded for ſome ages before the Chriſtian æra.

According to the moſt circumſtantial accounts it evidently appears that the Phœnicians were the firſt people who diſcovered this iſland, and that the diſcovery was to them productive of the moſt conſiderable advantages. They landed and formed an intercourſe with the inhabitants of the weſtern extremity of the iſland, from whence they exported tin and other commodities; and this traffic they conſidered of ſuch importance, that they erected ſeveral ſtrong forts or caſtles in that part now called Cornwall, for the preſervation of their traders, and the ſecurity of their new eſtabliſhed commerce. Nay, ſo jealous were they of this advantage that they concealed the voyage from all the reſt of the world; and we are told by Strabo, that one of their ſhips being followed by a Roman veſſel, fitted out to diſcover her deſtination, the Phœnician pilot, in order to fruſtrate their deſigns, ran his veſſel aſhore, and that when he returned, inſtead of being blamed, he was commended for his conduct, and the damage ſuſtained made good at the public expence.

With reſpect to the origin of the firſt inhabitants of this iſland, it cannot be traced with any degree of certainty, a vague and romantic tradition only remaining to lead us through the intricate mazes of fabulous times. Some writers, indeed, have endeavoured to trace the origin of the Britons from Samothes, one of the ſons of Japhet, and others from Brutus, the grandſon of Æneas; but both theſe accounts are evidently fictitious, and have been long ſince exploded. The moſt probable opinion is, that it was peopled at various periods, and from different parts of the continent; but it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to determine the æra when the firſt ſettlement was made.

The earlieſt account that can be relied on as authentic is, that this iſland was firſt peopled by a party of the Celts, a tribe of the Gauls from the neighbouring continent, Britain being ſo near them that they could diſcern the coaſts from their own hills. This happened in the reign of Teutat, king of the Celts, about 1860 years before the birth of Chriſt. That prince having extended his conqueſts to the very extremities of Germany and Gaul, in order ſtill farther to increaſe the commerce of his dominions, ſent a colony of his ſubjects to Britain, who, landing on the ſouthern parts of the iſland, there took up their reſidence. This colony aſſiduouſly employed themſelves to their commercial intereſts, to which they were warmly excited by the example and encouragement of Teutat their prince, who, from his vigorous promotion of traffic, acquired the appellation of Mercur, which, in the language of the Celtæ, ſignifies a *trading man*.

The great ſucceſs of theſe firſt emigrants from Gaul ſoon induced others to follow their example; and thus, in proceſs of time, not only the ſea coaſts, but the interior parts of the iſland, became inhabited. Theſe latter emigrants formed themſelves into different ſocieties, and, having no concern with the commerce carried on by their brethren, became, in time, a diſtinct people. They devoted themſelves entirely to a paſtoral life, and wandered from one part of the iſland to another in ſearch of paſture for their flocks and herds. Happy in themſelves, and ignorant of the wants introduced by luxury, they were contented with the ſtation of ſhepherds, and lived wholly unconcerned with the wars and revolutions of other countries.

In this ſtate they continued for ſome time, when their Belgic neighbours, who had applied themſelves to commerce, and obtained from their ſouthern acquaintance faint notions of the refinements of life, being too numerous on the continent, and conſequently impoveriſhing each other, came in great numbers to Britain. Theſe ſpringing originally from the ſame ſtock, uſing the ſame language, and having the ſame manners and cuſtoms as the Celts, were hoſpitably received by the deſcendants of the firſt ſettlers, who ſuffered them to ſettle in Cornwall, Devonſhire, Kent and Suſſex. In conſequence of this they were ſoon incorporated together by intermarriages, and their progeny deemed themſelves but one people. Hence, in the courſe of time, they became populous and powerful, and the Phœnicians and Grecians carried on a commercial intercourſe with them long before they were known to the Romans.

The great ſucceſs of theſe iſlanders being made known to their brethren on the continent, prodigious numbers emigrated, and came over to Britain, in hopes of participating of thoſe advantages for which, even then, the iſland had become famous. In conſequence of this the firſt inhabitants became jealous, being fearful leſt the repeated encroachments of their countrymen ſhould deprive them of their paſtures, and that in time they might endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole country. Thus was the tranquillity of the old inhabitants greatly interrupted, and diſcord and faction took place inſtead of peace and plenty.

Theſe diſturbances being made known to Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſones, he came over with a large body of forces, collected from the Bibroci, Attrabates, and other Belgic nations, with which he reduced great part of Britain, and garriſoned ſeveral of the inland provinces with his troops. In conſequence of this, war and devaſtation took place, and the whole iſland was filled with blood and ſlaughter. Every tribe became a ſeperate government, and ſuch as were too ſmall to defend themſelves againſt the inroads of the enemy, joined with others, in order to ſecure their reſpective rights againſt the common invader. This had the intended effect; and the conſequence was that to ſecure themſelves in future, the iſland was ſoon after divided into principalities or kingdoms, each of which was governed by a chief choſen by the majority of the inhabitants in the reſpective diſtricts. Theſe kingdoms, or rather petty ſtates, were ſeventeen in number, the names of which, together with the different appel-

appellations of the people who inhabited them, were as follow:

Inhabitants.	Principalities.
Dunmonii	Cornwall, Devonshire
Durotriges	Dorsetshire
Belgæ	Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire
Attrebatii	Barkshire or Berkshire
Regni	Surry, Sussex
Cantii	Kent
Dobuni	Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire
Cattieuchlani	Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hartfordshire or Hertfordshire
Trinobantes	Middlesex, Essex
Iceni	Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire
Coritani	Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire
Cornavii	Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire
Silures	Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire
Dimetæ	Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire
Ordovices	Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Anglesea, Denbighshire, Flintshire
Brigantes	Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland
Ottadini	Northumberland

The chiefs of these different states or principalities held a sovereign power over all those by whom they were respectively chosen to govern; but, on particular emergencies, delegates were sent from each to a full assembly of the nation, in order to appoint some respectable individual to the office of generalissimo, or chief commander of the whole. But the authority of this officer was temporary and his power limited: he was only appointed in cases of urgency, and when the whole nation thought themselves in danger from any common enemy; and, during the time he held his office, was amesnable to the censure of the general assembly by whom he was elected.

CHAP. II.

Of the first inhabitants of Britain, their general characters, persons, manners, dispositions, habitations, method of living, warlike instruments, commerce, &c.

THE antient Britons, or first inhabitants of this island, were particularly tenacious of their liberty, rudely generous, and roughly brave; and, according to Diodorus Siculus, possessed much greater integrity than even the Romans. They strongly resembled their neighbours the Gauls, except being less polished, and more ferocious. In their persons they were tall, well-proportioned, and robust. The men were strong and active, and the women fair, well featured, and finely shaped. Both sexes had either red or chesnut-coloured hair, which flowed loosely over their shoulders; and the men constantly shaved their faces, except the upper lip, on which they suffered the hair to grow to a most enormous length. Their dress was composed of the skins of beasts, and they stained their bodies with the juice of a weed called woad, rendering the colour more lasting by pricking the skin before the application of it. The juice of the weed gave them a sky-coloured tinge, which being considered as a proper ground, was overspread with a variety of other tints, independent of which they were ornamented with the representation of flowers and animals, which they rudely painted on different parts of their bodies. This custom was designed to answer two purposes, the first, to please those whom they were desirous of captivating, and the latter to intimidate those whom they considered as their enemies.

Being naturally robust, and enured to all the inclemencies of the weather, to hardships and fatigue, they acquired a degree of fortitude and valour superior to those of more polished countries. Strangers to ambition and luxury, their wealth consisted in their herds of cattle, which they drove from place to place for the convenience of pasture. Honest, sincere and hospitable, they considered both the persons and effects of strangers inviolably sacred, and thought it an indispensible duty to afford them such protection as laid in their power. They disdained every species of deceit and artifice, and detested those who were addicted to effeminacy or indolence. Their darling

Four Portraits *of the Ancient Inhabitants of* Great Britain.



An Ancient
CALEDONIAN.



An Ancient
BRITON.



A
PICT.



A
DRUID.

darling object was liberty, and they made not the leaſt heſitation to ſacrifice their lives in its defence.

With reſpect to their habitations, they conſiſted only of mean huts, ſome of which were formed of boughs of trees and reſembled arbours, while others were made of mud and clay, and generally covered with turf. Their towns conſiſted of a number of theſe huts irregularly placed at ſmall diſtances from each other. They were ſituated in the middle of woods, and, by way of fortification, they blocked up all the avenues with felled trees. They often changed the places of their abode, which, in general, was done for the better convenience of feeding their flocks and herds.

Their diet was ſimple, and they were frugal in the uſe of it: their food conſiſted chiefly of milk, apples, and the fleſh of ſuch animals as they killed in hunting: their common drink was water, but, upon extraordinary occaſions, they indulged themſelves with a kind of fermented liquor made of barley, honey, or apples. This was their mode of living, and to this, together with the hardineſs of their nature, may be aſcribed their great longevity; for, according to Plutarch, they only began to diſcover the effects of infirmity at the age of one hundred and twenty years. Their abſtemiouſneſs, however, was not the effect of natural temperance alone, but in ſome meaſure took its riſe from religious principles, as they were ſtrictly prohibited from eating fowl, hare, gooſe, or fiſh: the three former they brought up as domeſtic animals, but never attempted to take the latter, becauſe they imagined that the waters were the habitation of the gods, and that every thing contained in them was, of courſe, conſecrated to their uſe. On the arrival of the Belgæ they had introduced ſome knowledge of agriculture, ſo that in the courſe of time they had an additional and much more ſubſtantial kind of food, which was bread made of rye and barley, and which was afterwards commonly uſed in all parts of the iſland.

Previous to the invaſion of Divitiacus, the Britons were poorly provided with warlike weapons, either for annoyance or defence. The arms of the better ſort were, a broad ſword without a point, a ſhort dagger, a javelin and arrows: thoſe of the common people conſiſted of ſticks ſharpened at both ends, and long ſtaves edged with flint, or headed with copper, having at the lower extremity a braſs bell, with the noiſe of which they endeavoured to terrify the enemy. They had neither coats of male nor helmets, but defended themſelves with light round targets made of wood or twigs interwoven, covered with ſkins, and, by way of ornament, ſtudded with nails of braſs.

The moſt deſtructive implements they had was their war chariots, the form and uſe of which they obtained from the Phœnicians. They were decorated with rude carvings and paintings, had ſharp ſcythes fixed to the axle-tree, and were built in ſuch a manner, that they could be ſtopped and turned on the declivity of hills with aſtoniſhing dexterity. They were generally drawn by two horſes, which were ſmall, but very ſwift. Each contained the driver and a ſingle warrior, who darted his javelins at the enemy, and even drove among the thickeſt ranks, terrifying, trampling, and cutting them in pieces with the long ſcythes fixed to the axle-tree of the wheels. When they approached an enemy, they claſhed their arms together, made a diſmal ſound with their rude trumpets, gave a loud ſhout, and then continued their march, ſinging the actions of their renowned anceſtors. Thoſe who directed their chariots generally attacked the enemy's cavalry, and the warriors would frequently alight, and fight on foot, till they were either fatigued or overpowered, when they reſumed their ſeats; and they were ſo remarkably expert in the management of their chariots, that they could ſtop or turn them when on full ſpeed, and could leap out or in them as occaſion required. They charged with an impetuoſity hardly to be reſiſted; but if once repulſed by the enemy, confuſion immediately enſued, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could be rallied to renew the engagement. They always engaged in ſeparate bodies, drawn up at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, that they might have room to act, and ſuſtain thoſe who wanted ſuccour.

This martial diſpoſition was far from being confined to the male ſex. The women were naturally endowed with uncommon valour and perſeverance; they generally accompanied their huſbands to the field, and, by their preſence and heroic examples, animated them to acts which produced both conqueſt and glory.

With reſpect to commerce, the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt of Britain were accuſtomed to traffic even from the time of Teutat, but to enumerate the different articles in which their commerce conſiſted, is morally impoſſible. Their chief traffic was with the Phœnician merchants, who, after the diſcovery of the iſland, which, according to Sammes, happened before the Trojan war, exported annually great quantities of hides and tin, which they ſold to the Greeks and other eaſtern nations. After the Belgæ had introduced agriculture, the corn and wool of Britain were conſidered as valuable commodities, and were purchaſed with great avidity by the traders on the continent.

Commerce was chiefly carried on by barter, as they had not then any kind of coin: the articles they uſed as a ſubſtitute for that convenience conſiſted of iron and braſs rings, which being made to a certain weight paſſed among themſelves as current. The commodities they imported were gold, ſilver, ivory and pearl: theſe were at firſt conſidered as matters of curioſity, but, in a ſhort time, they turned them to advantage by converting them into ornaments, which were purchaſed and worn by their principal people. This commerce, in proceſs of time, was greatly increaſed: by their induſtry and ingenuity, they found the art of manufacturing them into chains, bits, bracelets, collars, wreaths, &c. which they brought to great perfection, and re-exported them to conſiderable advantage.

The art of ſhip-building was totally unknown to the ancient Britons. Their navy conſiſted of nothing more than a few open boats made of ſlight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with pitched hides. The tempeſtuous ſeas of Britain were not to be navigated with ſuch ſlight veſſels as theſe; and ſuch voyages as they made muſt have been very ſhort. It is moſt probable that the fartheſt voyage they undertook was

to the coaſts of Gaul, and that they performed theſe only in the ſummer months, and when the weather was calm and ſerene. The art of navigation, as well as ſhip-building, was not known till after the arrival of the Romans in this iſland, which was about fifty-five years before the Chriſtian æra.

The antient Britons, like the principal part of the univerſe at that time, were groſs idolaters, their worſhip being as rude as their manners were ſimple. But of this, as well as the nature of their civil policy, we ſhall treat at large in the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. III.

Of the civil policy of the antient Britons. Of the Druids, and the different claſſes into which they were divided. Their great power and importance. The nature of their religion and mode of worſhip. Their diſtinguiſhed veneration for the oak, and particularly its natural appendage called the miſſeltoe. Their religious and political tenets, &c.

THE antient Britons were, like the Gauls, divided into three claſſes, or orders, namely, the Druids, the Equites, and the Plebeians, the latter of whom had not any ſhare in the adminiſtration. The Equites were the nobles who commanded in war, and the ſupreme magiſtracy was veſted in the Druids, who, though generally conſidered as prieſts, acted in a civil as well as eccleſiaſtical capacity, in the former of which their influence was exceeding great, and in the latter abſolute and unlimitted. The reaſon of their being poſſeſſed of the ſecular as well as clerical authority was owing to a notion being prevalent among the people that none ought to ſubmit to puniſhment for any crime whatever, but by divine authority, which authority was delegated to, and lodged in, the prieſthood only. Hence the Druids had an uncontrouled power over the minds and perſons of the laity. They decided in all controverſies, whether the diſpute was in conſequence of miſdemeanors, capital crimes, inheritance or property. The ſentence pronounced was ſure to be executed; for if any perſon refuſed to obey it, he was interdicted from all religious rites, deprived of the benefit of the laws, rendered incapable of any office of truſt or honour, and held in univerſal abhorrence, as a monſter of ſacrilege and impiety.

The term Druid is derived from the Britiſh word *dryw*, which ſignifies *oak*, and from whence they were ſo called on account of the peculiar veneration they had for that towering monarch of the Britiſh plains. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the nobles and Plebeians by wearing their hair very ſhort, and their beards exceeding long. They carried a long ſtaff in their hand, and about their neck hung an ornament enchaſed in gold, which was called the Druids Egg. Their outſide garment reached to the feet, and in general was of different colours, but when employed in the diſcharge of religious ceremonies, they always wore a white ſurplice.

The Druids were divided into three orders, or claſſes, viz. Druids properly ſo called, Bards, and Eubates or Vates.

The firſt of theſe claſſes preſided over, and regulated all public affairs, as well civil as eccleſiaſtical: they were particularly appointed to perform the ſacrifices, and were employed in the more ſolemn rites and myſteries of religion.

The ſecond claſs, ſtiled Bards, were thoſe who compoſed the verſes which were ſung at their religious ceremonies: they alſo preſerved in memory the noble exploits of their heroes; ſo that they were at the ſame time both prieſts, hiſtorians and poets. They ſuperintended the education of perſons of rank, and were probationers for admittance into the firſt order.

The third claſs, or Eubates, devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, augury, divination, magic, natural philoſophy and phyſic; ſo that they were ſkilled in every art that could excite the aſtoniſhment, and eſtabliſh the veneration of an ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude.

Theſe three claſſes, or orders of Druids, acted in ſubordination to a chief, called the Arch-Druid, who was choſen out of their own body. This ſupremacy he enjoyed for life, and his perſon was deemed ſacred. He inſpected the conduct of the ſovereigns or princes of the reſpective ſtates, depoſed ſuch as he thought acted inconſiſtent with their characters, and appointed others in their ſtead. His office was not hereditary, for on the death of one, another was choſen in his ſtead by a majority of thoſe who were of the prieſtly order. If any diſturbance ever happened among the Druids, it was in conſequence of the death of their primate, when ſuch earneſt endeavours were uſed to get appointed to that honourable and powerful office, that the freedom of election was ſometimes interrupted by appeals to the ſword. In all other caſes they acted with great moderation and temperance, and thereby obtained the general reſpect and affection of the people.

The power and authority inveſted in the Druids was unlimited, but it muſt be obſerved, to their honour, that they always exerciſed it with a becoming dignity, incorruptible integrity, and uncommon fortitude. Strangers to every ſpecies of effeminate luxury, they were ignorant of its attendant vices: they never ſuffered private intereſt to take the pre-eminence of public welfare, nor endeavoured to ſupport the former at the expence of the latter. They were compoſed of the principal nobility of the kingdom, and conſequently by birth, as well as education, devoted to the ſervice of their country. When any civil diſcords took place, they interpoſed, and, by their prudent admonitions, buried all diſputes in oblivion.

Their

Their authority was ſufficient even to ſoothe the rage of exaſperated armies when on the very point of engaging. Fearleſs of the danger, and armed only by their ſacred character, they often ruſhed between them, diſarmed them of their rage, and effected an accommodation by the ſtrength of their remonſtrances, and the irreſiſtible power of their elocution.

As they engroſſed the learning of thoſe days, ſo they took every poſſible precaution to confine it within their own order. All their ceremonies and literary precepts were performed and delivered extempore, nor would they ſuffer any of their maxims or religious tenets to be committed to writing. They had two motives for this peculiar injunction, the firſt of which was, that the common ſort of people ſhould not become acquainted with their myſterious learning by means of any manuſcripts; and the latter, that, by continual exerciſe, the retentive faculties of their pupils might be ſtrengthened and invigorated.

At certain times in the year they held a kind of court in ſome conſecrated place for the purpoſe of adjuſting all diſputes between contending parties; as alſo for determining the fate of thoſe accuſed of having violated the laws of the nation; and at theſe times they likewiſe took the opportunity of not only making an harangue to their pupils, but likewiſe to the people in general on the ſubjects of religion, law and philoſophy.

They profeſſed, and propagated, the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, together with that of tranſmigration, the latter of which, it is generally ſuppoſed, they communicated to the Pythagoreans. They diſplayed, in the moſt pleaſing light, the rewards with which a life of virtue would be crowned in a future exiſtence; but at the ſame time pointed out the dreadful conſequences that would attend the wicked and abandoned. Their idea of the Deity was noble and ſublime: they believed his preſence filled the univerſe; that his power ſupported the pillars of heaven; and that his eye pervaded the inmoſt receſſes of the heart. That this was the grand principle of their religious notions appears evident from Tacitus, who ſays, "It was an "opinion univerſally eſtabliſhed in all the coun"tries where the religion of the Druids prevailed, "that to ſuppoſe the preſence of the Deity to be "confined within any incloſed place, to repre"ſent him in an human form, or by any mate"rial image, was at once derogatory to his ho"nour, and incompatible with his Divine at"tributes."

But notwithſtanding they entertained ſuch juſt notions of the Supreme Being, yet, ſtrange as it may appear, their religious tenets in general teemed with the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions. They admitted an inferior kind of deities, and paid Divine honours to Jupiter, Mars, Apollo and Mercury, under the names of Taranus, Heſus, Belenes and Teutates. To theſe, after being invaded by the Romans, they added Minerva, Diana and Hercules, the latter of whom they diſtinguiſhed by the name of Ogmius, which, in the Britiſh language, ſignifies, the god of Eloquence.

Their external mode of worſhip was compoſed of prayers, thankſgivings, invocations, oblations and ſacrifices. At firſt their oblations conſiſted only of fine meal or flower ſprinkled with ſalt, or a cake compoſed of the like ingredients mixed with water; and their ſacrifices of beaſts and birds. This ſimplicity was preſerved till they formed an intercourſe with the Phœnicians from whom they adopted the horrid practice of offering up human victims, the manner and ceremonies attending which were of the moſt cruel nature. At firſt, malefactors only were the objects of this barbarous rite; but, in proceſs of time, innocent perſons alſo became the victims of their horrid ſuperſtition. They even improved on the cruelty of that nation from whom they had received ſo horrid a practice! they grew ſtrangers to the feelings of humanity, and carried their ſuperſtitious barbarity to the moſt unbounded lengths, forming wicker idols of ſuch a monſtrous ſize as to contain whole crouds of people, who were burnt at once, together with thoſe prodigious incloſures, to expiate the anger of their gods. This inhuman and deteſtable cuſtom was continued till the iſland was ſubdued by the Romans, when thoſe people, contrary to their uſual clemency, and political regard for conquered nations, totally extirpated it, together with almoſt every memorial of that ſuperſtition which had ſo long been preſerved by the Druids, previous to their arrival. After their departure, however, the Druids reſumed their former practices, which they continued till the reign of the emperor Nero, when Paulinus Suetonius reduced the iſland of Angleſea, which was the principal place of their retreat, and overwhelmed them with ſuch unexpected and ſudden deſtruction, that the knowledge and tradition which had been conveyed to them by their predeceſſors was almoſt annihilated.

The religious ceremonies of the Druids were performed in groves conſecrated to their reſpective idols. Theſe groves were compoſed of, ſurrounded by, and fenced in with, lofty oaks, that tree being the greateſt object of their eſteem and veneration. In moſt of their ceremonies they likewiſe took occaſion to uſe ſome parts of this tree. Their altars were covered with its branches, their victims adorned with the ſmaller boughs, and all concerned in the ſacrifices decorated with garlands made of its leaves. Nor was their veneration confined to the tree itſelf: the miſſeltoe, which nature has made to grow on, and embrace the ſturdy oak, they eſteemed as the choiceſt gift of heaven: and held the application of it to be univerſally efficacious in medicine. This myſterious arcanum they annually ſought for with great eagerneſs, found with tranſport, and gathered in the midſt of a great number of people, who flocked from all quarters at the ſtated times appointed for the ſolemnity, to welcome what they called the pledge and earneſt of future felicity. On this occaſion, the Archdruid, clad in a white robe, aſcended the tree, and, with a conſecrated golden knife or pruning-hook, cropped the miſſeltoe, and received it in his white robe, with the greateſt marks of ſatisfaction. With this precious acquiſition, he deſcended from the tree amidſt the joyful acclamations of the enraptured multitude, who deemed it the happy omen of a proſperous year. In acknowledgment of this happy event, the Archdruid made a ſacrifice of two bulls. during which ceremony he invoked the powers preſiding over the healing art to render the miſſeltoe efficacious,

and

and that by its application all who were diſeaſed might be cured of their reſpective infirmities. The tree on which the miſſeltoe had been found was conſidered as particularly favoured by the Deity, and conſequently entitled to a more than common veneration. This ſuperſtitious notion greatly encreaſed, and at length ſuch was their unbounded regard for this tree, that they made it the immediate object of their adoration.

The maxims and tenets of the Druids, as well thoſe of a civil as religious nature, have been principally buried in oblivion by the all-devouring hand of time. But notwithſtanding this powerful invader, ſome few have been preſerved, and we are happy in having it in our power to lay them before our readers. We have extracted ſome of them from the moſt antient records on the ſubject, but the greater part from a moſt curious and valuable manuſcript now in the poſſeſſion of a Britiſh nobleman, and to whom, for his great condeſcenſion in permitting us to communicate to the public ſo diſtinguiſhed a piece of antiquity, we are in duty bound to return our moſt ſincere and grateful acknowledgements.

Theſe maxims, or tenets, may be divided into three claſſes, namely, religious, political and miſcellaneous. And firſt, their

Religious Tenets.

1. There is but one ſupreme God, who is infinite and omnipotent.
2. Every thing upon the face of the earth derives its origin from above.
3. The ſoul is immortal, and every human being after death ſhall be brought to account for his conduct on earth, and puniſhed or rewarded in a future life according to his actions.
4. The world, if ever deſtroyed, will be either by fire or water.
5. There is another world, and thoſe who kill themſelves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.
6. The diſobedient muſt be excluded from ſacrifices.
7. Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next: that is, thoſe who have relieved the indigent here will be rewarded for it hereafter.
8. Letters given to dying perſons or thrown on their funeral piles, will be faithfully delivered to whom they are addreſſed in the other world.
9. Malefactors, priſoners of war, or, in caſe of neither, innocent perſons are to be ſlain upon the altar, or burnt alive, incloſed in a wicker Coloſſus, in honour, and to appeaſe the anger, of the gods.

Political Tenets.

1. All maſters of families are ſupreme lords of their own houſhold; they have abſolute dominion over their wives, their children, and their ſlaves.
2. Children are to be educated apart from their parents, and never to be admitted publickly into their company till they attain the age of fourteen years.
3. Upon extraordinary emergencies a man may be ſacrificed for the good of his country.
4. When the ſafety of the ſtate requires it, a man may be ſlain, in order to foretel future events, from the manner of which the body falls; from its motion after it has fallen; from the flowing of the blood; from the appearance of the wound, or from inſpecting the motions of the vital parts.
5. Thoſe who are excommunicated for their diſobedience or diſloyalty, ſhall be deprived of the benefit of the law, ſecluded from ſociety, and rendered incapable of any employment.

Miſcellaneous Tenets.

1. No inſtruction muſt be given to youth but in the ſacred groves.
2. All commerce with ſtrangers is prohibited.
3. The ſecrets of the ſciences muſt not be committed to writing, but fixed in the memory.
4. He merits death who comes laſt to the aſſembly of the ſtates.
5. Miſſeltoe muſt be gathered with reverence, if poſſible, on the ſixth day of the month, and cut with a golden bill or pruning hook.
6. The powder of miſſeltoe is a ſovereign remedy againſt all diſeaſes.

Though the Druids had not originally any public ſtructures, either becauſe they were ignorant of the art of building, or held it impious to worſhip the Deity in confined places made by the feeble hands of man; yet, in proceſs of time, they followed the practice of other nations, and raiſed temples and monuments in honour of the inferior deities they adored. Theſe temples conſiſted of rude ſtone pillars placed in a circular form, with a ſloping altar in the middle, and the top left entirely open*. At ſome diſtance from the temple was a kind of obeliſk, in different parts

* There are ſtill many remains of theſe ancient edifices to be ſeen in different parts of the iſland; but the moſt conſpicuous are thoſe called Stonehenge, near Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire, a deſcription of which will furniſh the reader with a proper idea of the nature of the whole. It conſiſts of the remains of two circular and two oval ranges of rough ſtones, having one common center. The outer circle is 108 feet in diameter, and, when perfect, conſiſted of thirty upright ſtones, ſeventeen of which are ſtill ſtanding, and ſeven more lying on the ground, ſome whole, and others broken. The upright ſtones are from eighteen to twenty feet high, from ſix to ſeven feet broad, and about three feet thick, placed about three feet from each other. They are joined at the top by impoſts, with tenons fitted to mortiſes for keeping them in a due poſition. The upright ſtones are tapered towards the top, which appears to have been done with a chiſſel, but the impoſts are plain, and without the leaſt kind of decoration. The inner circle is about eight feet from the outward one, and conſiſted originally of forty ſtones; of theſe there are about nineteen left, eight of which are fallen down, and the remaining eleven ſtanding. Between theſe two circles is a walk of about three hundred feet in circumference, and from which the temple being viewed, affords a moſt ſurprizing and wonderful effect on the ſpectator. The temple is incloſed by a trench near thirty feet broad, and diſtance about an hundred feet from the inner circle. There are three paſſages to it over this trench, one of which is much more conſiderable than the other two, and, no doubt, was the grand entrance to the body of the temple.

For ſome diſtance round this famous monument are great numbers of ſepulchres, or, as they are called, Barrows, which are covered with earth, and raiſed in the form of a bell.

They

parts of which were holes for the convenience of binding thoſe unhappy victims who were deſtined as ſacrifices.

Such were the maxims and tenets of the Druids, and ſuch the ſtate of the antient Britons at the time Julius Cæſar meditated the conqueſt of their country.

We have already obſerved that the Britons were a fierce, courageous and warlike people; but it muſt be remembered that they were very ill ſupplied with arms, had neither money or warlike ſtores, and, comparatively ſpeaking, were totally unacquainted with military diſcipline. Theſe were certainly great diſadvantages; but the moſt material evil that attended them was, a want of union, which aroſe from the number of ſtates or principalities governed by their own particular chieftains, who could not be always brought to act in conſort with the common enemy. Their country alſo was eaſy of acceſs, being open and unfortified; nor had they any place where they could conveniently rendezvous, or ſecure themſelves in a retreat, except their dreary foreſts, bogs, and mountains, which were ſituated in the northern parts of the iſland.

From theſe, and many other diſadvantageous circumſtances, they were expoſed to an invaſion from the moſt powerful nation on the earth, elated with former conqueſts, and headed by a commander, who had acquired more fame from his military atchievements than any general at that time known throughout the univerſe.

BOOK II.

From the firſt Arrival of the Romans in Britain, to their final Departure from the Iſland.

CHAP. I.

Julius Cæſar reſolves to invade Britain. His ſuppoſed reaſons for forming ſuch a reſolution. Embarks with his forces, and ſails to the coaſt of Britain. After ſome difficulty lands his troops, engages the Britons, defeats them, and obliges them to ſue for peace. Suſtains conſiderable loſs in his navy by a tempeſt. The Britons, in hopes of recovering their liberty, attack the ſeventh legion, but are repulſed by the unexpected arrival of Julius Cæſar. They gather together a conſiderable army, and proceed with great reſolution towards the entrenchments of the Romans. Cæſar advances againſt them, and a deſperate battle enſues, in which the Britons are defeated with great ſlaughter. In conſequence of this they again ſue for peace, which being granted on certain conditions, Cæſar re-embarks his forces, and returns to Gaul.

THE ambitious hero, who aſpires after conqueſts, like the miſer who daily labours to increaſe his riches, the more he endeavours to gratify his deſires, the farther he is off from accompliſhing his ends. But it muſt be obſerved, that the purſuits of theſe different characters have very different tendencies. The ambitious and generous man is deſirous of increaſing his poſſeſſions, that he may have the opportunity of liberally conferring favours on his friends in particular and the diſtreſſed in general; while the miſer, too frequently by the baſeſt of means, accumulates wealth, and then ſordidly conceals it.

The firſt of theſe characters is juſtly due to Julius Cæſar, who is univerſally acknowledged to have been at once the man, the hero, the politician, and the friend. His only failing was ambition, the purſuit of which he carried to the greateſt lengths, and the conſequences reſulting from which perpetuated his name with honour to ſucceeding generations.

At the time Julius Cæſar meditated the conqueſt of Britain, the Roman empire had arrived at its meridian of military glory. He had long been at war with the Gauls, who were ſo diſtinguiſhed for their martial courage and diſcipline, as to be a terror to all around them. Cæſar was determined, if poſſible, to diveſt them of this diſtinction; and, from his ſuperior courage, and military proweſs, at length obtained his ends, and made them totally ſubject to the Roman yoke.

Elated with this ſucceſs, and prompted by ambition, his darling paſſion, Cæſar reſolved to extend

They extend to a conſiderable diſtance from the temple, but are ſo placed as to be all in view of it. Many of theſe have been opened, and in them were found either human ſkeletons, or aſhes of burnt bones, together with different kinds of warlike inſtruments. From theſe ſepulchres being within ſight of the temple, we may conclude, that the antient Britons, like the Chriſtians of the preſent age, thought it moſt proper to bury their dead adjoining to thoſe places where they worſhipped the Supreme Being. Indeed, all worſhip indicates a ſtate of futurity, and they might reaſonably imagine that no place was ſo proper for depoſiting the relics of their departed friends, as the ſpot dedicated to the ſervice of that Being with whom they hoped to live for ever.

tend the glory of his arms beyond the boundaries of the ocean, and to join realms by conqueſt, which were ſeparated by nature. The iſland of Great Britain was at that time almoſt unknown to the Romans. They had, indeed, heard of ſuch a place, but could not form any idea of its ſituation; nor had they ever entertained the notion of undertaking a naval expedition to any country ſeparated from the continent by the ocean. This was a taſk reſerved for Cæſar, whoſe martial genius, and perſevering diſpoſition, prompted him to engage in enterprizes of the moſt hazardous nature, and ſuch as had never been thought of by his predeceſſors.

What were the motives that induced Cæſar to form the reſolution of invading Britain has been a matter of ſome diſpute among the learned. One reaſon aſſigned is, that he did it in order to puniſh the iſlanders for having ſent ſuccours to the Gauls while he was at war with that nation, as alſo for having given refuge to the Belgæ, who had excited a revolt. Admitting theſe circumſtances, we need not wonder that Cæſar ſhould form the reſolution of commencing hoſtilities againſt the Britons, it having been long an eſtabliſhed maxim with the Romans to conſider all auxiliaries as principals, and not to allow any one who aſſiſted their enemies to eſcape with impunity.

Beſides theſe, there are other reaſons aſſigned for Cæſar's invading Britain. Suetonius is of opinion, that he was induced to it from the hope of finding a great quantity of pearls, which were then in the higheſt eſteem, and which he imagined to be one of the natural productions of the country; though in this he was greatly miſtaken, they being only an article of traffic, and purchaſed by the Britons from the Phœnician merchants. Cicero inſinuates, that his ſtrongeſt motives were, to get poſſeſſion of the mines in Britain, which at that time were conſidered of ineſtimable value. We cannot, however, in juſtice to Cæſar, admit of either of theſe as reaſons for his forming the reſolution of invading Britain.

It is certain that avarice did not conſtitute any part of his character; and therefore it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he was, on this occaſion, actuated by that ambition and thirſt for glory which appears to have been the characteriſtic of his diſpoſition, and to have, in a peculiar manner, diſtinguiſhed him from the reſt of mankind.

But whatever was the real motive that excited Cæſar to undertake this arduous taſk, it is certain that the precautions he took preparatory to the execution of this deſign, were of the moſt judicious nature, and diſcovered him to be at once the politician and the general. He firſt reſolved to make himſelf acquainted with the nature of the place he was about to conquer. To effect which he ſent for ſeveral of the merchants that frequented the coaſts, of whom he made enquiries relative to the extent of the iſland, the ſituation of its harbours, and what number of veſſels each would contain, the nature of its fortifications, and the genius, laws, cuſtoms, and military diſcipline of its inhabitants.

Not being able to obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe reſpective queſtions, and at the ſame time perſuaded that caution was abſolutely neceſſary in ſo critical an undertaking, Cæſar diſpatched C. Voluſenus, a tribune of his army, to reconnoitre the coaſts, ordering him, after he had gained all poſſible intelligence, to make the beſt of his way to the territory of the Morini, or Picardy, whither he would aſſemble his forces, both naval and military, and from whence he ſhould embark them for the intended expedition.

In the mean time the inhabitants of the maritime parts of Britain, being informed of Cæſar's deſign by the merchants who traded to the iſland, were greatly alarmed. They had heard of the fame of the Romans, and were fearful of engaging with ſo formidable a power. They therefore called a general aſſembly of the people, in order to deliberate on what meaſures were moſt neceſſary to be taken to avert the impending ſtorm. The reſult of this meeting was, that ambaſſadors ſhould be immediately diſpatched to Cæſar, offering ſubmiſſion to the Roman power, and promiſing to deliver up hoſtages for their future fidelity.

Cæſar received theſe ambaſſadors with the moſt apparent tokens of reſpect, and after exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſt in their allegiance, diſmiſſed them to their own country, accompanied by a Britiſh prince named Comius, whom, for his firm attachment to his intereſt, he had appointed king of the Atrebates. In this perſon Cæſar had placed the greateſt confidence, and being ſenſible that he was held in high eſteem by his countrymen, thought him the moſt likely perſon to bring them over to his intereſt. He therefore directed him to viſit the different ſtates, and exert his utmoſt efforts in perſuading them to ſolicit the protection of the Romans; and to promiſe them, that when himſelf ſhould arrive in Britain, which would be very ſpeedy, they ſhould be amply rewarded for their ſubmiſſion.

This ſcheme, however, proved abortive; for no ſooner did Comius land, and deliver his commiſſion, than he was apprehended and loaded with chains. The nature of his commiſſion was, indeed, a kind of treaſon againſt that community of which he was a member, and therefore he was conſidered and treated as a traitor to his country.

This was not the only diſappointment Cæſar met with in his firſt efforts towards executing his deſign of invading Britain. Voluſenus, whom he had diſpatched to ſurvey the coaſts, returned in five days from his cruiſe, but without being able to give him any ſatisfactory information: he had, indeed, examined different parts from the ſea, but from the great numbers of people that appeared on the ſhore, in an hoſtile manner, he was fearful of attempting to land, and therefore returned without accompliſhing the ends for which he was ſent.

A. C. 55. But theſe diſappointments were not ſufficient to check the ardour of Cæſar. He had formed the reſolution of invading Britain, and was determined, at all events, to carry his deſign into execution. He accordingly embarked his infantry, conſiſting of two legions, on board eighty tranſports, and allotted eighteen ſhips for his cavalry, whom he ordered to follow with the utmoſt expedition. The reſt of his army he ordered to be cantoned among the Menapii and part of the Morini, under the command of two experienced officers; and left a third, with a ſufficient garriſon, to occupy the place and harbour during his abſence.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, and embarked



The first DESCENT *of* JULIUS CÆSAR *on the Coast of* BRITAIN.

embarked his troops deſtined for the expedition, Cæſar ſet ſail from Morini, or Picardy, about one o'clock in the morning, on the 26th day of Auguſt, in the year of the world 3949, and fifty-five years before the Chriſtian æra.

About ten o'clock the next morning he arrived on the coaſt of Britain at that part now called Dover, where he ſaw the rocks and cliffs covered with an infinite number of armed iſlanders, who, from the nature of the place, could oppoſe his landing with the greateſt advantage. He, however, gave orders for the ſhips to caſt anchor, and lay out for ſome time in ſight of the Britons, expecting the arrival of that part of his fleet which he had ordered to follow with the cavalry. Theſe, however, not appearing according to his expectations, and finding it impoſſible to effect a deſcent on that part of the coaſt, he ordered the ſhips to weigh anchor, in order to find out a more plain and eaſy ſhore. They accordingly ſet ſail about four o'clock in the afternoon, and after proceeding about three leagues to the northward, came to a part which appeared much better calculated for effecting their deſigns than the former; and which, according to the opinion of the moſt authentic hiſtorians, was the place now called Deal.

The Britons, having cloſely watched his motions, and ſuſpecting his deſign, immediately diſpatched their cavalry and chariots to be in readineſs to diſpute his landing till they could be ſupported by the infantry, who were ordered to follow with all poſſible expedition. The ſight of ſo formidable an army ſtruck a terror in the Romans; and nothing but the genius and perſevering diſpoſition of Cæſar could have ſurmounted the difficulties that now oppoſed his enterprize. He was a ſtranger to the method of landing troops in the face of an enemy: he wanted boats, and, at the ſame time, his ſhips drew too much water to come cloſe to the ſhore. Theſe obſtacles being obſerved by the Britons, who were convinced of their deſign to effect a landing if poſſible, they determined to take proper advantage of it. Accordingly, without waiting for an attack, great numbers of the cavalry rode into the water, and engaged the enemy at a diſtance with the moſt undaunted reſolution. The Romans were loaded with heavy armour, and therefore could not move with that alertneſs to which they were accuſtomed on ſhore; while the Britons, having the free uſe of their limbs, and poſting themſelves in thoſe parts which they knew to be ſhallow, diſcharged their darts and javelins with great advantage. This unexpected oppoſition had the moſt alarming effect on the Romans: their former courage and intrepidity forſook them; and, according to Cæſar's own confeſſion, they ſhrunk from the attack.

The Roman general, perceiving the diſadvantage under which his ſoldiers laboured, gave directions for his galleys to be rowed near the ſhore, and to attack the Britons with their ſlings, engines, darts and other miſſile weapons. This expedient, in ſome degree, ſucceeded; for the Britons being no leſs confounded at the ſtrange appearance of the gallies and the motion of the oars, than intimidated at the damage they ſuſtained from the ſtones and miſſile weapons thrown by the enemy, ſuddenly pauſed, and then retreated to a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore.

But notwithſtanding this advantage, the Romans were ſtill averſe to leaving their veſſels, which being obſerved by the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, in order to animate them, he leaped overboard with the ſtandard in his hand, crying aloud, "Follow me, my fellow ſoldiers unleſs you want to betray the eagle into the hands of the enemy; for I am determined to diſcharge the duty I owe to my country." This ſpeech had the deſired effect: the ſenſe of honour now prevailed over the ſenſe of danger; and reproach effected what perſuaſion had attempted in vain. The whole legion inſtantly leaped out of the ſhip after their ſtandard-bearer, and their example being followed by the reſt of the army, they all moved in a body towards the ſhore. In conſequence of this, a very obſtinate battle enſued, which had like to have proved fatal to the Romans, who finding it impoſſible to form in the water, could not avail themſelves of their diſcipline and military ſkill, while thoſe who gained the ſhore were ſurrounded and cut to pieces by the Britons.

The fortune of Cæſar was now on the point of deſerting him: he ſaw the danger, and hoping to avert it, commanded his gallies to be filled with ſoldiers, in order to row about, and ſuſtain thoſe who wanted ſuccour. This expedient had the deſired effect: the Romans were ſoon enabled to gain firm footing on the beach, where, forming in proper order, they proceeded to charge with their uſual confidence. They now profited by that heavy armour which had before encumbered them; they attacked the iſlanders with ſuch fury, that they ſoon gave way, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation to their woods and foreſts. Cæſar, however, did not chuſe to purſue them, owing, as he himſelf informs us, to his want of the cavalry, which were ſtill detained by the contrariety of winds.

As ſoon as the diſpirited Britons had collected themſelves together, and were a little recovered from the conſternation into which they had been thrown by their late defeat, they debated on what meaſures were moſt prudent to purſue in order to avert the calamities that threatened their country. Convinced of the ſuperiority of the Romans, and dreading the effects of farther oppoſition to an enemy now conſidered invincible, they reſolved to ſubmit to the conqueror. Accordingly they diſpatched an ambaſſador to Cæſar, in order to ſue for terms of peace; and, as the moſt effectual means of obtaining it, releaſed Comius, and joined him in the embaſſy, hoping that his mediation might ſoften the reſentment of the victorious Roman. In the meſſage ſent by theſe ambaſſadors to Cæſar, they apologized for their conduct in having made Comius a priſoner, aſcribing it to the fury of the ungovernable multitude, and begging pardon for the offence; they likewiſe promiſed, in caſe he ſhould accept of their ſubmiſſion, to deliver up ſuch hoſtages as he ſhould require, and in future to pay a ſtrict obedience to his commands.

This offered ſubmiſſion was highly pleaſing to Cæſar, who, after reproaching them for violating a former treaty, granted them a peace on very eaſy terms, but demanded hoſtages of his own nomination, as a ſecurity for their future fidelity.

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These demands were readily agreed to by the Britons; and some of the hostages were immediately delivered, with assurances that the rest should be sent him with all convenient speed. In the mean time the Britons dismissed their army, and, in a general assembly of their princes, determined to recommend themselves and their country to the clemency and protection of Cæsar. But this great submission only arose from necessity, as they took the first opportunity that offered of revolting, and endeavouring to recover that liberty which they prized as the dearest and most valuable enjoyment of life.

At the time Cæsar was elated with the thoughts of having subdued the Britons, he received intelligence that the vessels which contained his cavalry, and had sailed from Gaul with a gentle breeze, were, on their approach near the British coast, overtaken by a dreadful tempest, and the whole dispersed. Some of them were driven back to the place from whence they came, and others to the western parts of England; from whence, as soon as the storm abated, they made the best of their way to the continent. This storm, which happened at the full moon, and in the middle of the night, did considerable damage to the fleet which lay in the Downs. Twelve of the principal vessels were dashed to pieces, and the rest so much injured by the loss of their anchors, cables, masts and rigging, as to be totally unfit for service.

This dreadful disaster spread universal horror and consternation among the Romans. They had lost their ships, and therefore were deprived of the means of returning to Gaul: their provisions began to grow scarce in the camp, they were in a strange country, and could not expect supplies from the islanders, whom they had reason to look upon as their most inveterate enemies. These were circumstances of the most alarming nature, and such as made even the intrepid Cæsar tremble for the consequence.

The British ambassadors, who were still in Cæsar's camp, saw with pleasure the calamity that had befallen the Romans. Fired with the most sanguine love of liberty, as well as inveterate detestation to slavery, they could by no means neglect so favourable an opportunity at least of attempting the recovery of their independence, and therefore held several meetings together to consult the proper means of effecting what they so earnestly desired. It was at length determined to quit the Roman camp with the utmost privacy, repair with all haste to their countrymen, and endeavour to cut off all supplies of provision from the enemy. This design was immediately carried into execution: they quitted the camp, collected together their disbanded troops with all possible expedition, and made every necessary preparation the situation of affairs would admit.

Though Cæsar had not received any intelligence of their design, yet, from the sudden disappearance of the ambassadors, and the delay of the hostages, he was strongly induced to suspect it; and therefore took every precaution to render the attempts of the Britons abortive. He ordered all the harvest of the neighbouring fields to be secured, and a magazine of corn to be collected within the fortifications of his camp. Considering likewise the importance of his fleet, he dispatched one of his gallies to Gaul in order to fetch the necessary materials for refitting those vessels which had been damaged in the late storm; and such was their assiduity, that in the space of ten days the whole fleet was rendered fit for service.

The Roman soldiers had gathered in the greater part of the harvest without disturbance, and the passive behaviour of the Britons seemed to convince them that their alarming apprehensions had no other foundation than their own fears. The most distant field of corn, however, was yet untouched, and the seventh legion was dispatched to reap it. But they had hardly begun, when they found themselves attacked by a numerous army of Britons, who had concealed themselves for the purpose in a neighbouring wood. The Romans perceived their danger, and would gladly have retreated, but that was rendered impossible by the enemy totally surrounding them. The Britons fell on them with the most inveterate fury, and the whole legion must inevitably have been cut to pieces, had it not been for the advanced guard of the Romans, who lay before the camp. These perceiving an extraordinary dust arising from that quarter, and judging the cause of it, immediately communicated the intelligence to Cæsar, who instantly flew to their assistance, and thereby prevented a general slaughter. On his arrival he found that the furious attack of the British chariots had prevented his men from forming: they had, however, thrown themselves into a compact body, hard pressed by the darts and javelins of the enemy, who had then quitted their chariots, and were charging them on foot with the utmost vigour. The presence of Cæsar, together with his reinforcement, animated the Romans and cooled the courage of the Britons, who chose to evade a general engagement, in hopes of protracting the war, depriving the enemy of necessary provisions, and thereby obliging them to quit the island before the expiration of the winter. They therefore retreated into the woods, and Cæsar, after maintaining his ground a short time in the field, returned to his camp.

The Britons, convinced that the Romans were not invincible, and elated with their late success, now imprudently undertook what it was not in their power to perform. Animated with the hopes of repelling these invaders of their liberties and properties, they dispatched messengers to all parts of the island, representing the small number and dejected state of the Romans, and intimating the glorious opportunity they now had of enriching themselves with the spoils of their enemies, and delivering their country from the miseries of future invasions.

These remonstrances had the desired effect. The brave and hardy Britons assembled in prodigious numbers, and gallantly advanced to the very entrenchments of the enemy, whither they had no sooner arrived than they began the attack with all the fury of an enraged multitude. Cæsar, with great tranquillity, beheld the irregular manner in which they began the assault, and the disorder into which they were soon thrown. He drew out his legions before the principal gate of his camp, and charged the undisciplined Britons with such impetuosity that they were obliged to seek their safety by flight, and leave the field of battle to the conquerors.

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The Britons, diſheartened at this ſecond defeat, and unwilling to make any farther efforts, once more applied for peace to the invader of their country. Cæſar was far from being averſe to granting their requeſt. Deſtitute of cavalry, he found it impoſſible to purſue his advantages by following the enemy into the inland parts of the iſland, which was the only method he could take of ſecuring his conqueſt. Proviſions began to grow ſcarce in his camp, the harveſt was over, and his army, though victorious, had ſuffered greatly, and were averſe to winter in an enemy's country, and in an iſland to them almoſt wholly unknown. In conſequence of theſe conſiderations Cæſar readily admitted the ambaſſador, and ſigned another treaty of peace with the Britons, the principal condition of which was, that they ſhould ſend him double the number of hoſtages he had before demanded.

But though the Britons had thus humbly ſolicited what, in fact, Cæſar; for his own ſafety, could not deny, yet the Roman general was convinced, in his own mind, they would no longer obſerve the peace than they were compelled to it from neceſſity. He was ſenſible that if he wintered in the iſland his army would be expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, and therefore determined to quit it. Accordingly having embarked his legions, and ordered the hoſtages to be ſent after him, he ſet ſail from Britain on the 20th of September, and after a ſhort and eaſy paſſage landed ſafely on the continent of Gaul.

Thus ended Cæſar's firſt expedition to Britain, which, though unattended with any other ſolid advantage than that of making him acquainted with the coaſt of the iſland, and the temper of the inhabitants, was extolled at Rome above all the victories he had obtained on the continent, and a triumph of twenty days was decreed by the ſenate on the occaſion. This was certainly a very extravagant and ridiculous decree, conſidering the little progreſs he had made in his firſt deſcent, and the trifling victory he obtained; but at the ſame time it plainly indicates the high eſtimation in which thoſe conquerors of the world held the valour of our hardy and reſolute progenitors.

CHAP. II.

Cæſar makes a ſecond deſcent on Britain, and lands without oppoſition. Marches againſt the Britons whom he engages and defeats. His fleet ſuſtains great damage by a ſtorm. The Britons unite together, and appoint Caſſivelaunus their leader. They for ſome time harraſs the Romans, but are at length routed with great ſlaughter. Cæſar croſſes the Thames, and penetrates into the territories of Caſſivelaunus, whoſe capital he takes, and puts great numbers of the Britons to the ſword. Caſſivelaunus makes his eſcape, and, as the laſt reſource, ſolicits four petty kings to form a junction, and attack the Roman camp. They comply with his requeſt, but prove unſucceſsful, and one of them is taken priſoner. On this Caſſivelaunus ſues for peace, which is readily granted by Cæſar, who, after impoſing a yearly tribute on the Britons, and taking a great number of hoſtages, embarks his forces, and returns to the continent.

NO ſooner had Cæſar quitted the iſland after his firſt expedition, than the Britons determined to renounce the treaty they had made with him previous to his departure; and two only out of all their ſtates ſent over their hoſtages according to the articles of convention. This afforded Cæſar a very fair pretence for re-commencing hoſtilities, to which, without doubt, he was prompted by a deſire of completing his deſign of ſubjecting the Britons to the Roman yoke. As ſoon, therefore, as he had ſettled his army in their winter quarters, he iſſued a general order for repairing thoſe veſſels that were damaged, and building others of various conſtructions, for the greater convenience of tranſporting his legions and cavalry, as well as of floating in ſhallow water, that they might be landed with equal care and ſafety.

Theſe orders were executed during the courſe of the winter; and in the beginning of the ſpring warlike preparations were made in the ports of Gaul with the greateſt vigour and diſpatch: military ſtores were collected in the harbours of Spain, and every meaſure that could be thought of taken for riveting the chains of ſlavery on the arms of the Britons.

The orders and directions of Cæſar being fully compleated, he ſaw his fleet increaſed with ſix hundred new tranſports and twenty-eight gallies, which, with the remains of the old ſquadron, he conſidered as abundantly ſufficient for his intended enterprize. This numerous fleet rendezvouſed in the port of Itium (now called Calais) on account of its being neareſt to the Britiſh ſhore. Here Cæſar embarked his forces, which conſiſted of five legions of foot, and ten thouſand horſe, leaving Labienus at Itium with three legions and two thouſand horſe, in order to be a check upon the Gauls, and provide corn for the Britiſh expedition.

A. C. 54. All things being ready, Cæſar left the port of Itium about ſun-ſet, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, fifty-four years before the birth of Chriſt. They ſailed the whole night with a gentle ſoutherly wind, and by noon the next day the whole fleet arrived at that part of the Britiſh coaſt, where they had made their former deſcent.

The appearance of ſo numerous a fleet upon the coaſt greatly alarmed the Britons, who imagining Cæſar's force to be more formidable than it really was, thought it adviſeable to depart from their firſt deſign of oppoſing his landing, and draw off their forces to the more covered part of the country; ſo that the ſhore being clear Cæſar landed without any oppoſition.

As ſoon as the landing was compleated, and the ground marked out for the camp, Cæſar pro-

vided himſelf with guides, and leaving ten cohorts and three hundred horſe under the command of Q. Atrius, to guard the ſhips that lay at anchor in the Downs, he began his march in queſt of the Britons. After advancing about twelve miles towards the north, he diſcovered the Britiſh army advantageouſly poſted upon an eminence, with the river Stour in their front, and a thick wood in their rear. As the Romans advanced, the Britons prepared to diſpute their paſſage over the river, and at firſt oppoſed them with their chariots; but the Roman horſe charging them with great vigour, they retreated into the wood, in the midſt of which was a kind of fortification raiſed with felled timber. Here the Britons for ſome time withſtood all the efforts of the Romans, till at length the ſeventh legion took it by ſtorm, killed great numbers of the Britons, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

Elated with this ſucceſs, early the next morning Cæſar ſent detachments of cavalry and infantry in purſuit of the fugitives. But before they were out of ſight, he received a meſſage from Q. Atrius, informing him, that during the preceding night a dreadful ſtorm had thrown ſeveral of his ſhips on ſhore upon the beach, deſtroyed their rigging, and done great damage to the whole fleet. In conſequence of this information, Cæſar countermanded the march of his troops, and immediately repaired to the ſea-coaſt, where he was an eye-witneſs of the ravage which had been done by the ſtorm. On a proper examination he found that no leſs than forty of his principal veſſels were entirely loſt, and many of the reſt ſo much damaged as to be unfit for the ſea, till they had undergone a thorough repair.

The preſervation of the navy now engaged the whole attention of Cæſar, and, for the preſent, obliterated all thoughts of farther conqueſt. He ordered all the carpenters of the army to ſet about repairing the ſhips that were damaged, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Labienus at Itium, deſiring that all his workmen there might be inſtantly employed in building a number of new veſſels, and that they ſhould be ſent to him with all expedition. So indefatigable were his people in repairing the damaged ſhips, that in the ſpace of ten days, the whole that remained were fit for ſervice; and in order to prevent the like misfortune in future, Cæſar ordered them to be drawn on ſhore, and fortified with the ſame trench and rampart that ſurrounded his camp.

While Cæſar was thus employed in refitting and ſecuring his navy, the Britons were taking every meaſure they could project to fruſtrate any future deſigns of reducing them to ſubjection. The former feuds and animoſities which had ſubſiſted between the princes of the reſpective ſtates were now laid aſide, and they united their whole ſtrength for the mutual defence of what they held moſt ſacred, namely, that glorious freedom they had enjoyed unmoleſted, till annoyed by Roman ambition.

Having gathered together a very numerous and formidable army, they convened a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to deliberate on a proper perſon who ſhould be inveſted with the chief command. Several perſons were propoſed, but at length they made choice of Caſſivelaunus, a prince who had acquired great reputation for his military proweſs, and whoſe territories (comprehending Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire and Bucks) were divided from the maritime ſtates by the river Thames.

Caſſivelaunus having taken upon him the ſovereign command of the Britiſh forces, immediately proceeded on his march, and took poſſeſſion of the ſame poſt in the wood from whence they had been before diſlodged; whither they had not been long before Cæſar arrived with the main body of his army, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot he had left, when informed of the deſtruction of his fleet by the late ſtorm.

Experience had convinced Caſſivelaunus that his forces were far from being an equal match for the Romans in the open field: he therefore took the wiſe precaution of avoiding a general engagement, and for ſome time, continued to harraſs the enemy with flying parties, and cutting off their proviſions. The effects of theſe prudent meaſures were ſoon felt by Cæſar: his forces were continually attacked, with amazing impetuoſity, by ſmall parties, who iſſued ſuddenly from their coverts, and as ſuddenly retreated. In moſt of theſe ſkirmiſhes the Britons were worſted, but at length they got the advantage, for the Romans, following them too far into the thicket, were attacked on every ſide, and obliged to retreat with very conſiderable loſs.

Theſe diſadvantages greatly affected the mind of Cæſar. He ſaw his troops perpetually harraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and dreaded the conſequence of being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. He therefore determined to fortify his camp, and endeavour to bring the Britons to a general engagement. But while he was making the neceſſary preparations, Caſſivelaunus, who cloſely watched all his motions, perceiving the deſign, determined to fruſtrate it, by attacking his army before the ramparts were finiſhed. Accordingly, while the Romans were engaged in their works, he made a ſudden and reſolute ſally from the woods, and falling with great fury on the advanced guard, put them to the rout, and a great ſlaughter enſued. Cæſar ſaw their diſtreſs, and immediately diſpatched a reinforcement to their aſſiſtance; but they were ſo diſmayed at the amazing reſolution of the Britons, that they loſt their uſual vigour, and thereby gave them an opportunity of breaking through their ranks, and ſecuring their retreat, to the thickets from whence they had ſallied. In this action ſeveral Roman officers were ſlain, among whom was Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune; and from Cæſar's manner of relating ſome peculiar circumſtances, it is evident that the Britons gained very ſingular advantages. His words are theſe: "This engagement (ſays he) happening in view of the whole army, every one perceived that the legionary ſoldiers were not a fit match for ſuch an enemy, becauſe the weight of their arms would not permit them to purſue, nor durſt they go far from their colours; neither could the cavalry encounter them, becauſe the Britons often pretended to make a retreat, and having drawn them from the legions would forſake their chariots, and fight on foot to great advantage; and when they were mounted, they were equally fatal to our horſe

horſe, whether we purſued or fled. Another diſadvantage was, that the enemy never fought in a cloſe battalion, but in ſmall parties at a great diſtance from one another, each of them having their particular part allotted, from whence they received ſupplies, and the weary were relieved by the freſh."

On the day after this obſtinate action the Romans perceived a remarkable abatement in the vigour of the Britons. They ſhewed themſelves, indeed, at a diſtance upon the hills, but without manifeſting their former eagerneſs and alacrity in provoking the enemy to battle. This change of conduct appeared very myſterious to Cæſar, who, about noon, detached three legions of foot, ſupported by all his horſe, on a foraging party, under the command of C. Trebonius. This formidable detachment was, however, ſoon attacked by the Britons, who fell with great fury on the horſe, and even penetrated to the enſigns and legions; but the Romans had learned from experience to ſupport their horſe with their infantry, and the Britons, being attacked by a compacted body, were utterly routed.

This defeat was deſtructive to the Britiſh army: the auxiliaries who had joined them from different parts of the iſland were ſo diſpirited that they took the firſt opportunity of returning to their reſpective diſtricts; nor did the Britons ever after, as an united body, engage the Romans in a pitched battle.

The brave Caſſivelaunus was greatly alarmed at this defeat of the Britons. He perceived the gathering ſtorm, and took every poſſible precaution to break its force. He marched with his diminiſhed army to Coway near the Oatlands, and croſſing the river Thames, there reſolved to make a ſtand againſt the conqueror of the world.

The politic Cæſar being informed of the diſperſion of the auxiliaries, and the retreat of Caſſivelaunus, reſolved to purſue him, and accordingly advanced with his army to the banks of the Thames, with an intention of paſſing it where fordable. On his arrival at the place, he found that Caſſivelaunus, being informed of his deſign, had taken every prudent precaution in his power to render it abortive. He had lined the oppoſite bank with a large body of troops, fortified it with palliſadoes, and driven into the bed of the river a great number of ſtakes, which were ſharpened at the top, and concealed under the ſurface of the water.

But the Romans were not to be intimidated by dangers, nor interrupted by difficulties. At the inſtigation of their reſolute commander they plunged into the river with the greateſt fortitude, and proceeded with ſuch celerity, even when up to their chins in water, that the enemy, being ſtruck with conſternation, could not ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, but, abandoning their works, conſulted their ſafety in a precipitate retreat.

The brave Caſſivelaunus now found it was in vain to make any farther attempts in oppoſing the Roman power in regular engagements; but at the ſame time he determined to conduct himſelf with ſpirit blended with caution. He therefore diſbanded his troops, reſerving only about four thouſand charioteers. With theſe he marched towards the capital of his territories; in the way to which he cut off ſeveral ſtraggling parties that were ſent to forage, watched the march of the main body, gave them frequent alarms, and ordered his people to drive the cattle from the fields through which he knew the Romans muſt paſs, that they might find it impoſſible to ſubſiſt on the caſual ravages of his country.

The conduct of Caſſivelaunus at this time was more alarming to Cæſar, than all the attacks he had hitherto received from the army of the Britons. He was exceeding cautious how he advanced, keeping his men together as much as poſſible; nor could he obtain any other ſubſiſtence for them but what aroſe from the plunder of a few trifling villages, moſt of which he reduced to aſhes.

While Cæſar was thus in ſlow purſuit of Caſſivelaunus, an incident occurred which facilitated the deſign of the former, and totally deſtroyed all the prudent meaſures taken by the latter. He received an embaſſy from the Trinobantes, a powerful people inhabiting Middleſex and Eſſex, who promiſed to yield him obedience, on condition that he would ſend their own prince Mandubratius to aſſume the regal authority among them, and protect him from the malice of Caſſivelaunus, who had killed his father Imanuentius *. Cæſar accepted their offer, complied with their requeſt, and having received forty hoſtages, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſion for his army, reſtored the young prince to his ſubjects, and promiſed them his future protection.

The puſillanimous conduct of the Trinobantes was followed by ſeveral other ſtates of the Belgic Britons, the firſt of whom were the Ceni magni, or inhabitants of Surry. Theſe, perceiving that the Trinobantes were freed from the calamities of war, and lived in tranquillity under the protection of Cæſar, reſolved immediately to follow their example. They accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to the Roman general with offers of ſubmiſſion, which being accepted, a peace was concluded, and the Ceni magni immediately ſent proviſions for the relief of the Roman army.

In the mean time Caſſivelaunus, being deſerted by his allies, and underſtanding by what means the Roman army was ſupplied with proviſions, gave up all hopes of engaging the Conqueror with any advantage: and therefore, as the only ſecurity for himſelf, he retreated with his reduced forces to the capital of his territories, which is ſaid to have been Verulam, now called St. Alban's, in Hertfordſhire.

Cæſar being informed of the retreat of Caſſivelaunus, immediately purſued him with his forces,

* At the time the different ſtates aſſembled in order to make choice of a proper perſon as chief commander of the army, a warm conteſt took place between the partizans of Imanuentius, king of the Trinobantes, and thoſe of Caſſivelaunus, which was carrried to ſuch lengths that an engagement enſued, each party being headed by their reſpective favourites. In this engagement, Caſſivelaunus proved victorious, and his antagoniſt Imanuentius was ſlain, which put an end to the controverſy, and Caſſivelaunus was choſen general without farther oppoſition. Mandubratius, the ſon of Imanuentius, would have ſuffered the like fate with his father, had he not fled, and craved the protection of Cæſar, who now, at the requeſt of his ſubjects, reſtored him to the royal dignity.

forces, marking his rout with blood and devaſtation. Every village was laid in aſhes, and the whole country appeared, as it were, like a ſmoking deſert. On his arrival at the place he found it ſituated in the center of a wood, the avenues to which were ſtrongly fortified by ditches, ramparts of earth, and felled trees. Theſe fortifications, though formed in the rudeſt manner, appeared formidable to the Romans. They had before experienced the difficulty of ſtorming ramparts defended by troops driven to deſpair. Cæſar ſaw the danger, and therefore ordered the fortifications to be attacked at two different places at the ſame time. This ſtratagem ſucceeded to his wiſhes: the brave Caſſivelaunus, for want of proper aſſiſtance, could only defend one places at a time, which he did, indeed, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Romans were repulſed. But he could not divide his attention, and therefore, at length, thought it moſt prudent to retreat. In conſequence of this the Romans forced the rampart, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the place, upon which the Britons immediately betook themſelves to flight, but being purſued, many were killed, and great numbers taken priſoners. This was an advantageous conqueſt to Cæſar, who was now plentifully ſupplied with every kind of proviſion, the Britiſh general having adapted his capital as a magazine for thoſe articles.

Caſſivelaunus was now reduced to the utmoſt ſtate of diſtreſs: deſerted by his friends, defeated by his enemies, his capital taken, and his territories laid waſte, he knew not what ſteps to take, or by what means he could extricate himſelf from the labyrinth into which he was involved. Nothing but his own greatneſs of ſoul could have ſupported him under this dilemma. He ſtill retained the noble ſpirit of his anceſtors, by preferring liberty in diſtreſs to ſlavery in affluence; and though unable any longer to ſupport the cauſe of his country, he planned an expedition, which, had it ſucceeded, would have greatly diſtreſſed, if not abſolutely ruined, the invaders of his country.

Cæſar, as we have before obſerved, left his navy within the entrenchments of his camp on the ſhore, and he was now with the main body of his army upwards of ninety miles diſtant. Caſſivelaunus now thought a favourable opportunity offered for deſtroying the whole fleet of the Romans. He therefore, as general of the confederates, ſent expreſſes to Cingetorix, Cornelius, Taximagulus, Segonex (princes whoſe territories lay in Kent, Wilts, and Hampſhire, and who ſtill remained faithful) requeſting them to aſſemble all their forces with the utmoſt expedition and privacy, and ſtorm the naval entrenchments of the enemy, while Cæſar was at too great a diſtance to afford them any relief.

This, no doubt, was a well-concerted plan, but the accompliſhment of it was attended with more difficulty than Caſſivelaunus had imagined. The fortifications thrown up by Cæſar were more than ſufficient to render every attempt of the Britons abortive. The four princes, however, readily complied with the requeſt of their chief, but the enterprize did not ſucceed according to their expectations. They aſſaulted the Roman camp with great reſolution, but the enemy making a vigorous ſally they were ſoon repulſed, great numbers killed, and Cingetorix, the commander in chief taken priſoner.

This overthrow made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Caſſivelaunus, who was now convinced that all farther oppoſition would be in vain. He therefore reſolved to put a concluſion to a diſadvantageous war by making his peace with the conqueror, which he eaſily obtained through the mediation of Comius, and Cæſar's great deſire of returning to the continent. The conditions of the treaty between Cæſar and Caſſivelaunus, and, through him, with the Britons in general, were, that they ſhould pay an annual tribute to the Roman ſtate, deliver a certain number of hoſtages by way of ſecurity, and (as a private clauſe) that Caſſivelaunus ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Britain to Mandubratius, prince of the Trinobantes.

Peace being thus concluded, Cæſar marched back with his hoſtages, and a great number of priſoners, to the ſea-ſide, and made immediate preparations for his departure. His ſhips were launched and refitted with the greateſt expedition, and his army, together with the priſoners and hoſtages, being put on board at two different embarkations, he ſet ſail for Gaul, whither he arrived a few days before the autumnal equinox *.

Thus ended Cæſar's ſecond expedition into Britain, on a candid examination of which it will appear to have been rather ſplendid than effectual. It is true he penetrated much farther into the iſland than in his firſt expedition, and formed alliances with ſeveral of the petty princes; but he retained not a foot of ground, nor did he procure any ſolid advantage to his country. As he left no garriſon, and made no ſettlement in Britain, it is probable the nations never paid the tribute ſtipulated in the pacification with Caſſivelaunus; or at leaſt it may be ſuppoſed to have been rejected by all the inhabitants, except the Belgic colonies, whoſe chief dependence being on trade, they durſt not refuſe paying the impoſition, leſt their merchandize ſhould be ſeized by the Romans; ſo that it ſeems to have been rather a duty on commodities, than a general tribute, with which the natives could not be ſaddled by any treaty with Caſſivelaunus, whoſe ſovereignty many ſtates no longer acknowledged. All the honour, therefore, that juſtly belongs to Cæſar is, that he carried the Roman arms beyond the boundaries of the ocean, and defeated the inhabitants of an iſland that was before unknown to his countrymen.

* After ſtaying a ſhort time, at Gaul, Cæſar returned to Rome, where he offered a croſſet of Britiſh pearls at the ſhrine of Venus Genetrix, from whom he was ſaid to be deſcended; and to fix a laſting remembrance of his expeditions into Britain, he employed his priſoners in adjuſting the tapeſtry ſcenes of the theatre, on which the victories he gained over the Britons were repreſented; while others of a more robuſt conſtitution were employed in carrying the ſedans of the ſenators and principal nobility.

CHAP. III.

Auguſtus Cæſar reſolves to make an expedition into Britain, but is prevented from carrying his deſign into execution. The Britons cultivate a peaceable correſpondence with the Romans. Cunobeline becomes the moſt powerful prince in Britain, and coins money for paying the duties levied by the Romans. He is greatly diſturbed by his eldeſt ſon, who, endeavours to raiſe a rebellion againſt him, and prevails on the emperor Caligula to make another deſcent on the iſland. Caligula engages to undertake the conqueſt of Britain, and for that purpoſe embarks with a great body of forces; but returns without even making an attempt to accompliſh his deſign. The emperor Claudius is ſtimulated to invade Britain at the inſtigation of a Britiſh prince named Beric, and for that purpoſe orders A. Plautius to embark with a conſiderable body of forces from Gaul. A mutiny takes place among the Roman ſoldiers, which, for ſome time, retards the execution of the deſign; but at length the troops are embarked, and land on the coaſt of Kent. Plautius purſues the Britons, paſſes the Thames, and defeats Caractacus and his brother Togodumnus in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, in one of which the latter is ſlain. The emperor Claudius arrives in Britain with a conſiderable reinforcement. Takes Camelodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes, and reduces many petty ſtates to his obedience. Diſpirited by conqueſt, great numbers of the Britons go to Claudius, and offer ſubmiſſion to the Roman power. Claudius treats them with great moderation, and, leaving Plautius with his army, returns to Rome, where he is received with univerſal acclamations by his ſubjects. After the departure of Claudius, Veſpaſian ſignalizes himſelf in the conqueſt of ſeveral Britiſh nations, and on his return to Rome is honoured with a triumph. Plautius is recalled from Britain, and P. Oſtorius Scapula appointed Proprætor in his ſtead.

HOW far the Britons fulfilled their engagements with Cæſar after his ſecond departure from the iſland we are not informed; nor, indeed, are there any remarkable events upon record relative to the ſtate of Britain for ſome years after. The death of Cæſar produced univerſal diſtraction throughout the Roman empire, and the affairs of Britain were forgotton amidſt the general anarchy and confuſion that ſubſiſted, for ſome time, in the then capital of the world. The Britons, during this confuſion, lived in great tranquillity, without feeling the rod of arbitrary power, or the oppreſſive impoſitions of avaricious proconſuls. They enjoyed an uninterrupted eaſe, and were either too ignorant, or too negligent, to tranſmit to poſterity the tranſactions of their country. All, therefore, that can be collected is, that, after the departure of the Romans, Caſſivelaunus (ſtill retaining the ſovereignty in his own hands, contrary to the treaty made with Cæſar) ſeverely chaſtiſed the Trinobantes for having joined the invaders of his country; and that, at his death, he left the government to his nephew Tinuantius, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Cunobeline, a prince of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents.

A. D. 1. The inteſtine commotions, which had diſtracted the Roman ſtate, ceaſing in the reign of Auguſtus, the immediate ſucceſſor of Cæſar, that emperor, in the ſixth year of his imperial dignity, formed the reſolution of making an expedition into Britain, in order to improve the conqueſts which had been made by his predeceſſor. He accordingly advanced into Gaul to carry his deſign into execution; but was diverted from his purpoſe by a revolt in Panonia, one of the provinces ſubject to the Roman empire. As ſoon, however, as the tranquillity of that province was reſtored he again marched into Gaul for the purpoſe of invading Britain; but the chiefs of the iſland being informed of his intent, found means to divert the ſtorm, by ſending a ſolemn embaſſy to ſue for peace, at the ſame time promiſing ſtrictly to fulfil the treaty they had made with Julius Cæſar previous to his departure from the iſland: Auguſtus, conſidering the great expence that would attend ſuch an enterprize, and being fearful that ſome diſagreeable commotions might take place during his abſence, received the Britiſh ambaſſadors with great courteſy, a peace was immediately concluded, and Auguſtus returned with his forces to Rome.

In conſequence of theſe pacific meaſures the Britons maintained a friendly correſpondence with the Romans during the reign of Auguſtus, paying only a trifling duty on merchandize exported to the continent. Several of the Britiſh princes reſided at Rome, and many of the noblemen ſent their ſons thither for their education.

A. D. 8. The Britons preſerved this friendly intercourſe with the Romans during the whole reign of Tiberius, the immediate ſucceſſor of Auguſtus. Indeed this emperor was bound in honour and gratitude to ſhew the kindeſt treatment to the Britons; for, when a detachment of Roman troops under the command of Germanicus, in their return from the victory they had gained over Arminius on the banks of the Weſer, were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Britain, the reguli, or chiefs, not only relieved the diſtreſſed Romans with the utmoſt hoſpitality, but likewiſe ſent them back in ſafety to their general.

Cunobeline, who ſucceeded in lineal right to the government of Britain, lived in good correſpondence with the Romans, and paid the tribute punctually in pieces of coin ſtruck for the purpoſe, and inſcribed with the word Taſcia. This prince was properly the chief of the Caſſivelauni; but he extended his dominion over the Dobuni, inhabiting Glouceſterſhire and Oxfordſhire. He alſo reduced the Trinobantes and ſeveral other provinces, and acquired ſuch acceſſion of territory as rendered him the moſt powerful prince in thei ſland.

During the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, Cunobeline enjoyed a continued ſeries of proſ-

perity. From his wife and gentle adminiſtration he was beloved by his ſubjects, and eſteemed by foreigners; but unfortunately the cloſe of his reign was ſullied with a misfortune that diſturbed his own peace and the tranquillity of his country. His eldeſt ſon Adminius, who was of a cruel and tyrannical temper, endeavoured to raiſe an unnatural rebellion againſt him, the conſequence of which was that the people were greatly diſtreſſed, and laid their complaints at the foot of his throne. Cunobeline expoſtulated with his ſon on the baſeneſs of his conduct: but all the arguments he could uſe to prevail on him to deſiſt were of no effect. For ſome time he knew not what meaſures to take: he was embarraſſed by parental fondneſs on the one hand, and a love of juſtice on the other; but at length the latter prevailed, and Adminius was baniſhed.

Exaſperated at a ſentence which he conſidered as cruel, and determined, if poſſible, to revenge the diſgrace, Adminius immediately repaired to Rome, in order to put himſelf under the protection of Caligula, who then ſwayed the imperial ſcepter. He repreſented to the emperor the cruel treatment he had received from his father, and pointed out to him the great eaſe with which he might reduce the Britons to a ſtate of ſubjection. He told him they were a weak and divided people, averſe to union, and unable to defend their country againſt the attack of a formidable enemy, and if he would but make the attempt there was not the leaſt doubt but it would be crowned with ſucceſs.

A. D. 36. Caligula, who was vain and impetuous, though cowardly and irreſolute, received with apparent complacency the application of Adminius, and aſſembling an army of 200,000 men advanced in perſon to the northern coaſt of Gaul, in order to invade the Britiſh iſland. Pleaſed with the idea of making ſo important a conqueſt without danger or fatigue (as he had been induced to expect from the repreſentation of Adminius) he embarked his troops with the utmoſt expedition; but before the ſhips were ready to ſail, he was informed, to his great ſurprize, that the Britons, apprized of his intentions, were under arms on the oppoſite ſhore, and determined to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their country. This information ſtruck a forcible damp on the ſpirits of the puſillanimous Caligula: but his vanity was equal to his cowardice; he was deſirous of receiving the honours of a triumph, without treading the thorny path of conqueſt, and of wearing the wreath of victory, without facing an enemy. He embarked, attended by his principal officers, on board a galley, ſailed within a league of the Britiſh coaſt, took a view of the Britons, whoſe formidable appearance he did not at all like, and then haſtened back with as much oſtentation as if he had atchieved ſome great action. As ſoon as he landed he ordered his army to be drawn up in battle array, and after making a curious harangue to the ſoldiers, gave directions that they ſhould diſperſe themſelves, and fill their helmets with ſhells from the ſea ſhore. Theſe orders being obeyed, and a prodigious quantity of ſhells collected, Caligula commanded that they ſhould be carefully packed up, and to compleate the farce, ſent them with the moſt pompous parade to Rome, as the ſpoils of the Britiſh ocean, demanding, at the ſame time, that the ſenate would decree him a triumph for the important ſervices he had done the empire. Strange as this requeſt may appear, the venal ſenate readily complied, and put themſelves to an immenſe expence to render the emperor magnificently ridiculous in the face of the whole world. To perpetuate this ridiculous expedition, or rather to tranſmit his own folly to poſterity, he erected a tower on the Belgic coaſt, oppoſite to Norfolk, and called it Turris Ardens, in alluſion to the deſign of its being a light-houſe for ſhips at ſea. This ſtructure was afterwards repaired by Charlemagne, and ſtill continues a noble monument of Roman antiquity.

The puſillanimous and frantic behaviour of Caligula greatly leſſened the Roman power in the eyes of the Britons, who not ſuſpecting any further attempt would be made to diveſt them of their liberty, neglected to continue in that defenſive ſtate they had hitherto done. The long intercourſe they had now carried on with the Romans greatly abated their natural averſion to thoſe people. They cultivated their arts and imitated their manners, both of which might have been ſerviceable, had they not at the ſame time imported their luxuries. The conſequence of this was, that they ſunk into indolence and eaſe; their natural love of liberty and independence was ſoftened by effeminacy, and that union which forms the only bond of ſecurity in times of diſtreſs was diſſolved. They did not enjoy that tranquillity which they might have derived from the abſence of the Romans; on the contrary, it afforded leiſure and opportunity to the different ſtates and chieftains to renew their former bickerings, and enabled the more powerful potentates to ſubdue the petty ſovereignties that lay contiguous to their dominions.

The Britons remained unſubdued by the Romans till the reign of the emperor Claudius, when they rather fell victims to their own inteſtine broils than to the power of that empire. Jealouſy did what their enemies ſwords could not effect; and while ſome ſtates had the virtue to oppoſe the Romans, others joined them, and were ſolicitous for the deſtruction of their country.

Cunobeline, who did not long outlive Caligula, was ſucceeded on the Britiſh throne by his two ſons Togodumnus and Caractacus, two princes univerſally reſpected for their mental abilities, natural courage, and military proweſs. In the beginning of their reign they ſhook off the Roman power, by refuſing to pay the uſual tribute, the reaſon of which was, that the Romans had declined delivering up ſeveral traitors who had fled thither for refuge. One of theſe miſcreants, named Beric, a chieftain among the Dobuni of Dorſetſhire, was the moſt inveterate enemy to his country, and from whoſe exhortations and importunities the emperor Claudius was ſtimulated to make an attempt for the reduction of Britain. He painted to him the ſtate of the iſland in ſuch colours, as preſented a flattering proſpect of glory and power, and which, he ſaid, might be acquired with little difficulty, and almoſt without danger.

While the traitor Beric was thus ſoliciting the deſtruction of his country, ambaſſadors arrived from the Britiſh court to demand the fugitives, and particularly the perfidious Beric. But this

demand

demand was peremptorily refuſed, and the ambaſſadors treated with great indignity, which ſo enraged the Britons, that they even refuſed to pay the impoſts and duties laid on the commodities exported to Gaul. They prohibited all future intercourſe with the Romans, and took every precaution in their power to defend the liberty and independence of their country.

The late ridiculous expedition of Caligula had given the Britons an high opinion of their own power. They imagined the Romans were really afraid to croſs the ocean, and imputed that miſcarriage to fear, which was occaſioned by the timidity of the commander. At the ſame time they knew that Claudius was as indolent and cowardly as Caligula; but they did not reflect, that prudent counſellors might ſupply the want of abilities in the monarch, and able generals his deficiency of military proweſs.

The conduct of the Britons, in refuſing to pay the uſual tribute, gave Claudius a plauſible pretence for commencing hoſtilities. He accordingly gave the command of his army in Gaul to Aulius Plautius, a citizen of great reputation, and famous for his military abilities, with orders to tranſport a conſiderable army into Britain, enjoining him, at the ſame time, not to finiſh the conqueſt himſelf, but ſend him timely information, that he might reap the fruits of victory in perſon. He was deſirous of enjoying the honours of a triumph, without experiencing the fatigues of a campaign.

In obedience to the imperial orders, Plautius marched at the head of a conſiderable body of forces to the ſea ſhore, where a proper number of veſſels were provided for tranſporting them into Britain. Plautius had already acquired the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation, both as a man and a warrior, notwithſtanding which the troops had no ſooner arrived at the ſpot from whence they were to embark, than a general mutiny prevailed, and they abſolutely refuſed being concerned in the intended expedition. They declared themſelves willing to follow their general to any part of the continent, but would not paſs the boundaries of the ocean, to enter a part which they called the new-world.

Plautius, aſtoniſhed at the behaviour of the legions, uſed all the arguments he was maſter of to convince them of the abſurdity of their conduct; but all his remonſtrances proving ineffectual, he ſuſpended the embarkation, and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Claudius with an account of the general mutiny among his troops. On the receipt of this intelligence the emperor ſent Narciſſus, a creature of his own, bred up in all the idle effeminacy of a court, to prevail upon the ſoldiers to obey the orders of Plautius. This miniſter, though armed with the authority of the emperor, was deſtitute of power: he aſcended the roſtrum in order to harangue the troops; but his endeavours on this head proved totally ineffectual. The ſoldiers, exaſperated at ſeeing the place which had hitherto been filled with intrepid generals, who had ſhared in common with the dangers and fatigues of war, profaned by a minion, ſet up an univerſal cry, in which the voice of Narciſſus was totally loſt: they would not ſuffer a perſon whom they knew to be deſtitute of merit, and a ſtranger to virtuous principles, to interpoſe in the cauſe of a Roman army. The uproar increaſed; the banners of mutiny were diſplayed, and the imperial orders no longer regarded. Plautius perceived the gathering ſtorm, and trembled for the conſequences: but generoſity prevailed, when power had exerted its force in vain. The ſoldiers revered the virtues of Plautius as much as they deſpiſed the effeminacy of Narciſſus; and after ſhewing their contempt for the latter, expreſſed their reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the former, by promiſing to obey his commands, and to follow him wherever he ſhould direct.

A. D. 46. Plautius took advantage of this favourable diſpoſition among his troops, and embarked his whole force at three different ports, that the failure of one embarkation might not prevent the ſucceſs of the enterprize. They were, however, all driven back by contrary winds, and much diſheartened; but the appearance of an aurora borealis recalled their ſpirits, for the Romans, imagining this meteor to be an happy omen, again ſet ſail, and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed on the Kentiſh coaſt without oppoſition.

The Britons were far from being ſtrangers to the intended deſcent of the Romans, and had made the neceſſary preparations for preventing their landing; but being informed of the mutiny that had taken place in the Roman army, they took it for granttd that their deſigns were fruſtrated, and concluded the danger was over. In conſequence of this they thought it unneceſſary to guard the coaſt when no enemy was expected, and broke up their camp but a ſhort time before the Roman legions appeared. It was now too late to regain the advantage they had loſt; and inſtead of joining in a general body, and attacking the enemy before they were ready to receive them, they retired into the inland parts of the country, and divided their forces into ſmall parties under different chieftains. The two principal bodies were commanded by Togodumnus and Caractacus, both celebrated for their military abilities, their intrepidity, and their virtue. But jealouſies prevailed among the petty princes of Britain: they envied the talents they could not equal, and ſacrificed the liberties of their country to the ſpirit of malignity.

Plautius, having prepared his army for marching, advanced by the ſame rout which Cæſar had formerly taken, until he reached the Thames, which he paſſed at Wallingford, and entered the territories of the Danbuni, then under the command of Togodumnus, as the Caſſivelauni were under that of Caractacus. Plautius firſt met with the army under Caractacus, whom he immediately attacked, defeated, and put to the rout; after which he turned his victorious arms againſt Togodumnus, and met with equal ſucceſs, great numbers of the Britons being ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

But though theſe misfortunes greatly weakened the power of the Britons, yet they did not depreſs their ſpirits. They repaired from all parts to the ſtandard of Caractacus, who, after joining his brother, encamped on the banks of the Thames, in the country of the Regni.

In the mean time Plautius, having left proper garriſons

garriſons in thoſe parts he had already reduced, determined to purſue his conqueſts, and accordingly marched along the banks of the Thames, till he came oppoſite to the ſpot where the Britons were encamped. The ſtream here was too deep, and the current too rapid, to be forded even by cavalry, a circumſtance which lulled the Britons into a fatal ſecurity; and though they ſaw the enemy they made no preparations for defence. But they ſoon found they were far from being ſo ſafe as they had imagined. Plautius had in his army a conſiderable body of German auxiliaries, who had long been accuſtomed to ſwim acroſs the moſt rapid rivers in their armour. Theſe he ordered to plunge into the ſtream, which they accordingly did with ſuch intrepidity, that the Britons were aſtoniſhed, and retired ſome diſtance from their camp in the utmoſt confuſion. The Germans no ſooner gained the oppoſite ſhore, than, according to the order of their general, they aimed their arrows and darts at the horſes of the Britons, and by the ſlaughter of thoſe animals rendered the chariots effectually uſeleſs. But as the Germans were not able of themſelves to encounter the whole Britiſh army, a body of the Roman infantry, animated by the example of the auxiliaries, followed them under the command of Flavius Veſpaſian, and his brother Sabinus. As ſoon as theſe had reached the oppoſite ſhore, they immediately joined the Germans, and forming themſelves into ranks, marched againſt the Britons, who had fled for ſecurity to the neighbouring woods. Here a ſlight ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the Britons were obliged to retreat, but as night was coming on, the Romans did not think it prudent to purſue the advantage.

Far from being diſpirited by this check the Britons next day charged the Romans with ſuch intrepidity, that victory continued for a long time doubtful. They broke through the Roman ranks, and with all the fury of men exaſperated to madneſs, thinned the ſquadrons of the enemy. Veſpaſian himſelf was ſo circumſtanced, that he muſt either have loſt his life or his liberty, had he not been reſcued by the activity and courage of his ſon. At the ſame time C. Sidius Geta, another general officer, who was thought to have been taken priſoner, found means to diſengage himſelf and his party from the enemy, and improving the opportunity of the tumultuous ſecurity into which the proſpect of victory had thrown the Britons, charged them afreſh with the utmoſt impetuoſity. This diverſion giving the Romans time to recover themſelves, they at length wreſted the victory from the hands of the Britons, great numbers of whom were killed, and the reſt compelled to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. Geta was conſidered as the principal cauſe of the victory, and a triumph was afterwards decreed him by the ſenate on that account, though he had never paſſed the conſular dignity.

After this unſucceſsful effort, Caractacus and his brother retreated with their armies along the banks of the Thames, and being well acquainted with that river, paſſed the ſtream near Greenwich, (the loweſt place where it was then fordable) and encamped in the marſhes on the other ſide of the river. Plautius followed the Britons at ſome diſtance, and coming to the banks of the Thames, oppoſite to where the Britons were encamped, his German troops ſwam over as before, while Plautius, with his legions, paſſed the ſtream by means of a bridge erected at ſome diſtance above the ford. As ſoon as they had all gained the oppoſite ſide of the water, they immediately formed themſelves into ranks, and marched with great reſolution to attack the Britons. A deſperate battle enſued, which laſted for ſome time, but was at length determined in favour of the Romans, Togodumnus being ſlain, and the Britiſh army routed with great ſlaughter.

But notwithſtanding this overthrow, the Britiſh ſpirit was not yet conquered. The gallant Caractacus rallied the ſcattered remains of his army, and, croſſing the river, encamped oppoſite to the army of Plautius. The Roman general now evidently declined an engagement, which the Britons imputed to fear: but in this they were greatly miſtaken, for the inactivity of Plautius did not ariſe either from timidity or caution. He had already obtained ſeveral ſucceſſive victories, and thought it was now high time to give the emperor notice of his proceedings, according to the inſtructions he had received, that he might have the honour of putting an end to the war in perſon. Plautius accordingly diſpatched letters to the emperor, informing him of his ſucceſs, and requeſting his preſence as ſoon as poſſible, that he might be perſonally crowned with the laurel of conqueſt.

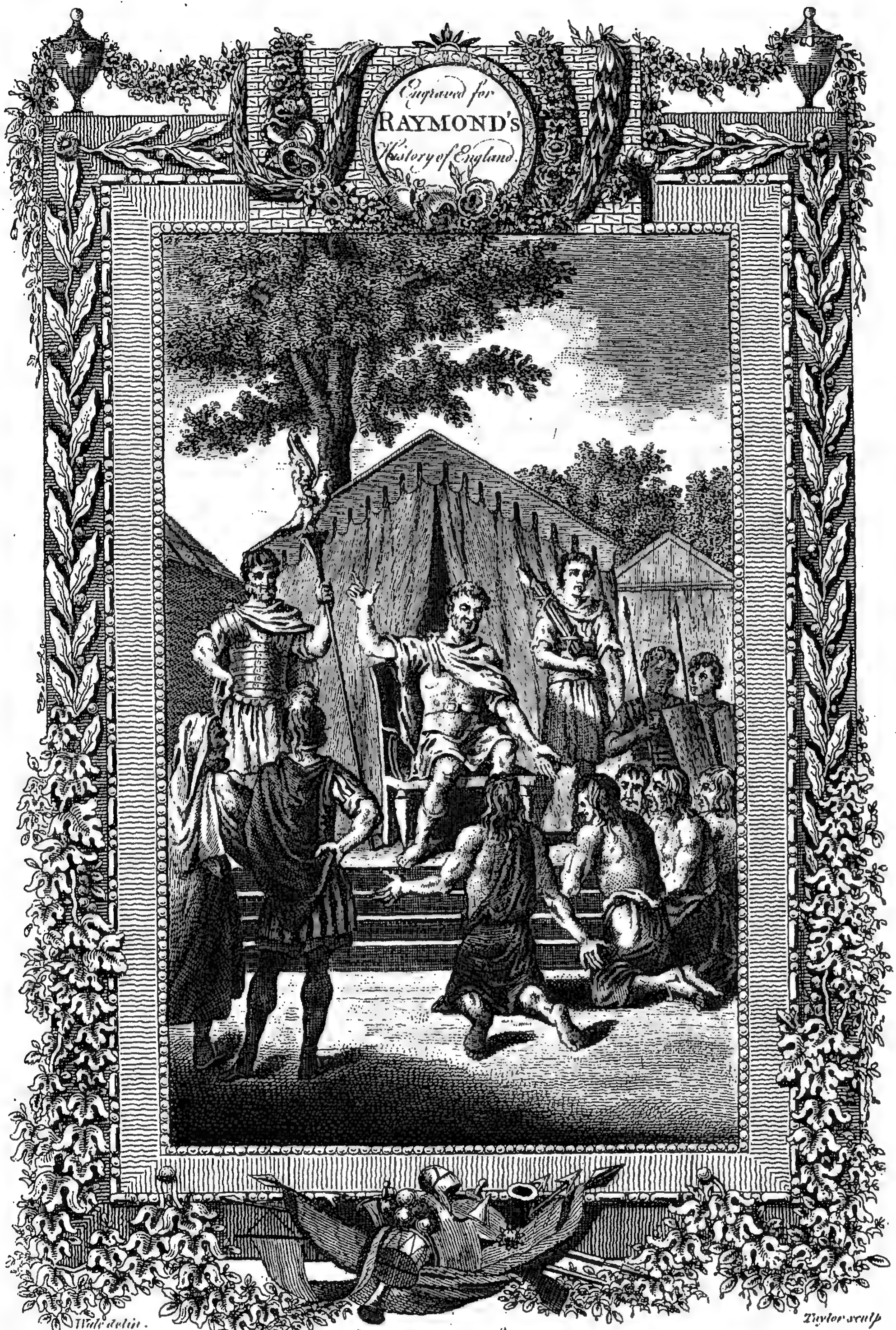
A. D. 48. No ſooner did Claudius receive the ſucceſsful intelligence from his general in Britain, than he immediately transferred the civil government to Vitellus, and embarked with a conſiderable body of forces at Oſtium for Marſeilles, about the latter end of the month of July. From Marſeilles he proceeded by land to Boulogne, where he took ſhipping for Britain, and landed ſafe at Sandwich, from whence he marched at the head of his legions to the camp of Plautius.

The junction of the emperor's forces with thoſe of Plautius formed a more powerful army than had ever been ſeen in the iſland. The Britons perceived the ſtrength of the enemy, and prudently avoided a general engagement. But the deſire of retaliating the injuries they had received from the enemies of their country animated them to hover round the Roman camp, by which means they cut off many of their ſtraggling parties.

Claudius, having now aſſumed the chief command, croſſed the river with his troops in the face of the Britons, who bravely diſputed their paſſage. On their arrival on the oppoſite ſhore, a general engagement enſued, which for ſome time was attended with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at length the Roman diſcipline prevailed, the attacks of the Britons were effectually repelled, and their whole army put to flight.

After this conqueſt, Claudius advanced into the country of the Trinobantes, and made himſelf maſter of Camelodunum (now Malden in Eſſex) the capital of the late Cunobeline. This ſucceſs, together with the late defeat, quite diſpirited the Britons, who now thought more of endeavouring to make peace than retrieving their affairs, and determined to court the confidence inſtead of oppoſing the progreſs of the conqueror. They accordingly in general threw down their arms, and deputies from the different ſtates flocked daily to the Roman camp to make their ſubmiſſion

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SUBMISSION *of the* BRITONS *to the Roman Emperor* CLAUDIUS.

million to Claudius. The antient inhabitants, indeed, could not be perſuaded to part ſo eaſily with their liberty: the brave Caractacus ſtill kept the field at the head of the Caſſivelauni, hoping that the Romans would retire on the approach of winter.

Claudius now gave orders for ſettling a military colony at Camelodunum, which was accordingly done, and that part of the iſland reduced to a Roman province. The ſettling of colonies was found the beſt method of ſubduing thoſe countries where the Romans had gained footing by their arms, as it diſſeminated their arts, their language, and their manners, among the people. It is, therefore, at this period that we ought properly to date the reduction of the Britons by the Romans, as the previous expeditions rather tended to diſturb than ſubjugate the country.

Having diſarmed thoſe that ſubmitted, and reduced many petty ſtates to his obedience by force of arms, Claudius was ſeveral times proclaimed Imperator by the ſoldiers; and the vanquiſhed were ſo touched with his generoſity in leaving them to enjoy their poſſeſſions, that they not only erected temples to his honour, but even ranked him among their deities.

Thus ſatiated with glory and ſucceſs, Claudius, after a ſtay of ſixteen days in Britain, left Plautius to finiſh the campaign, and returned to Rome, where he was received amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. The conqueſt of any part of Britain was thought of ſuch importance that no honours, in the power of Rome to beſtow, were conſidered as too great for the conqueror. Accordingly, triumphal arches were erected upon his entering Boulogne in his way to Rome, and on his arrival at the capital a ſplendid triumph was immediately decreed by the ſenate. A naval crown was fixed upon the imperial palace, as an emblem of his having eſcaped the dangers of the ocean, and his dominion over the ſeas of Britain. Claudius himſelf expreſſed the higheſt gratitude to the noble Romans who had aſſiſted him perſonally in this expedition, for he beſtowed upon thoſe who were ſenators, but without conſular dignity, triumphal ornaments; and the ſenate, to crown all his honour, decreed to himſelf and his family the ſurname of Britannicus, a circumſtance that clearly demonſtrates the importance of ſuch an acceſſion to the Roman dominions.

After the departure of Claudius from Britain, Plautius, who was left in the character of Proprætor, or governor of the iſland, proceeded in the conqueſt of thoſe ſtates who ſtill refuſed to ſubmit; and while he was carrying on his operations againſt the inland, warlike and original iſlanders, who lived among woods and mountains, Flavius Veſpaſian, the ſecond officer in command, was employed in reducing the maritime places occupied by the colonies of the Belgæ, who had diſperſed themſelves on the whole coaſt, from the promontory of Kent, to the Land's End in Cornwall.

Veſpaſian was as ſucceſsful in his enterprizes as might have been expected from the valour and military abilities of ſo experienced a general. In his ſeveral excurſions he fought and defeated the remote Britons in no leſs than thirty battles; took twenty towns, ſubdued the Iſle of Wight, and even added the Orkney Iſlands to the imperial territories. The greateſt difficulty he met with was, in reducing the inhabitants of Wilts, Dorſet, and Somerſetſhire, where inacceſſible hills, and prodigious moraſſes, afforded them abundant opportunities of ſurprizing any commander leſs cautious than Veſpaſian. But theſe difficulties he ſurmounted, and reduced them to ſuch a ſtate of ſubjection, and ſo won them over by his moderate government, that they even furniſhed him with ſoldiers to aſſiſt him in ſubduing the more northern inhabitants. After having ſettled the country his arms had reduced, Veſpaſian returned to Rome, and, for his diſtinguiſhed ſervices, obtained a triumph, a conſulſhip and other honours.

Plautius, the proprætor, was far from being ſo ſucceſsful as Veſpaſian; nor could it, indeed, be expected, as he had much greater difficulties to encounter. He was oppoſed by the antient Britons under Caractacus, a prince endowed with the moſt undaunted courage, and the moſt invincible fortitude. He had a natural talent for war, and had acquired, by long experience, ſuch a degree of military knowledge, as could not have been expected in one of his country. He was patient under misfortunes; cool, penetrating, and fruitful of expedients. He never undertook any action, without ſecuring ſome advantage, and was generally ready for a ſecond engagement the day after he had ſuffered a defeat. Finding it impoſſible to withſtand the arms and military diſcipline of the Romans in battle, he reſolved to hazard nothing but ſkirmiſhes, and theſe only when he had a manifeſt advantage of ground, or a great ſuperiority in number: thus he ſtill hovered about the ſkirts of the Roman army, which he occaſionally haraſſed with great ſucceſs; and his parties, when over-matched, retreated to mountains, fens and faſtneſſes unknown and inacceſſible to the enemy.

But notwithſtanding the management of Caractacus, and the difficulties he otherwiſe met with, Plautius, by his vigilance, activity and conduct, found means to ſubdue the inhabitants of the counties of Glouceſter, Oxford, Middleſex and Eſſex: he alſo reduced Hertfordſhire, and carried his arms into the lower parts of the counties of Bedford and Northampton; in all which places he governed the inhabitants with ſuch wiſe and moderate regulations, that they quietly ſubmitted to their fate, and did not make any attempt to regain their liberty. Having obtained theſe ſucceſſes, Plautius was honourably recalled from Britain, and returned to Rome, where he was received by the emperor in perſon, and honoured with an inferior triumph; after which P. Oſtorius Scapula was appointed to ſucceed him as Proprætor, or governor of Britain.

CHAP. IV.

Oſtorius Scapula, on his arrival in Britain, finds the ſtate of affairs in great confuſion. He marches againſt the Britons, and defeats them. Erects a chain of forts along the banks of the Avon and Severn, and ſtrengthens the fortifications of Camelodunum. Engages and defeats the Iceni, and quells a commotion among the Brigantes. Marches againſt Caractacus, defeats him with great ſlaughter, and takes his family priſoners. Caractacus flies for refuge to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, by whom he is betrayed, and ſent captive to Rome. His addreſs to the emperor Claudius, and the conſequences ariſing therefrom. Oſtorius is defeated by the Britons, in conſequence of which he dies with anxiety of mind, and is ſucceeded, as governor of Britain, by Aulus Didius. Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, proves baſe and perfidious to her huſband Venutius, whom ſhe abandons, and marries the general of her army. Suetonius Paulinus takes the command in Britain, conquers the iſland of Angleſey, and exterminates the Druids. He is called from thence by a general revolt of the Britons, occaſioned by the ill-treatment of Boadicea queen of the Iceni. The Britons, entering into a confederacy, form a very conſiderable army, and, headed by Boadicea, march againſt the Romans, with a full reſolution of revenging the inſults offered to the Britiſh princeſs. Boadicea makes an animated ſpeech to her ſoldiers on the occaſion. The Britons engage with Suetonius, but are defeated with great ſlaughter, and Boadicea, giving up all hopes, puts a period to her own exiſtence. Suetonius, after this victory, commits great ravages in the country of the Britons; but, by means of Claſſicanus, the procurator, he is recalled, and Petronius Turpilianus appointed proprætor in his ſtead.

A. D. 50. AS an interval of no leſs than two years elapſed between the return of Plautius to Rome, and the arrival of P. Oſtorius Scapula, his ſucceſſor, in Britain, the Britons had, during that period, taken the opportunity of attempting the recovery of their liberty; ſo that the new governor found the affairs of the iſland in great confuſion, and in a very different ſtate to what he had expected. As he did not land till the latter end of October the Britons imagined that he would not attempt to attack them till the enſuing ſpring. But in this they were greatly miſtaken; for Oſtorius, ſenſible of the danger of any delay, determined to begin his operations immediately. He accordingly took the field, defeated ſeveral parties who ventured to oppoſe him, and purſued his advantage in ſo effectual a manner that they were incapable of rallying or uniting. He diſarmed all the Britons whom he ſuſpected wherever he went, and, to reſtrain and confine them within proper bounds, erected a chain of forts on the banks of the rivers Avon and Severn. He likewiſe added conſiderable fortifications to the Roman colony at Camelodunum, or Malden; and London being ſettled much about the ſame time, the country between the Thames and the ſea was reduced into a province, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of Britannia Prima.

The precautions taken by Oſtorius to ſecure the obedience of the vanquiſhed Britons gave great offence to the Iceni, a powerful people inhabiting the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridge. They had hitherto lived in amity with the Romans, but on the arrival of Oſtorius, they determined to oppoſe him, and to ſhake off that reſtraint which he meant univerſally to lay on the inhabitants of the iſland. They accordingly engaged in a confederacy with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, and joining their forces took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, which they encompaſſed with a rampart of earth, leaving only one avenue, which they paved with ſharp flint to prevent the approach of the Roman cavalry. But nothing could abate the ardour of Oſtorius. He led on his infantry to the camp, and attacked them with the utmoſt vigour. The Britons made a noble defence, and more than once repelled the aſſaults of the Romans. But their reſiſtance was in vain; the intrepidity of Oſtorius was not to be conquered: the Romans became maſters of the camp, and obtained a compleat victory.

Having thus ſubdued the Iceni, and their confederates, Oſtorius took proper meaſures for ſecuring the province from any future incurſions of thoſe nations. He added ſeveral ſtrong forts to thoſe he had already erected on the banks of the Severn, in order to ſecure the Roman conqueſts in that part of the iſland; he made Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni, who poſſeſſed the counties of Glouceſter and Oxford, a citizen of Rome, and even inveſted him with authority over ſome other Belgic colonies. This politic expedient ſucceeded to his wiſh, for it fomented diſſentions among the Britons, and attached a powerful prince to the intereſt of the Romans.

Oſtorius, encouraged by the ſucceſs he had already met with, advanced into the country of the Cangi, or Shropſhire, which he plundered, and penetrated almoſt as far as the ſea-coaſt of Denbighſhire. His deſign was to have reduced the whole country to ſubjection, but he was diverted from his purpoſe by a revolt of the Brigantes, a people of Yorkſhire, whither he immediately repaired, and having quelled the commotion in its infancy, cauſed the ringleaders to be executed, in order to prevent future inſurrections.

A. D. 51. But the moſt vigorous meaſures could not ſuppreſs the innate valour of the Britons. Liberty was ſtill their darling object; and they preferred death to the chains of ſlavery. The Brigantes, though they had experienced the power and ſeverity of the Roman general, were not to be eaſily ſubdued; they determined ſtill to oppoſe the Roman power with all their might, and, if poſſible, to ſhake off the ſhackles of ſlavery. They accord-



CARACTACUS *the British Chief, basely* BETRAYED *into the Hands of the* ROMANS, *by* CARTISMANDUA *Queen of the Brigantes.* —

accordingly formed a confederacy with the Silures, a powerful nation, inhabiting Herefordſhire and great part of South Wales. The famous Caractacus was at the head of theſe troops; and knowing himſelf to be inferior to the Romans in force, he endeavoured to ſupply that diſadvantage by a cautious conduct, and a proper diſpoſition of his poſts. He transferred the ſeat of war into the country of the Ordovices, or North Wales, as he knew the craggy rocks and high mountains in that part of the country would prove natural fortifications, and enable him to annoy the enemy with great advantage to himſelf. He formed his camp on the ſummit of a lofty mountain, the foot of which was waſhed by a deep and rapid river; and, to increaſe the natural ſtrength of the place, he fortified the bank of the river with ramparts of ſtones faced with ſharp-edged flints, and ſurrounded the whole by a body of his choiceſt troops.

The Roman general was far from being a ſtranger to the oſtenſible proceedings of the Britons under Caractacus, and, notwithſtanding the great power and abilities of their commander, was determined to reduce them to ſubjection. He led his legionary troops, compoſed of Roman veterans, againſt them; and, ſenſible of the danger of attacking forces fired with an enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, and led by a general, whom he knew to be prudent, intrepid and vigilant, he omitted no precaution that might ſecure his army from the irregular attacks of the enemy.

On the approach of the Romans, Caractacus drew up his army according to their different clans, and placed at the head of each their native chief. He then rode from rank to rank, exhorting them to exert their utmoſt courage and reſolution, and to act like men on ſo important an occaſion. He told them the hour was approaching that muſt either reſtore them freedom and independence, or reduce them to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery. At the ſame time he recounted to them the courage and intrepidity of their anceſtors, and by whoſe valour they had been ſo repeatedly delivered from the tyranny and oppreſſion of their enemies.

Theſe remonſtrances from the mouth of the Britiſh general had the deſired effect: the whole army anſwered by a general ſhout of applauſe, and declared their reſolution of either preſerving their liberties, or periſhing in the glorious attempt.

The Roman general hearing the acclamations of the Britons, was alarmed for the event, and ſeemed averſe to begin the attack. The interpoſing river, the rampart faced with flints, the hanging crags, and the high embattled ranks of the enemy, preſented a gloomy ſcene: but the aſſailants were Romans; difficulty augmented their courage, and glory rendered them impatient for action.

Oſtorius perceived the eagerneſs of his troops, but would not ſuffer them to engage, till he had carefully ſurveyed every paſs where an attack ſeemed practicable; having done which he led them to the charge. The river was eaſily paſſed, but the great difficulty lay in forcing the ramparts, which were defended by the Britons with the moſt unſhaken firmneſs. In attempting this many of the Romans fell; but at length, by dint of reſolution, they prevailed; the ramparts, which were compoſed of looſe ſtones, were thrown down, their legions poured in upon the Britons, and a general engagement enſued. The balance of victory was, for ſome time, equally poiſed, and fortune ſeemed undetermined on whom to beſtow the palm of conqueſt. At length the Roman veterans removed the dreadful uncertainty. Covered with armour, the ſwords of the Britons made little impreſſion, while death attended every blow ſtruck by a Roman arm. Finding the conteſt unequal, Caractacus retreated to his camp on the ſummit of the mountain, the aſcent to which was very long and ſteep. But the ardour of the Romans was ſuperior to every difficulty: they gained the ſummit, and attacked the camp of Caractacus. The conteſt was dreadful; the Britons fought for liberty, the Romans for glory. Urged on by deſpair, the Britons aſſaulted the ranks of the enemy with a fury bordering on madneſs, and the camp became a horrid ſcene of blood and devaſtation. At length the legionary diſcipline prevailed, and the ſtandard of Britiſh liberty fell to the ground. The Britons were totally routed, and what added to their misfortunes was, that the daughters, and brothers of Caractacus, together with many other perſons of birth and fortune, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Caractacus himſelf, indeed, eſcaped, but it was only to add a poignancy to his misfortunes by feeling the additional weight of treachery in diſtreſs. Diſtracted at the irreparable loſs he had ſuſtained, he unguardedly flew for ſafety to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes. This princeſs was not only well affected to the Romans, but bore an inveterate hatred to Caractacus, on account of his having taken part with her huſband Venutius, with whom ſhe had been long at variance. Happy, therefore, to have the object of her malice in her power, and to be able at once to oblige the Romans, and gratify her own revenge, ſhe baſely loaded Caractacus with chains, and in that ignominious manner delivered him into the hands of the conqueror.

The name of Caractacus had long been terrible to the Romans: he had for nine years bravely ſupported that formidable confederacy begun by Caſſivellaunus, and was deemed the moſt experienced of the Britiſh commanders. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that his defeat ſhould be conſidered at Rome in the moſt important light, and that the news of his captivity ſhould be received with the moſt uncommon acclamations. It was the univerſal wiſh of the people in that city to ſee a general who had rendered himſelf ſo conſpicuous as to check the flight of the imperial eagles, and whoſe military talents were at once dreaded and admired. Accordingly Caractacus and his whole family were ſent to Rome, in order to be expoſed as public ſpectacles to the populace.

On the day appointed for gratifying the general curioſity, the emperor and empreſs were prepared to receive the unhappy captives in great ſtate, each being ſeated on a magnificent throne, adorned with the moſt ſuperb military trophies. The grandees ſurrounded the monarch, the imperial guards were drawn up in order, and the whole inhabitants of the city crouded to be ſpectators of ſo unuſual a ſight. The proceſſion began

gan with the vaſſals and dependants of Caractacus, and an exhibition of the military ſpoils and trophies taken in the wars with the Britons. Next followed the brother of Caractacus, with his wife and daughters, whoſe tears ſufficiently demonſtrated that their ſpirits were equally depreſſed with their fortunes. But the behaviour of Caractacus was very different: he marched on with a ſteady countenance and noble deportment: his ſoul ſoared above his then condition, and he looked down with contempt on the malice of his enemies. On his approach to the imperial tribunal, he fixed his eyes on the emperor, and cooly addreſſed him in the following words:

"If my moderation had been adequate to my "birth and fortune, I had entered this capital not "as a captive, but a friend. Nor wouldſt thou, "O Cæſar, have diſdained to rank in the num"ber of thy friends a prince like me, deſcended "from illuſtrious progenitors, and veſted with "the ſupreme authority over many warlike nati"ons. Though my preſent condition reflects "diſhonour apon me, it adds luſtre to your glory. "I was maſter of men and arms, of horſes and "chariots of war, of riches and power. Can "you wonder that I fought to preſerve them, and "that I loſt them with regret? Though you are "ambitious of univerſal empire, yet it does not "follow that all men ought tamely to ſubmit to "your dominion. Had the hand of perfidy "ſooner betrayed me, I ſhould have been leſs diſ"tinguiſhed by misfortunes, and you by glory. "Had I fallen in battle, both my name and for"tune had been conſigned to oblivion. Puniſh "me with death, and I ſhall ſoon be forgotten; "permit me to live, and thy clemency ſhall be "immortalized."

This ſpirited ſpeech, added to the majeſtic air of the noble captive, greatly affected the whole audience; but none more than the emperor himſelf, who immediately ordered the chains to be taken off from Caractacus and all his family; and the empreſs, who was more than an equal aſſociate in the empire, received the captive Britons with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and compaſſion, and at the ſame time confirmed to them the enjoyment of their liberty.

The defeat of Caractacus procured Oſtorius a triumph; but it proved the termination of his ſucceſs. The Britons, fired with reſentment at the ignominious treatment of their leader, were rouſed to vengeance. They had acquired, by dear-bought experience, ſome knowledge of the Roman diſcipline, and carried on the war with more prudence and better ſucceſs than formerly; while the Romans, fluſhed with victory, grew indolent and careleſs. They fell upon the legionary cohorts left to complete the chain of forts on the Severn, and would have cut them to pieces, had not a reinforcement fortunately arrived from the neighbouring forts and villages; though this did not happen before the præfect, with eight centurions, and a great many ſoldiers, were ſlain. Nor did the revenge of the Britons ſtop here; they attacked a foraging party, and routed them, together with ſome ſquadrons ſent to their ſupport.

The Britons highly animated with theſe ſucceſſes, continued to purſue their advantages, when Oſtorius ſent out his cohorts to ſtop their progreſs; but they ſtill continuing to bear down all before them, he was at length obliged to bring up the whole force of his legions. Nor did even this ſuperiory daunt the Britiſh courage: they maintained the battle till night put an end to the conteſt, and then retired with very little loſs.

The Romans were no longer conſidered as invincible. The ſtandard of liberty was again diſplayed, and the Britons flattered themſelves with being able to retaliate the injuries they had received from the invaders of their country.

Theſe actions were followed by innumerable ſkirmiſhes, fought with various ſucceſs, in all of which the Silures particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves as enemies to the Romans. A raſh word had, it ſeems, dropped from the mouth of Oſtorius, which had raiſed in their minds the moſt implacable reſentment. He ſaid that the Britons would never be quiet till the Silures were either exterminated, or tranſported to another country. In conſequence of this the Silures attacked the ſtraggling parties of the Romans wherever they met them; in wood-lands or fens, as chance or choice, temerity or precaution, reſentment or avarice directed; ſometimes with, and ſometimes without the orders of their reſpective leaders. The Romans, indeed, had been guilty of ſome exceſſes, equally repugnant to the ſentiments of humanity, and the laws of a well regulated policy. This conduct gave the Britons advantages which they could not otherwiſe have obtained. Two cohorts of auxiliaries, ſent out by rapacious officers, not taking the neceſſary precaution that men in their circumſtances, not blinded by avarice, would have obſerved, were ſuddenly attacked by the Britons, and cut to pieces while they were ravaging the country. The ſpoils taken from theſe two cohorts were, by the victorious Britons, diſtributed among the inhabitants of the neighbouring ſtates; and this generous conduct produced the deſired effect, by paving the way for a general revolt.

A. D. 53. Oſtorius, fearing that the ſplendor of his triumph would be ſullied by theſe ſubſequent misfortunes, fell a martyr to the anxiety of his mind, and died through grief for not being able glorioufly to terminate a war ſo proſperouſly begun. This event gave new ſpirits to the Britons, and they determined to hazard a general battle with their enemies. Manlius Valens, a Roman tribune, took the command of the imperial troops till the arrival of Aulus Didius, who was appointed by the emperor to ſucceed Oſtorius. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Romans were defeated, and the Britons ſo flufhed with ſucceſs that they penetrated into the Roman provinces, included under the name of Britannia Prima, while the legionary troops were greatly diſpirited, and their auxiliaries thrown into the utmoſt conſternation.

On the arrival of Didius in Britain, he found the ſtate of affairs in a much worſe condition than he expected, and perceived abundant cauſe to reprehend the conduct of Manlius. The Britons had gained conſiderable advantages, and were in the high road for recovering their liberty, and extirpating the invaders of their country; but this glorious opportunity was loſt through their own inteſtine broils, and diſcord gave what their enemies could not have taken from them.

Cartiſmandua

Cartiſmandua, the perfidious queen of the Brigantes, and who had betrayed the brave Caractacus into the hands of the Romans, now proved baſe to her huſband Venutius, whom ſhe abandoned, and took Vellocatus, the general of her forces, as the partner of her bed and throne. As ſhe governed a ſtate independent of Venutius, ſhe was not inſenſible that this ſtep muſt involve her in a war with her huſband; but, prompted by luſt, and depending on the aſſiſtance of the Romans, ſhe ſacrificed her intereſt, and the peace of her country, to a depraved inclination, and her character to the gratification of a lawleſs paſſion. She was not indeed miſtaken in her expectations of being ſupported by the Romans; but her opinion of their power was fallacious. Thinking her allies invincible, ſhe ſet no bounds to her paſſion: ſhe openly married her minion, and even carried her reſentment ſo far againſt Venutius, as to cauſe his brother and kinſman to be put to death.

Exaſperated at theſe ſhocking injuries, Venutius repaired to the Silures, to whom he repreſented, in the moſt forcible manner, the deteſtable conduct of Cartiſmandua, and expatiated on the irreparable injury ſhe had done her countrymen, by baſely betraying their intrepid leader. Venutius did not plead in vain. Rouſed by the ignominious treatment of their beloved general, they expreſſed their reſentment with a fury nearly allied to madneſs, and bound themſelves, by the moſt ſolemn acts of their religion, either to take ample vengeance on the infamous betrayer of their country or periſh in the attempt.

As ſoon as Cartiſmandua was informed of the proceedings of Venutius, ſhe immediately flew to the Romans for ſuccour, by whom ſhe was received with great kindneſs and reſpect, and her requeſt readily granted. But the Roman power was now greatly weakened: diſcipline had given place to licentiouſneſs, and effeminacy had enervated the ſtrength of the conquerors of the world. The Britons, headed by Venutius, advanced with confidence and intrepidity, and the Romans marched out to meet them. A dreadful battle enſued, and the palm of victory was for ſome time doubtful; but at length the Britons gained the advantage, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the Romans could ſave Cartiſmandua from falling into the hands of her enraged huſband, while Venutius made himſelf maſter of the greater part of her territories.

This ſucceſs ſo raiſed the ſpirits of the Britons, that they made frequent attacks upon the Romans, and in general, obtained conſiderable advantage. The proprætor Didius, who was very old and infirm when he firſt arrived in Britain, could not lead his army in perſon againſt them: he entruſted the command to generals much inferior to him in merit, and the conſequences reflected a ſtain upon the honour of the Romans. Didius ſaw with grief this ſudden reverſe of fortune, and fell a victim to the complicated attacks of diſeaſe and vexation.

A. D. 58. About this time the emperor Claudius paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded in the imperial dignity by Nero, his adopted ſon. This prince had no ambition for military honours, and would probably have declined all farther attempts to ſubjugate Britain, could he have done it with ſafety to himſelf. But the Romans conſidered Britain as one of the faireſt jewels in the imperial diadem, and Nero thought it prudent to tread in the ſteps of Claudius whoſe memory he highly revered.

The proprætor Didius was ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Veranius, who boaſted much, but did nothing, as death overtook him before he could carry any of his projects into execution.

Veranius was ſucceeded by the celebrated Suetonius Paulinus, one of the greateſt generals of his time, and from whoſe military talents the Romans entertained the moſt flattering expectations. Indeed, a leader of courage and abilities had never been more wanting, as the Britons elated by their ſucceſs, and exaſperated at the injuries they had received, threatened the Romans with deſtruction.

Soon after Suetonius arrived in Britain, he formed the reſolution of reducing the iſland of Angleſea (called by the Romans Mona) the chief ſeat of the Britiſh Druids, and the common retreat for fugitives who were enemies to Rome. Hence it became not only populous, but formidable, on which account Suetonius thought it a place abſolutely neceſſary to ſubdue.

At this time Suetonius was encamped with the principal part of his army in North Wales; and as the Iſle of Angleſea was ſeparated from the land only by a narrow channel, he cauſed flat-bottomed boats to be conſtructed for carrying over his legions, but ordered his horſe to ford the ſtream. Suetonius perceived the inhabitants were drawn up at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, and therefore landed his troops with very little oppoſition. But the Britons ſoon advanced with the utmoſt fury to meet the Romans, who were ſtruck with a ſuperſtitious terror at a ſcene which now preſented itſelf to their view. In the rear of the Britiſh army were a multitude of women running about with their hair diſhevelled, and torches in their hands, making the moſt diſmal lamentations; while the Druids lifted up their hands to heaven, and made the air reſound with the moſt dreadful imprecations. This unuſual ſight, and the hideous yellings with which it was accompanied, ſtruck the Roman troops with ſurprize and horror; and during their conſternation, a flight of arrows from the enemy did great execution. At length, animated by their general, and abaſhed at being thrown into confuſion by women and prieſts, the Romans impetuouſly attacked the Britons ſword in hand, killed great numbers, put the reſt to flight and made themſelves maſters of the iſland. After the defeat, Suetonius found a great number of fires in the conſecrated groves, and being informed that they were intended for the ſacrifice of the Roman priſoners who ſhould be taken in the battle (for the Druids had aſſured the people of victory) he was ſo exaſperated at the deſigned cruelty of thoſe prieſts, that he ordered all the Druids that could be ſeized to be thrown into the fires they had prepared, that they might ſuffer the death they had intended for others. He then overturned their altars, demoliſhed their magical woods, deſtroyed their myſterious groves, and put an effectual ſtop to Druidiſm. The ſmall remnant of the Druids finding themſelves deprived of

their ceremonies and habitations, and moreover expoſed to continual dangers from the averſion of the Romans, retired to Ireland and the Hebrides, which are ſuppoſed to have been the original ſeats of their worſhip, and Suetonius began to build forts for the preſervation of the iſland he had conquered.

A. D. 61. But while Suetonius was thus employed in the remoter parts of the kingdom, he was called to the interior provinces by an event of the utmoſt importance, and which threatened the total deſtruction of the Roman power in Britain. The vices of Nero were riſen to the moſt ſhameful height, inſomuch that the ſtate of Britain was entirely changed. A new mode of government was introduced, and an imperial exchequer eſtabliſhed in the iſland. Catus Decianus, a man of the moſt deteſtable character, was ſent to reſide in Britain as procurator, or ſuperintendant of the finances. Claudius had wiſely remitted the confiſcation of the eſtates belonging to the Britons, who had rebelled againſt him; but Catus eſtabliſhed a court of reſumption, by which he pretended to adjudge thoſe eſtates to the imperial treaſury. The oppreſſed Britons in vain preſented remonſtrances againſt ſuch unlawful practices; the procurator, at once a monſter of avarice and injuſtice, inſtead of granting them redreſs, treated them with inſolence; their misfortunes were increaſed, and their miſeries made a ſubject of ridicule. Theſe acts of wanton tyranny raiſed a general ſpirit of reſentment among the Britons, and the whole nation was ripe for a revolt, when an incident happened which kindled the latent ſparks of vengeance into a dangerous flame of open rebellion.

The Iceni, whoſe country bordered on the colony of Camelodunum, had, ever ſince their laſt defeat, lived under the protection of the Romans, but were governed by a prince of their own, whoſe name was Praſatagus. The friendſhip in which he lived with the Romans gave him great opportunities of enriching his family, though he never uſed any means to increaſe his wealth by illegal meaſures. He had no ſon, and only two daughters, whom, at his death he left under the care of their mother Boadicea, a woman who poſſeſſed a ſpirit ſuperior either to birth or fortune. In order to ſecure a protection for his children, Praſatagus conſtituted Nero, the Roman emperor, coheir with his two daughters in all his wealth and poſſeſſions, imagining that gratitude would induce the Romans to become the friendly guardians of his family. But in this he was greatly deceived, for the generous legacy, inſtead of exciting gratitude, proved an incentive to rapacity. Catus Decianus, the inhuman procurator, ſeized upon the whole, and the dominions of Praſatagus became a prey to the licentiouſneſs of the Roman centurions.

Boadicea, the wife of Praſatagus, rouſed by the injuſtice done to herſelf and family, remonſtrated warmly againſt thoſe iniquitous proceedings, and loudly exclaimed againſt the injury done to her daughters by depriving them of their inheritance; but inſtead of meeting with any redreſs, ſhe was treated in a manner that reflects diſgrace upon humanity. Catus Decianus, the inhuman procurator, regardleſs of the dignity of her ſtation, the rules of decency, and the reſpect due to the female ſex, ordered her to be publickly ſcourged, and ſuffered the common ſoldiers to violate the chaſtity of her daughters.

Theſe ſhocking barbarities, together with the many cruel and flagrant acts of injuſtice practiſed by Catus Decianus, the procurator, ſtirred up a general ſpirit of reſentment in the breaſts of the Britons, and an inſurrection immediately took place throughout the iſland. The Iceni, as being the moſt deeply intereſted, were the firſt who declared themſelves openly; and their example was immediately followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. The next who joined the malcontents was Venutius, huſband to the perfidious Cartiſmandua. The partiſans of that baſe woman, forgetting their particular quarrels, and former amity with the Romans, united with their countrymen on this occaſion, and even all the ſubjected ſtates engaged in the confederacy; ſo that the Britiſh army conſiſted of a much greater number of fighting men, than had ever been brought into the field on any former emergency.

This powerful army was headed by Boadicea, who painted the injuries received by herſelf and her daughters in the moſt lively colours; the conſequence of which was, that the Britons, fired with a deſire of pouring deſtruction on the heads of their cruel oppreſſors, bound themſelves, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to revenge the injuries of their country, or periſh in the attempt.

The Britons began their operations by an attack upon the Roman colony at Camelodunum, which was taken by ſtorm, the garriſon put to the ſword, and the whole place plundered and burnt. They likewiſe deſtroyed the temple of Claudius, and, continuing their ravages, ſpread devaſtation over the whole country ſubject to the Romans. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, and was met by the Britons. A dreadful conflict enſued, in which all the foot of the legion were cut to pieces, and Cerealis would have been taken priſoner, had he not fled on horſeback to the camp of the Romans.

During theſe tranſactions Catus Decianus, the infamous procurator, conſcious that his own rapacity and injuſtice had given occaſion to the inſurrection, and his negligence ſuffered it to grow formidable, fled to Gaul, and by that means eluded at once the vengeance of the Britons, and the hatred of his own people.

As ſoon as Suetonius was informed of the general inſurrection of the Britons, and the ravages they had committed, he immediately left Angleſea, and marched his army with the utmoſt expedition to London, which was then famous both for its wealth and commerce. But finding this place not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the attack of the enemy with the ſmall body of forces he had brought thither, he retired to a conſiderable diſtance on the Surry ſide of the Thames, taking with him ſuch of the inhabitants as preferred the preſervation of their lives to that of their wealth.

Boadicea, being informed that the Roman general had reached London, marched thither with her army, but finding it abandoned by the enemy, ſhe wreaked her vengeance on the inhabitants, putting every Roman to the ſword, and then reduced the place to aſhes. She had before de-

ſtroyed



BOADICEA *Queen of the Iceni*, BURNING *the City of* LONDON, *after it's being abandoned by the Roman Army under the Command of Suetonius.*

ſtroyed the city of Verulam, and put all the inhabitants to death; and the whole number who fell ſacrifices to her reſentment are ſaid to have been not leſs than ſeventy thouſand.

The Roman general, having collected, by the aſſiſtance of the Belgic Britons, who ſtill retained their allegiance to the Romans, a freſh recruit of ten thouſand men, advanced with indefatigable expedition, in order to retaliate on the Britons their late ravages and maſſacres. Senſible of the enterprizing ſpirit of Boadicea, at the head of a formidable army, he prudently poſted his forces in ſuch order as might beſt enable them to ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the firſt attack, without breaking their ranks. With this view he placed his legionary troops in the center, the light army on each ſide, and the cavalry on the wings, having in his rear a large wood, and an extenſive plain in his front, ſo that he was freed from all apprehenſion of ambuſcade, as well as ſecure of a retreat, if overpowered by the enemy.

In this ſituation did Suetonius wait the approach of the Britons; nor was it long before they appeared to his view. Elated by their late ſucceſs, and hoping to extirminate at once the whole power of the Romans, they haſtened to the attack; and thinking themſelves ſure of victory, took their wives and children with them, that they might be ſpectators of the ſlaughter, and aſſiſt in the plunder.

At the head of the Britiſh army appeared Boadicea, drawn in a chariot, with her two daughters. She paſſed between the ranks of her army, and in order to encourage the timorous, and animate the brave, addreſſed them in a ſpeech to the following effect:

"I am not come hither, ſaid ſhe, from any "pre-eminence of royal birth, but from a ſenſe "of endangered liberty, which ought to be "cheriſhed in the breaſt of every individual, from "the higheſt to the loweſt. Indeed the ſtripes "I have received, and the violated honours of "my daughters, were there no other motive, "would be abundantly ſufficient, as a private "perſon, to animate me to revenge; but there "is a greater call than my own injuries; the call "of my country. The Roman luſt is unbounded; it knows no diſtinction; the old as well as "the young are raviſhed: but divine vengeance "never ſleeps on ſuch occaſions; it always treads "upon the heels of crimes like theſe. The only "legion that have dared to meet your arms in the "open field have been cut to pieces; while the "others meanly concealed themſelves from danger within the camp, or ſaved themſelves from "the avenging ſword of juſtice by a precipitate "flight. The very ſhouts of the Britons, without their weapons, are ſufficient to ſtrike the "Roman army with terror. Conſider the cauſes "of the war, and you will not heſitate a ſingle "moment in reſolving to conquer or periſh. "Though a woman, this is my fixed purpoſe: "you that are men may, by refuſing the alternative, live and be ſlaves."

This ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe by the Britiſh army, who teſtified their ſatisfaction by the loudeſt ſhouts and acclamations. Nor was the Roman general behind hand in endeavouring to animate his troops to face ſo formidable and reſolute an enemy. As the moſt powerful motive to excite their valour, he told them that though the enemy were ſuperior in number, they were headed by a weak, daring and ambitious woman, and ſet before them the glory that would reſult from quelling ſuch lawleſs inſurrections, as were attended with every circumſtance of the moſt horrid cruelty. By theſe repreſentations he raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of emulation in his little army, that, with an univerſal plaudit, they declared themſelves ready for an immediate attack.

The engagement was begun by the Britons with a furious diſcharge of darts, which were no ſooner ſpent than the Romans ſallied forth, and charged them in the open plain with the utmoſt impetuoſity. The Britons fought with great obſtinacy and perſeverance, though without order or diſtinction; but at length they were obliged to yield to the diſcipline and valour of their enemies, who routed them with great ſlaughter. Their loſs amounted to 80,000 killed in the battle and in the purſuit, beſides an infinite number of captives doomed to perpetual ſlavery. The Romans had not above 400 killed, and as many wounded; but it is to be conſidered, that the carnage of the Britons was more general by their having ſurrounded the field with a chain of carriages, which, after the defeat, impeded their flight, and ſo totally retarded their retreat, that many were ſacrificed to the reſentment of the Romans, who might have otherwiſe made their eſcape.

Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of this attempt, the Britons were ſo far from being diſheartened that they prepared themſelves for another attack; but they were diverted from this reſolution by the ſudden death of Boadicea, who, finding her hopes fruſtrated, and diſappointed of her revenge, put a period to her own exiſtence by poiſon. This calamity diſconcerted all their meaſures, and after having performed her funeral obſequies, the main body of the Britons immediately diſperſed, and retired with all haſte to their reſpective diſtricts.

The Roman general took every advantage of his ſucceſs, and uſed the moſt cruel means to prevent the Britons from re-aſſembling their forces. He deſtroyed the countries of thoſe who had appeared as enemies with fire and ſword, and drove away the cattle from the Britons wherever he went. Unfortunately for themſelves, they had no corn; for Boadicea had perſuaded them, that it was unneceſſary to ſave any, as the Roman granaries would ſoon be in their poſſeſſion. Thus improvidently confident of ſucceſs, they had neglected the duties of agriculture, and by their own remiſſneſs, the horrors of famine ſucceeded thoſe of war.

But notwithſtanding theſe complicated circumſtances of diſtreſs, great numbers of the Britons determined not to lay down their arms; but kept wandering about the country in ſmall parties, reſolved rather to periſh by famine than make the leaſt offer of ſubmiſſion to the Romans. Julius Claſſicanus, who ſucceeded Catus in the propraetorſhip, amazed at ſuch a hardy reſolution in a people ſo diſtreſſed, was led to impute it to the ſeverity of Suetonius Paulinus; and therefore wrote to Rome, informing the emperor that unleſs that officer was recalled, the war could not be brought to a termination.

On the receipt of this information, the emperor immediately diſpatched his freedman Polyclet tus

to Britain, in order to take cognizance of the affair, and to enquire into the truth of what Classicanus had asserted. The report of Polycletus was greatly in favour of Suetonius, notwithstanding which, as that general had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Britons, on account of his destroying the Druids, it was deemed politically prudent to recall him, and Petronius Turpilianus was appointed to succeed him as prætor of Britain.

CHAP. V.

Petronius Turpilianus treats the Britons with great moderation, and after governing them for three years, returns with honour to Rome. He is succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, under whom the legions mutiny, and oblige him to desert the island. The emperor Nero dies, and during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, his successors, the Britons continue undisturbed. Vitellius, being established on the imperial throne, appoints Vectius Bolanus prætor of Britain. He continues in the government during the reign of Vitellius, but on the accession of Vespasian he is recalled, and Petilius Cerealis appointed prætor in his stead. The Britons, under Venutius, make several attacks upon the Roman territories, but are defeated by Cerealis, who reduces the whole country of the Brigantes. Cerealis is succeeded by Julius Frontinus, who subdues the Silures. He is recalled, and Julius Agricola appointed prætor in his stead. He reduces the Ordovices, and completes the conquest of Anglesea, which had been begun by Suetonius. By his wise administration he procures the good will and affection of the Britons, who follow the manners and maxims of the Romans. He advances into Scotland, and fortifies the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde. Marches against the Caledonians, and defeats them. Has a second engagement with them, and obtains a complete victory. Reduces the Horesti and the inhabitants of the Orkney Islands, after which he sails round the whole coast of Britain. He is recalled, and put to death by the emperor Domitian.

A. D. 62. PETRONIUS Turpilianus, the successor of Suetonius, arrived in Britain at the beginning of the year sixty-two, and by the mildness of his administration accomplished what the military severities of his predecessor could not effect. Instead of harassing the Britons, and keeping alive their resentment by new injuries, he suffered them to enjoy unmolested repose. By this prudent conduct their rage abated, their losses were forgotten, and many of the revolted states returned to their obedience. Peace once more extended her olive branch over the desolated country, and plentiful harvests crowned the fields that had been laid waste by the sword of war.

After Turpilianus had resided three years in Britain he returned to Rome, where he was received with the most universal applause. Triumphant honours were decreed him by the senate; and the Romans were convinced, from experience, that moderation and lenity were more effectual in subduing the Britons, than persecution and tyranny.

A. D. 65. Turpilianus was succeeded in the government of Britain by Trebellius Maximus, who, pursuing the same plan of conduct with his predecessor, the Britons were gradually reconciled to the laws and customs of the Romans. But the tranquil state of Britain not furnishing the Roman legions with those advantages they had expected, they became mutinous, and being encouraged by Roscius Celius, a professed enemy to Trebellius, the prætor was obliged to quit the island, and fly for protection to Vitellius, who then commanded the Roman army in Germany.

A. D. 68. About this time the world was delivered of that monster of nature, Nero, who, tired of life, put an end to his own existence. During the short reigns of the two succeeding emperors, Galba and Otho, the Britons continued in a perfect state of tranquillity. There was not any governor during this period, the Roman troops in Britain being commanded by their several tribunes, among whom Roscius Celius assumed the chief authority.

A. D. 69. On the accession of Vitellius to the imperial throne, Vectius Bolanus was sent to take the command of the Roman troops in Britain. This governor, being naturally of a quiet and easy disposition, suffered the Britons to live in peace and tranquillity, and at the same time retained the good will of his soldiers. He continued to govern during the reign of Vitellius, but on the accession of Vespasian to the imperial dignity, he was recalled, and Petilius Cerealis appointed prætor in his stead.

Between the departure of Vectius Bolanus and the arrival of Petilius Cerealis, the injured Venutius, who was still at the head of the Brigantes, thinking this a favourable opportunity of revenging himself on the Romans for having espoused the party of his wife Cartismandua, persuaded them to revolt, and being joined by other nations, he made several attacks upon the Roman territories. In these attempts he might have proved successful, had it not been for the unexpected arrival of the new governor. Cerealis was at once an experienced and enterprizing general, and had particularly distinguished himself for his military abilities on the continent. No sooner, therefore, did he hear of the proceedings of Venutius, than he immediately marched against him, and, attacking the Britons, defeated them in several battles; nor would he rest till he had reduced the whole country of the Brigantes, which being the most potent of the British nation, rendered his name a terror to the rest.

A. D. 74. After Cerealis had continued governor of Britain about the space of four years he was recalled, and Julius Frontinus appointed

prætor

proprætor in his ſtead. This commander was perfectly ſkilled in the art of war, notwithſtanding which it might have been expected that he would have made a diſadvantageous figure, in coming after ſuch an illuſtrious general as Cerealis; but he ſupported the dignity of the empire with equal capacity, and acquired an equal portion of honour, in ſubduing the Silures, who inhabited the foreſt of Deane, and the counties of Hereford and Monmouth.

A. D. 78. Towards the latter end of Veſpaſian's reign Frontinus was recalled, and his place ſupplied by the celebrated Julius-Agricola, who had ſerved in Britain under Suetonius and Cerealis; and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, on various occaſions, for his great valour and military abilities.

Soon after the departure of Frontinus from Britain, the Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, revolted, and ſurprizing a body of Roman cavalry quartered upon their frontiers, cut them to pieces. In conſequence of this Agricola who had juſt arrived, immediately aſſembled his army, and marched with the utmoſt expedition to ſuppreſs an inſurrection that portended the moſt dangerous conſequences. As ſoon as the Ordovices were informed of his approach, they fled to their rocks and mountains for ſafety; but theſe were of no effectual uſe againſt a commander of ſuch conſummate abilities: he routed them from plains, drove them from precipices, and purſued them through places before deemed inacceſſible. Finding, therefore, that neither the obſtructions raiſed by art, or perſonal courage, could avail againſt the ſuperior ſkill of the Roman commander, the Ordovices ſubmitted themſelves to his clemency, and peace was once more reſtored in that part of the iſland.

A. D. 79. Having ſubjugated the country of the Ordovices, Agricola, early in the following ſpring, determined to compleat the conqueſt of Angleſea, which had been begun by Suetonius, but who was ſuddenly recalled before he could compleat his deſign. After carefully ſurveying the ſtreight which ſeparates Angleſea from the coaſt of Wales, he diſcovered a ford, and commanding his cavalry to ſwim acroſs, they immediately obeyed his orders, and landed on the oppoſite ſide without the leaſt oppoſition. Intimidated at the ſight of the Romans, the inhabitants flew for ſafety to their woods and mountains; but reflecting that it would be in vain to oppoſe ſo powerful a commander, they came out of their hiding places and ſued for peace, which was readily granted, and Agricola took immediate poſſeſſion of the iſland.

After this ſucceſsful expedition, Agricola returned to the northern provinces of the iſland, where he employed the winter in endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the Britons. Prudent by the errors of his predeceſſors, he made it his chief ſtudy to avoid the rocks on which they had ſeverally ſplit. He was moderate without relaxing in the diſtribution of juſtice, liberal without profuſion, and though affable to all, his dignity was never loſt to any. He was particularly careful to reform the diſcipline of his army, and to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of his troops, that no freſh cauſe of diſpute might ariſe from their inſolence and oppreſſion. He was ſevere, but not cruel. He puniſhed crimes with rigour, but often pardoned faults. The common ſoldiers became modeſt and agreeable, the officers generous and humane. He was an inveterate enemy to every ſpecies of corruption. No rigour was practiſed in collecting the tribute, no iniquitous impoſitions were ſuffered. He coveted not reſpect when it owed its origin to fear; but cheriſhed obedience when it flowed from the heart. The Britons were happy under his government; and rather revered him as a parent, than feared him as a tyrant. They cheriſhed a real attachment for his perſon, and imitated his conduct. From his prudent conduct he was equally reſpected both by Britons and Romans, and became the favourite object of all parties; ſo that on the demiſe of the emperor Veſpaſian, which happened about this period, his ſon Titus, who ſucceeded him, confirmed Agricola in the government of Britain.

A. D. 80. Early in the enſuing ſpring Agricola proceeded to ſubjugate the remaining unſubdued provinces, by the political mode of extending the ſword with one hand, and the olive branch with the other, at once menacing the refractory Britons with all the horrors of war, and courting them to partake of the bleſſings of peace. This prudent meaſure had the deſired effect; the alluring arguments he uſed to invite them to ſubmiſſion proved efficacious, and he ſoon prevailed on ſeveral capital cities to receive Roman garriſons; ſo that partly by perſuaſion, and partly by his military abilities, he ſucceeded wherever he went, and at length finiſhed the conqueſt of what is now called England.

The following winter Agricola employed himſelf in making farther improvements on the civil regulations of the Britons, and took every meaſure he could project not only to reconcile them to the laws and power of the Roman empire, but likewiſe to the Roman cuſtoms, manners and arts. To effect this, he erected courts of judicature and other public buildings, and by encouraging induſtry, and diſcountenancing ſloth, excited a generous rivalry in the exertion of every faculty that diſtinguiſhes rational and intelligent beings. He erected public academies for the inſtruction and education of the ſons of perſons of power and property in the liberal arts, by which means many of the Britiſh youth diſplayed an extraordinary genius for the ſciences, and thoſe who before deſpiſed the Roman tongue, and the ornamental branch of oratory, now ſtrove to excel in reading the beſt authors with propriety and elegance. In ſhort, by preferring the riſing genius of the Britons to the confirmed abilities of the Romans, he prompted the former to ſuch vigorous efforts in equalling the latter, that at length the Roman language, habit, cuſtoms and manners univerſally prevailed; ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid to the honour of this great commander, that he introduced into the iſland an entire reformation in policy and literature, which are the greateſt ornaments of every nation throughout the univerſe.

A. D. 81. The following ſpring, which was the third year of his adminiſtration, Agricola having ſettled every thing to his ſatisfaction in South Britain, reſolved to enter upon new diſcoveries, and to explore the northern parts of the

iſland. In conſequence of this determination he penetrated as far as the frith of the river Tay in Scotland, conquering all the countries as he went, and building forts to ſecure his conqueſts. Theſe forts were ſo advantageouſly ſituated, and ſo faithfully maintained, that not even one of them was ever taken, abandoned or betrayed. They were well ſupplied with proviſions, and garriſoned with brave and intrepid ſoldiers, who, by occaſional ſallies, kept the enemy in continual alarms.

A. D. 82. The fourth year of Agricola's government was principally ſpent in improving the conqueſts he had obtained the preceding ſummer. He led his army a conſiderable diſtance to the northward of the forts he had erected, and ſubdued ſeveral of the ſmaller tribes. Having done this he erected a chain of forts acroſs the iſthmus between the Clyde and the Forth, in order to prevent the incurſions of the Caledonians, a people then unſubdued, and governed by a prince of great courage and experience. By theſe forts all communication between the Britons and Caledonians was cut off, by which Agricola was enabled to purſue, with more attention, his favourite ſcheme of making the Britons fond of the arts and manners of the Romans.

A, D. 83. Agricola, being deſirous of extending his conqueſts, and exploring regions yet undiſcovered, ſet out for that purpoſe early in the enſuing ſpring. He penetrated beyond the frith, and embarking his army on board a fleet equipped for the purpoſe, ſailed along the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, took a view of divers iſlands diſperſed in the Atlantic and Caledonian ſeas, landed in ſeveral places, and, in different engagements, defeated the clans who took up arms in defence of their country. In this expedition he took a ſurvey of Ireland, projected a plan for invading it, and afterwards tranſmitted to Rome a computation of the number of forces that might effect its conqueſt; nay, he even proceeded ſo far as to quarter his troops in that part of Britain which is oppoſite to the Iriſh coaſt. But he was prevented from carrying his deſign into execution by the envy and jealouſy of Domitian, who had then, on the death of Titus, ſucceeded to the imperial dignity.

The proceedings of Agricola greatly alarmed the Caledonians, who immediately raiſed a very powerful army in order to oppoſe the invader of their country. The Roman general being informed of their intentions, ordered his fleet to ſail along the coaſt, while he himſelf marched forward, at the head of his army, in order to engage them.

The Caledonians were headed by Galgacus, a prince admired for his military abilities, and having ſerved under the Romans, was no ſtranger to their method of making war. His troops were greatly ſuperior in numbers to thoſe of Agricola, in conſequence of which, when the latter arrived, he divided his army into three ſeparate bodies, that he might not be ſurrounded by their numbers, or circumvented by their ſuperior knowledge of the country.

Galgacus, finding his deſign of ſurrounding the Roman army fruſtrated, immediately formed his forces into one body, and ſurprizing in the night the ninth legion, which lay at a diſtance from the army, attacked them with the utmoſt impetuoſity. Intelligence of this being made known to Agricola he immediately diſpatched a reinforcement of light armed troops to their aſſiſtance, the appearance of whom intimidated the enemy, and animated with freſh vigour the deſpairing legion, who were on the very point of being cut to pieces. The Caledonians would have willingly retired, but as they were ſoon ſurrounded by the Romans, they found themſelves obliged to maintain the battle, which was fought for ſome time with equal obſtinacy on both ſides. At length the palm of victory was wreſted from the Caledonians, great numbers were killed, and the reſt fled for ſhelter to the adjacent woods and mountains, whither the Romans did not think it prudent to purſue them.

Though the Caledonians were defeated, they were far from being diſpirited: they imputed their overthrow rather to unforeſeen accidents than to the valour of the Romans, and reſolved once more to try the event of another battle. For this purpoſe they ſent all their wives and children into their fortified towns, and aſſembled an army ſuperior to that which they had firſt brought into the field. But before they were ready to march againſt the enemy, the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and Galgacus put them into winter quarters to be ready againſt the enſuing campaign.

A. D. 84. Agricola was not to be intimidated by any meaſures that could be purſued by Galgacus. Early in the ſpring he renewed his military operations, by ſending his fleet before him, with orders to land occaſionally in different places, and ſpread the alarm along the coaſt of Scotland; while he himſelf marched at the head of his army to the Grampian hills, on which he found the Caledonians poſted, to the number of 30,000, commanded by their prince Galgacus.

As ſoon as the Caledonian leader was apprized of the approach of the Roman army, he prepared himſelf for battle; and in order to impreſs the minds of his troops with ſpirit and intrepidity, he addreſſed them as follows: "When I conſider the cauſe of this war, and the preſent criſis, I have reaſon to preſume that the future happineſs and freedom of the whole Iſland will date their births from this day; for we are the moſt valiant of the Britons, ſeated in the remoteſt regions beyond the ken of thoſe nations who are enſlaved by the enemy, ſo that our eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the contagion of foreign tyranny; and this ſecret receſs, unknown to fame, has hitherto preſerved us in all the bleſſings of liberty—Beyond us is no nation, nothing but waves and rocks, and on that ſide, nothing but the bondage and ſlavery which is to be expected from the Romans, a people inſatiable in their luſts, and unbounded in their ambition. Thoſe robbers of the world, and ravagers of the univerſe, now the exhauſted continent can no more furniſh their rapines, endeavour to riſle the wide ſeas and ocean. Where they meet with opulent enemies, their cruelty proceeds from avarice, when with the poor it riſes from ambition. The eaſt and weſt, extenſive as they are, cannot ſatiate their voracious minds. They, and they alone, with equal greedineſs, graſp at the riches and poverty of all nations; deva[illegible]tation, murders and extirpations paſs with them under the falſe names of empire and government; and they boaſt of eſtabliſhing peace

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in thoſe provinces they have rendered deſolate. Our goods are their tribute; our corn their proviſion, and our bodies their tools for all kinds of drudgery. Other ſlaves, whom nature and fortune have deſtined to ſervitude, are nouriſhed by their maſters; but the Britons alone purchaſe their own bondage, and maintain and ſupport their oppreſſors. Was the courage of our enemies in war equal to their debaucheries in peace, we might juſtly dread their arms, but their glory is all owing to our diſſentions. Our union will diſperſe their forces that are gathered out of many nations, ſo that one miſcarriage of theirs will diſſolve their whole power. In fine, there you ſee tribute and ſlavery; here, death or liberty. Therefore let us conſider the glory of our anceſtors, and the fate of our poſterity."

This ſpeech had the deſired effect: the Caledonians were animated to a degree of enthuſiaſm, and with one voice vowed to be revenged on their enemies, or periſh in the attempt. Nor did Agricola forget to animate his troops with all the energetic powers of Roman eloquence.

The Caledonian army was diſpoſed in the moſt proper manner for ſtriking the enemy with terror, by a pompous diſplay of their numbers. The firſt line of the infantry was drawn up at the foot of the Grampian mountain, and the reſt on the aſcent behind, while the cavalry, with the chariots of war in the front of their line, ſkirted the plain beneath. The Romans were drawn up in two lines, one behind the other: the firſt conſiſted of eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe; and the ſecond was made up of the Roman legions.

As ſoon as the ſignal was given for engaging, both armies began the conteſt with amazing intrepidity. The battle was fierce and obſtinate, and for ſome time, greatly in favour of the Caledonians. The Roman general perceiving the danger, quitted his horſe, and, at the head of his legions, cloſed upon the enemy, and engaged them ſword in hand. This attack determined the iſſue of the conteſt. The javelins of the Caledonians, on which they chiefly depended, and which they darted with the greateſt dexterity, were rendered uſeleſs, and their ſwords were too unweildy to be uſed with advantage. Unable, to ſtand the ſhock of the legionary forces, they gave way; and the Romans, after penetrating the firſt line, ſoon put the whole army into diſorder. The Caledonian horſe broke in upon the foot; and though the charioteers drew up among the latter, they were unable to make head againſt the enemy, the ranks being too thick, and the ground too uneven, for them to do much execution. Galgacus uſed his utmoſt efforts to rally his forces, and lead them once more againſt the enemy; but finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his wiſhes, and the day being nearly cloſed, he retired, with the ſcattered remains of his army, into the woods and mountains, whither Agricola did not think proper to follow him. This was a fatal battle to the Caledonians, no leſs than ten thouſand being ſlain on the field, while the loſs of the Romans did not exceed three hundread and fifty. The diſtreſs of the unhappy fugitives is not to be deſcribed. Driven to deſpair, many of the chieftains maſſacred their own children, that they might not be expoſed to the miſeries of want, or violated and enſlaved by the inſulting Romans. The multitude in the firſt tranſport of their phrenzy ſet fire to their habitations, and then concealed themſelves in ſolitary cliffs and caves, and in thoſe unſocial receſſes bewailed their accumulated misfortunes.

The ſeaſon being far advanced the victorious Agricola marched back with his army to the ſhire of Angus, inhabited by a people called the Horeſti, who immediately ſubmitted to his government, and delivered hoſtages for their good behaviour. From hence he embarked his forces on board the fleet, and ſailing to the northward, landed on the Orkney Iſlands, the inhabitants of which quietly ſubmitted. He then ordered the commander of his fleet to ſail round the whole coaſt of Britain, which was accordingly effected, and at length arriving at the port of Sandwich, he there diſembarked his troops, and led them into winter quarters.

The great atchievements of Agricola, inſtead of procuring him reſpect and eſteem from his royal maſter, not only brought him into diſgrace, but even proved fatal to him. The infamous Domitian, who then filled the imperial throne, grew jealous of the reputation of his general, and ordered him to be recalled. This he did under pretence of promoting him to the government of Syria, but, in reality, that a final period might be put to his victories. In obedience to Domitian's orders, Agricola returned to Rome, where triumphal honours, and a ſtatue crowned with laurel, were decreed him by the ſenate. But he ſoon fell a victim to the ſuſpicious fears of the cowardly Domitian, who, (according to all hiſtorians) found means to take him off by poiſon.—Thus fell the renowned and accompliſhed Julius Agricola, the celebrated governor of Britain. He introduced the Roman arts, their language, and their luxuries into this iſland; and ſpread deſolation and ſlaughter through an extenſive country, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed to part with their liberties, and tamely ſubmit to the Roman yoke of ſlavery. He waded through a ſea of blood to crop the laurels of victory, and fell a ſacrifice to that ambition which led him on to conqueſt. As a general, a governor, and a civil magiſtrate, he deſerves the higheſt honours. His talents were great, his judgment ſound, and his memory retentive: he was fruitful in reſources, and intrepid in danger; a friend to merit, and an implacable enemy to extortion. But he ſtained his laurels with the blood of a people who never injured him, and againſt whom he had no other complaint than their being tenacious of their liberties, and true friends to their country.

CHAP. VI.

The Caledonians demoliſh the forts raiſed by Agricola on the iſthmus between the friths of Clyde and Forth. Julius Severus is ſent to repel them, but before he can make the attempt is recalled to quell a rebellion in Syria. The emperor Adrian arrives in Britain, and builds a wall from Solway Frith to the river Tyne. Lollius Urbicus takes the command in Britain, and erects a ſtrong wall between the Friths of Dunbriton and Edinburgh. The Caledonians renew their incurſions, but are repulſed by Ulpius Marcellus. A mutiny takes place among the Roman ſoldiers, which is quelled by Helvius Pertinax, who is ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Claudius Albinus. The Roman empire is greatly diſtracted on account of different competitors for the imperial dignity. Septimus Severus at length obtains it, and ſends Virius Lupus as propraetor to Britain. Lupus makes a peace with the Caledonians, who afterwards revolt, and invade the Roman territories. Severus arrives in Britain with a powerful army in order to chaſtiſe them. They ſend ambaſſadors to him to ſue for peace, which he rufuſes to grant. He marches into their country, but meets with great difficulties, and loſes many of his troops. He, however, penetrates into the moſt northern extremity of the iſland, and then makes a peace with the Caledonians. Strengthens Adrian's wall and erects ſeveral forts, after which he retires to York, and leaves the command of the army to his ſon Caracalla. The Caledonians revolt, upon which Severus reſolves to take a ſevere revenge, but his deſigns are fruſtrated by the intervention of his death. His two ſons Caracalla and Geta make peace with the Scots, and then repair with their father's remains to Rome, where Caracalla cauſes his brother to be aſſaſſinated. Diocleſian and Maximian become joint emperors of Rome. The Franks and Saxons infeſt the coaſts of Britain and Gaul, upon which Carauſius a perſon of mean extraction, but famed for his naval experience, is ſent to repel them. He proves ſucceſsful, obtains great riches, and forms an alliance with the Britons. The emperor Maximian, jealous of his power, ſends a perſon from Rome to diſpatch him, but the deſign miſcarries, and Carauſius lays claim to the imperial throne. He makes himſelf maſter of Boulogne, and then ſails to Britain, where he is proclaimed emperor by the Roman army. Marches againſt the Caledonians, whom he defeats in ſeveral engagements, and then makes peace with them. Is baſely aſſaſſinated by Alectus, one of his principal officers, who had always profeſſed himſelf his moſt intimate friend.

AFTER the departure of Agricola from Britain, nothing material occurred till the firſt year of the reign of the emperor Adrian, when the Caledonians, having gathered together their forces which had been diſperſed on the mountains, attacked the Romans with ſome ſucceſs, demoliſhed ſeveral of the forts which Agricola had built on the iſthmus between the Forth and Clyde, and then returned to their mountains laden with booty.

Intelligence of this irruption being made known to the emperor, he immediately diſpatched Julius Severus, a commander of great reputation, to Britain, in order to check the Caledonians, and drive them back into their own country. He accordingly arrived, and made the neceſſary preparations for obeying the imperial mandate; but before he could lead his forces againſt the enemy, he was recalled. A rebellion had broke out in Syria, and Severus, on account of his great military abilities, was thought the only general capable of reducing the inſurgents, and reſtoring peace to that fertile province.

The departure of Severus gave great encouragement to the Caledonians, who, taking advantage of his abſence, continued to make farther inroads into the Roman territories with ſucceſs. Lucius Antoninus, the commander of the Roman forces in Britain, marched againſt the inſurgents, and a ſmart battle enſued; but the Caledonians proved victorious, and Lucius narrowly eſcaped with his life.

A. D. 117. As ſoon as the emperor was informed of this defeat, he thought it high time to ſend an able general to head the Roman army, and accordingly diſpatched Priſcus Luſcinius into Britain for that purpoſe. But not being ſatisfied with this, he ſoon after followed himſelf, thinking his own preſence might ſtrike a greater terror into the enemy.

Adrian, having landed ſafely in Britain, proceeded as far as York, determined to chaſtiſe the Caledonians for their late inſults. But ſome old officers, who had ſerved under Agricola, gave him ſo dreadful an account of Scotland, and painted the difficulties that would attend the march of an army through bogs and foreſts in ſuch ſtriking colours, that the emperor thought proper to lay aſide his intended expedition.

When the Caledonians firſt heard of the arrival of Adrian in Britain, they immediately retired to their faſtneſſes in the mountainous parts of their country, thinking it imprudent to face the Roman army headed by the emperor himſelf. As Adrian, therefore, found it would be imprudent to attempt purſuing them, he reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent them from making any future incurſions into the Roman provinces. He accordingly continued his march from York to the forts which had been erected by Agricola on the iſthmus between the Clyde and Forth. Thinking theſe fortifications too remote from the main body of the Roman forces, he ordered them to be abandoned, and inſtead thereof erected a wall, or rather rampart of earth above eighty miles in length, extending from Solway Frith to the north of the river

river Tyne. In different parts of this rampart, at proper diſtances, he placed garriſons, and took every other neceſſary precaution for preventing any future inroads of the enemy.

After thus providing for the ſecurity of the Roman provinces, and the ſafety of his people, Adrian next applied himſelf to the removal of ſeveral abuſes that had crept into the government after the departure of Agricola, having done which he left Britain, and returned to Rome, where he was highly honoured by the ſenate, who conferred on him the title of *Reſtorer of Britain*.

A. D. 134. In conſequence of the precautions taken by Adrian for the ſecurity of the Roman provinces in Britain, together with the terror which his name ſtruck on the northern inſurgents of the iſland, they deſiſted from all farther hoſtilities during his reign; but no ſooner were they informed of his death, than, without knowing the abilities of his ſucceſſor, they demoliſhed his rampart in ſeveral parts, and renewed their ravages in the Roman provinces. Intelligence of this being ſent to Rome, the new emperor Antoninus Pius immediately diſpatched Lollius Urbicus to Britain, in order to chaſtiſe the Caledonians, and put a ſtop to their farther depredations. Urbicus ſoon drove them back into their own country, and, to prevent their making any future incurſions, he erected a ſtrong wall beyond that built by Adrian, extending from the frith of Dunbriton to that of Edinburgh. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed a ſtrong camp near it, in which he kept a body of forces to defend the wall, and defeat the attempts of the Caledonians. This wiſe conduct of Urbicus procured Antoninus the title of Britannicus, though he had never even ſeen the iſland.

A. D. 162. During the remaining part of the reign of Antoninus Pius no farther commotions took place among the Caledonians, and the ſouthern inhabitants continued to enjoy the bleſſings of peace. But on the death of Antoninus, the Caledonians, thinking it a favourable opportunity, began to prepare themſelves for making farther ravages, and for that purpoſe had gathered together a very conſiderable army. Theſe proceedings being made known to Marcus Aurelius, who ſucceeded to the imperial throne, he immediately ſent over Calpurnius Agricola as proprætor, in order to reſtore the tranquillity of Britain. This governor's endeavours were attended with the deſired ſucceſs; and he left the inhabitants of the iſland perfectly reconciled to the Roman government.

From this period nothing worthy of notice occurred in Britain till the death of Aurelius, when the face of affairs were greatly altered, and a general commotion took place in the northern parts of the iſland.

A. D. 180. Aurelius was ſucceeded on the imperial throne by his ſon Commodus, a youth who was famous only for his vices. His indolence and timidity rendered him contemptible, and his criminal exceſſes made him an object of deteſtation. He employed only perſons like himſelf in his government, or ſuch as purchaſed their places with their wealth. Hence the chief poſts were occupied either by thoſe who were inſtrumental to his pleaſures, or had purchaſed them at an enormous expence, and therefore fleeced thoſe who were under them to reimburſe themſelves. Hence murmurs and diſcontents aroſe among the people, and mutiny and diſorder among the ſoldiers.

The Caledonians, being informed of the ſtate of affairs at Rome, thought this a very proper opportunity for once more attacking the territories of the enemy. They accordingly made a breach in the wall which had been built by Lollius Urbicus (though generally called that of Antoninus) and falling on the Roman garriſon in one of the principal forts, cut them entirely to pieces. The troops in the contiguous ſtations were ſo alarmed at this that they immediately abandoned them, and the invaders, being ſuffered to purſue their inroads without reſiſtance, filled the whole country with terror and devaſtation.

A. D. 183. As ſoon as Commodus was informed of the ravages and ſucceſs of the Caledonians, he immediately diſpatched Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great reputation, to take the command in Britain, and chaſtiſe the inſolence of the northern invaders. On his arrival he found the Roman diſcipline ſunk into a ſtate of ſloth and licentiouſneſs: the hardy veterans were become effeminate, and much fonder of the couch of indolence, than the honours which reſult from a vigorous campaign. Ulpius ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring the antient diſcipline before he led his forces againſt the enemy; and accordingly applying himſelf to the taſk with great aſſiduity, his endeavours were ſoon crowned with ſucceſs. This difficulty being removed, Ulpius led his forces againſt the Caledonians, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements with prodigious ſlaughter, and at length drove them back into their own country, where, from his prudent management, they were obliged to continue quiet during the remainder of the reign of Commodus.

But the glory of this expedition had nearly coſt Marcellus his life: the emperor became at once jealous and envious of his popularity. Poſſeſſing no virtues himſelf, he could not bear them in others, as they ſeemed tacit reflections on his own vices. His envy, therefore, prompted him to form the reſolution of putting Marcellus to death, but being perſuaded that ſuch a ſtep would prove prejudicial to himſelf, he at length conſented only to deprive him of his government.

A. D. 186. Some time after the recall of Marcellus from Britain, a mutiny broke out among the Roman troops, who openly renounced their allegiance to Commodus. To quell this dangerous commotion the emperor imprudently ſent his favourite Perennis to Britain, who, inſtead of appeaſing, purſued the very method moſt likely to increaſe the general diſcontent. He removed the veteran officers, placed his own creatures in their ſtead, and treated the whole army with the moſt unexampled ſeverity. Theſe proceedings diverted the reſentment of the troops from the emperor to himſelf, and induced them unanimouſly to accuſe him of high treaſon. Commodus believed, or pretended to believe, the allegation, and, happy to find the ſtorm turned another way, delivered his favourite up to the diſcretion of the enraged ſoldiery, who immediately ſacrificed him to their revenge by putting him to an ignominious death.

A. D. 187. But the fall of this miniſter was not ſufficient to appeaſe the diſcontent of the army in Britain: the grievances they complained of ſtill remained, and they even conſulted about chuſing a new emperor. In order to quell theſe diſturbances, and bring the ſoldiers back to their duty, Helvius Pertinax was ſent into Britain. He was a man poſſeſſed of very great talents, but the buſineſs he had to do was of a very difficult nature, and he found the attempt almoſt impracticable. On his firſt arrival the Roman troops, tired of being governed by ſuch a wretch as Commodus, offered him the ſovereignty; but he rejected their offer with diſdain, and proceeding with too great ſeverity againſt the mutineers, they were ſo highly exaſperated, that one of the legions openly revolted, a tumult enſued, and many were killed. But notwithſtanding this, Pertinax afterwards ſurmounted every difficulty, brought the army to ſubmiſſion, and reſtored tranquillity to the province. His ſeverity towards the mutineers, however, raiſed ſuch an unconquerable hatred among the ſoldiery, that he was ſome time after recalled at his own requeſt, and Claudius Albinus, a general of great courage and military abilities, appointed propraetor in his ſtead.

A. D. 193. After the appointment of Claudius Albinus to the government of Britain, the Roman empire was, for ſome time, in a diſtracted ſtate from internal commotions. On the death of Commodus (who was poiſoned by his concubine Martia) different pretenders to the imperial throne ſtarted up, and every part of the empire became a dreadful ſcene of blood and ſlaughter. Violence and oppreſſion uſurped the ſeat of juſtice, and anarchy erected her throne in the then capital of the world. The affairs of Britain were diſregarded in this general confuſion, and the Roman forces in the iſland became debilitated by luxury. The hardy veterans ſlumbered on the couch of indolence, and the deſire of acquiring glory loſt its force.

A. D. 197. Among the different competitors for the imperial dignity was Septimus Severus, who was at length choſen emperor by the general voice of the people at Rome. But notwithſtanding this he was fearful of the power of Claudius Albinus, propraetor of Britain, who, by his wiſe adminiſtration, was univerſally beloved by the whole inhabitants of the iſland. In order therefore, to remove ſo great an obſtacle, Severus ſent Heraclitus to ſucceed him in the government; but Albinus knowing himſelf to be ſecure in the affections of the army, abſolutely refuſed to reſign his command. In conſequence of this Severus determined to take him off by poiſon, and accordingly diſpatched aſſaſſins into Britain to put the horrid deed into execution. But Albinus being apprized of the ſcheme, cauſed the aſſaſſins to be ſeized, and, by torture, drew from them an ample confeſſion of the whole affair.

Albinus was now declared emperor by the Roman army in Britain, in conſequence of which he aſſumed the title of Caeſar, and immediately declared war againſt Severus, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to puniſh him for his treachery. Having embarked his forces he paſſed over to the continent of Gaul, and advanced as far as Lyons, where he was met by Severus at the head of a Roman army, whoſe minds he had, by falſe relations, highly exaſperated againſt Albinus. The battle was begun with great fury, and continued a long time with doubtful ſucceſs; the Britiſh troops charged with ſuch impetuoſity that Severus had like to have been worſted, but his general Laetus, coming up with a freſh body of men, changed the fortune of the day, and Albinus, ſeeing his legions routed, and the battle irretrievably loſt, fell upon his own ſword, and periſhed.

By this deciſive battle Severus became ſole maſter of the Roman empire, in conſequence of which he immediately diſpatched Virius Lupus into Britain with the title of propraetor, in order to oppoſe any attempts that might be made by the Caledonians on the Roman territories, which were then in a weak condition, on account of the number of troops carried to the continent by Albinus. To ſtrengthen his power, and to make himſelf more ſecure on the imperial throne, Severus, while he remained at Gaul, divided the Roman territories in Britain into two parts or provinces, namely, the northern and the ſouthern, the former of which he conferred on Lupus, and the latter on Heraclitus.

Lupus, on his arrival in Britain, found the Caledonians a very powerful people; they had been joined by the Meatae, who inhabited the diſtrict between the walls of Antoninus and Adrian, and had made ſeveral incurſions into the Roman provinces. Lupus, not thinking his forces ſufficiently numerous to engage this confederate army, reſolved not to hazard a battle; and in order to procure a peace with the Caledonians he made them a preſent of a ſum of money, under pretence of redeeming ſome Roman captives then in their cuſtody.

The articles of the treaty being ſigned, all commotions ſubſided for ſeveral years, till at length the North Britons, tired of a ſtate of inactivity, or availing themſelves of the ſupineneſs and luxury which ſuch a ſtate had brought upon the Roman army, again invaded their territories, thereby breaking the treaty they had made with Lupus. Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the two propraetors joined their forces, and marching againſt them, made ſeveral unſucceſsful efforts to drive them back to their own country; in conſequence of which they immediately wrote to the emperor, informing him of the abſolute neceſſity there was either of his perſonal preſence, or a very formidable reinforcement, to quell the inſurgents, and ſecure the tranquillity of the province.

A. D. 207. Though Severus was far advanced in life, and at the ſame time greatly afflicted with the gout, yet he reſolved to go to Britain in perſon, conſidering that iſland as one of the moſt important provinces belonging to the Roman empire. He accordingly raiſed a very powerful army, and proceeded to Gaul, from whence he embarked for Britain, taking with him his two ſons Caracalla and Geta.

The arrival of Severus, who had long been diſtinguiſhed for his military talents, and the powerful army he brought over with him, greatly alarmed the Caledonians. They were fearful of the conſequences of his reſentment, and determined, if poſſible, to divert the ſtorm which was gathering

gathering round them. They therefore ſent ambaſſadors to him to ſue for peace; but Severus, being determined to humble them by conqueſt, detained the ambaſſadors on various pretences till he had made the neceſſary preparations for his expedition, and then diſmiſſed them with an equivocal anſwer. An the ſame time, that he might not meet with any obſtruction from the ſouthern inhabitants of the iſland, he left his ſon Geta with a body of forces in thoſe parts, but took with him his eldeſt ſon Caracalla, that he might ſhare in the dangers and fatigues of the campaign.

A. D. 203. The enterprizing Severus, though aged and diſeaſed, now marched at the head of his army into the country of the enemy. His troops, indeed, were too numerous for him to fear any oppoſition from the Caledonians; but he met with difficulties he did not expect. The country abounded with mountains, woods and marſhes, ſo that his forces underwent the moſt exceſſive fatigue without even ſeeing the face of the enemy. In their march they were obliged to cut down woods, level hills, make cauſeways acroſs the plains, and lay bridges over rivers, in which laborious work they met with great danger as well as fatigue, inſomuch that they are ſaid to have loſt 15,000 men in the arduous undertaking.

But notwithſtanding theſe almoſt inſuperable barriers, the intrepid Severus determined to march through all Caledonia, or North Britain, and having advanced almoſt to the extremity of the iſland, the inhabitants, terrified at his conſummate valour and matchleſs perſeverance in toil, made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained a peace on condition of laying down their arms.

Severus, however, well knowing that the Caledonians would obſerve the conditions of the treaty no longer than they were compelled to it by force, ſet about forming a ſtronger barrier between them and the Roman province. Accordingly he ordered Adrian's wall to be faced with ſtone, forts to be erected at proper diſtances, and the whole to be finiſhed in the moſt firm and ſubſtantial manner. Having taken theſe precautions, he retired to York, leaving the command of the army to his ſon Caracalla. On his arrival at that city he aſſumed the title of Britannicus Maximus, and had a medal ſtruck on the occaſion with this inſcription: FUNDATOR PACIS, that is, *The Founder of Peace.*

A. D. 209. Caracalla, with whom Severus had left the command of the army, was a prince of the moſt profligate diſpoſition, and had been more than once engaged in conſpiracies againſt his father's life. While his father was at York, he made the moſt arbitrary uſe of his authority, and exaſperated the ferocious North Britons to break the peace they had ſo lately concluded: He ſuffered his ſoldiers to make incurſions beyond the wall, and to treat the inhabitants with the greateſt inſolence and cruelty. Incenſed at theſe repeated acts of tyranny, and deſirous of recovering their former independence, the Caledonians had again recourſe to arms, and ſeverely retaliated on every Roman ſoldier, who ventured beyond the wall, the miſeries their countrymen had ſuffered from the cruel Caracalla.

As ſoon as Severus heard of this revolt (not knowing the cauſe from whence it originated) he was incenſed to ſuch a pitch of indignation againſt the North Britons, that, infirm and diſeaſed as he was, he immediately left York, with a full reſolution of ſeverely wreaking his vengeance on the revolters. On his arrival at the camp he harangued the ſoldiers on the inconſtancy and perfidy of the Caledonians, whom, in a verſe of Homer, he exhorted them to extirpate, without paying any diſtinction either to age or ſex.

Severus, having, by this harangue, inflamed the minds of his ſoldiers againſt the Caledonians, inveſted Caracalla with the command of the expedition, and, being exceeding weak with his infirmities, immediately returned to York. He did not, however, live to ſee his cruel orders carried into execution: his diſtemper daily increaſed, and he ſoon after fell a victim to its power in the 67th year of his age, after having preſided in Britain for the ſpace of three years.

As ſoon as Caracalla heard of his father's death, inſtead of proſecuting the war againſt the Caledonians, in obedience to the orders of Severus, he immediately renewed the peace with them and their confederates; and having received hoſtages for the performance of articles, he retired, with his forces, into the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

Severus had bequeathed the empire jointly to his two ſons, and the ſoldiers paid an entire ſubmiſſion to his will, by readily taking the oath of fidelity to both. But the manners of the Britons were not ſufficiently poliſhed to render their country a pleaſing retreat to perſons long acquainted with the luxuries of Rome, and Caracalla, with his brother, jointly reſolved to leave the iſland. Accordingly, taking with them their father's aſhes, they repaired to the capital of the empire, and depoſited the remains of Severus in the tomb of Adrian.

A. D. 211. Caracalla's great ambition was to reign alone, and he had concerted many ſchemes for obtaining his wiſhes long before he left the iſland. On his arrival at Rome he determined, at all events, to be ſole monarch of the empire, but as the ſenate knew it was conjunctively left between him and his brother, he was ſenſible he could not obtain the throne by any legal meaſures. He therefore, actuated by the moſt furious ambition, reſolved to gratify his deſires at the expence of his brother's life, and accordingly, having hired perſons for the purpoſe, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated.

From the departure of Caracalla to the reign of Dioclefian, we can trace but few, and thoſe very imperfect accounts, of the ſtate of this iſland. The few facts that are collected derive their authenticity from coins and inſcriptions that have been found in different parts of England. From theſe it appears that in the reign of Gordian III. Mæcilius Fuſcus commanded in Britain, when he repaired the barracks and arſenals which had fallen to decay: that two years after this event, Cneius Lucilianus the proprætor built a bath, with an exchange or portico; and that Nonius Philippus was governor of the iſland in the year that preceded the death of the emperor Gordian.

A. D. 242. During the reign of Gallienus, who ſucceeded Gordian, we learn, that there was a general revolt of the Roman troops, and that no leſs than thirty tyrants ſprang up from the corruption of his government. Six of theſe, namely

namely, Lollianus, Victorianus, Posthumus, the elder and younger Tetricus; with Morius, seem to have declared for themselves in this island; at least the number of their coins found in the neighbourhood of Colchester greatly encourage this conjecture; and Porphyry the philosopher, who lived in those times, calls Britain a soil fruitful in tyrants.

A. D. 284. At the time Diocletian acceded to the imperial dignity the Roman empire was in the utmost state of confusion, in consequence of which he admitted Maximian, his adopted son, as a partner on the throne. Diocletian himself had acquired the highest reputation as a soldier, and had acquitted himself with great political sagacity in the civil parts of goverment. Indeed, he might singly have supported the weight of government with honour to himself, and advantage to his country; but from the then confused state of the empire, he manifested the greatest prudence in procuring the assistance of Maximian, who, though not possessed of equal accomplishments with himself, had both courage and activity, which were then of greater use to the public than virtues more delicately illustrious.

A. D. 286. The anarchy and confusion which now prevailed is not to be described. The continent was filled with rebels, and the seas covered with pirates. The coasts of Britain and Gaul were infested with the fleets of the Franks and Saxons, who landed in various parts, and committed the most horrid depredations. These disorders called for an immediate remedy; and one Carausius, a person of mean extraction, but famous for his courage and experience at sea, was appointed to the command of the Roman fleet, in order to put a stop to the ravages of the pirates. His station was near Boulogne, a port well situated for making him acquainted with the coasts, harbours and the inhabitants of Britain. He punctually executed his commission with respect to putting a stop to the depredations of the Franks and Saxons, but he converted the consequences of his success to his own advantage. He took a great number of prizes from the invaders, but neither made restitution to those who had been plundered, nor remitted any part of the booty to the imperial treasury; nay, it was observed, that he never attacked the pirates till after they had plundered the coasts, and then intercepted them when they were laden with the spoils of the country.

As riches and power generally extend the operations of an enterprizing man, so was it with Carausius. He found himself the indisputable sovereign of the sea, and determined, if possible, to wrest the imperial sceptre from the hands of the conjunctive emperors. He therefore redoubled his attention to increase his navy, enlarged his riches from the spoils of the pirates, and, the better to further his design, formed a strict alliance with the Britons.

The emperors Diocletian and Maximian, alarmed at the power, and exasperated at the conduct of Carausius, dispatched a person from Rome with a commission to assassinate him. But the attempt miscarried, the assassin was discovered, and Carausius, in consequence thereof, determined to publish his claim to the imperial sceptre. This resolution was highly approved of by the officers of his fleet, who unanimously declared that they would support him to the last extremity.

Encouraged by these assurances, Carausius made his first attempt on Boulogne, which he took by assault, and fortified the place as an occasional retreat. But his chief hope and confidence were placed on Britain. The situation, as an island, rendered it impregnable to all but a maritime force, and his navy was superior to any fleet the Romans could bring against him. Accordingly, he had no sooner finished the fortifications of Boulogne than he immediately sailed with his whole fleet to the British coast, where he had no sooner landed than he was proclaimed emperor, not only by the whole navy, but likewise the Britons, and all the Roman troops then quartered in the island.

In consequence of this favourable reception Carausius became possessed of the whole Roman province as far as the wall of Antoninus, which he immediately ordered to be repaired and enlarged. His next consideration was to strengthen his navy, to effect which he entered into a treaty of alliance with the Franks and Saxons, whereby it was agreed, that in case he should be attacked by the Romans, they should immediately send a powerful fleet to his assistance. He likewise enlisted a great number of their troops, whom he sent to garrison Boulogne, which he furnished with every kind of article necessary to endure a siege.

A. D. 287. While Carausius was thus employed, the Scots and Picts, imagining that the Britons were unable to defend their country without the assistance of the Romans, began to make incursions into the English territories. Intimation of this being given to Carausius, he immediately marched against the invaders, defeated them in several engagements, and drove them back into their country with considerable loss. Having thus signalized his courage, and convinced the Caledonians that he was at once a powerful and vigilant enemy, he made peace with them on very advantageous terms, hoping thereby to unite the whole power of the island, and render abortive any attempt that might be made against him by the imperial armies of Rome.

The prudent measures taken by Carausius rendered him exceeding formidable, and he became at once the object of hatred and resentment in the eyes of the two emperors. They would, indeed, have willingly eclipsed his power, but the affairs of the empire were so very tottering and precarious, that neither Diocletian nor Maximian were able to destroy the acquisitions he had made, or prevent him from taking such steps as might contribute to the strength he had already acquired. Some faint preparations of resistance, were, indeed, made by Maximian, and Carausius was proclaimed a pirate and a traitor to his country; but necessity soon compelled them to lay aside all hostile intentions, and to sign a treaty of peace, by which the two emperors consented that Carausius should enjoy one third of the imperial dignity.

This concession not only rendered Carausius nominal emperor at Rome, but real monarch in Britain; and it must be acknowledged, if he acquired his power by indirect means, he employed

ed it to laudable purpoſes. The Britons were no longer ſubject to the Roman power; they paid obedience only to their own ſovereign, and the laws of their country. Juſtice and equity were diſperſed with an even hand; the commerce of the kingdom was encouraged; and the Britiſh ſeas were cleared of pirates.

A. D. 289. The two emperors Diocleſian and Maximian, deſpairing of ever being able to reduce Carauſius, reſigned the government into the hands of their two ſons-in-law Maximinian Galerus and Conſtantius Chloris. Theſe two princes, being of a courageous and enterprizing diſpoſition, reſolved not only to diveſt Carauſius of being a ſharer in the imperial dignity, but likewiſe to eclipſe his power as governor of Britain. They accordingly applied themſelves to the raiſing forces by ſea and land, the former of which was conſigned to Conſtantius, and the latter to Maximinian.

While Conſtantius was employed in fitting out his fleet, which he collected from the magazines on the Rhine, Maximinian, having raiſed a conſiderable army, marched to Boulogne, where Carauſius was then in perſon. On his arrival he immediately laid ſiege to the place; but as the ſea was open before it, Carauſius defended himſelf with very little difficulty, and thereby convinced his enemies that while he had this advantage, their beſieging the place would be to no purpoſe. To remove this obſtacle, Conſtantius, having arrived with his fleet, determined to block up the port, which he effected by raiſing a bank of ſtone; ſo that Carauſius had no other reſource to prevent falling a ſacrifice, than by forcibly cutting his way through the Roman camp. This, by taking the advantage of a dark night, he effected at the head of a few ſoldiers, and embarking on board a ſmall veſſel, landed ſafely in Britain, where he had both a numerous fleet, and a powerful army.

In the mean time Maximinian made himſelf maſter of Boulogne, while his confederate Conſtantius, not having a ſufficient fleet to purſue Carauſius, collected ſhips from every part of his dominions, and ſtationed ſtrong ſquadrons on the coaſts of Britain, Spain and Gaul, to prevent the allies from joining the fleet of the intrepid Carauſius. Having taken this precaution he ſailed with the reſt of his fleet to meet the Franks, whom he ſo totally defeated, and purſued his victory ſo cloſely, that ſcarce a ſingle veſſel eſcaped. He then proceeded againſt the Cauci and Friſians, two other nations in alliance with Carauſius. Theſe he likewiſe ſubdued, and tranſplanted into remote countries, that they might not be near enough to obſtruct the plan he had formed againſt Britain, for which a number of ſhips were then building under his immediate direction.

A. D. 293. Carauſius was no ſtranger to the proceedings of Conſtantius. He knew his deſign, and took the moſt prudent meaſures he could to render it abortive. He collected his fleet, and ſtationed troops in every part of the iſland where the Romans could hope to land their forces: and, as a farther ſecurity he kept ſmall veſſels continually cruizing on the coaſt of Gaul, in order to give him the moſt early intelligence of the appearance of the enemy. But while he was thus preparing for the ſafety of his kingdom, he was baſely aſſaſſinated by Alectus, one of his principal officers, and one who had always profeſſed himſelf his moſt attached friend. Thus fell the courageous and enterprizing Carauſius, who, from the few particulars that are recorded of his life, appears to have been as ſucceſsful as he was ambitious, as bold as he was powerful, and as fit to command, as he was ready to execute. To him we owe the firſt dawnings of our naval power; from his conduct we were firſt apprized of our natural ſtrength as an iſland, and from his example we have learned to ſet all the powers of the continent at defiance.

CHAP. VII.

Alectus, after having aſſaſſinated Carauſius, aſſumes the government of Britain. He engages the Romans under the emperor Conſtantius, but is defeated and ſlain. Conſtantius, by his prudent adminiſtration, gains the affections of the Britons, who conſider him as the deliverer of their country. He dies at York, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Conſtantine, ſurnamed the Great, who divides the iſland into four governments. After a long and proſperous reign he dies, leaving the empire to his three ſons. Conſtans, his ſecond ſon, comes over to Britain, in order to repel the incurſions of the Scots and Picts. He is deteſted by his ſubjects, and at length put to death by Magnentius, who uſurps the imperial dignity. He goes over to the continent at the head of an army, and engages Conſtantius, but is defeated, and puts an end to his own life. The Britons are greatly oppreſſed by one Paulus, a notary, who is burnt alive by order of Julian the ſucceſſor of Conſtantius. The Scots and Picts renew their incurſions, and commit the moſt horrid ravages, in conſequence of which the emperor Valentinian ſends Theodoſius into Britain, who ſoon routs them, and reſtores peace to the iſland. On the death of Valentinian his ſon Gratian accedes to the imperial dignity, but being ſenſible of his own defects, takes Magnus Theodoſius as an aſſociate in the government. Maximus, the proprætor of Britain, attempts to obtain the imperial throne, and marches againſt Gratian, whoſe troops deſerting him, he flies to Lyons, and is there aſſaſſinated. Maximus then engages Theodoſius, but is defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death. Theodoſius ſends Chryſanthus into Britain, to put a ſtop to the ravages of the Caledonians, which he effects, and reſtores peace to the iſland. Great commotions take place in the Roman empire, in conſequence of which the Britons are deſerted, and again diſtreſſed by the inroads of the Caledonians. They apply to the emperor Valentinian for aſſiſtance, which is granted them at two different times; but at length, from the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, the legions are recalled, and the Romans totally abandon the iſland.

THE treacherous Alectus, after having baſely aſſaſſinated Carauſius, took the government of Britain into his own hands; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his villainy. Being at once ambitious and cruel, he was deteſted by the Britons who paid him obedience only from

fear, and were ready to join the Romans whenever they ſhould appear to diſpute his uſurped authority. Alectus was not inſenſible of the danger, but he wanted capacity to avoid it. He increaſed his navy, indeed, but not for the defence of his country. He employed his maritime forces rather as a pirate than a prince, and inſtead of protecting, deſtroyed the trade of his ſubjects, by cutting of all intercourſe between Britain and the continent.

As ſoon as Conſtantius heard of the proceedings of the uſurper Alectus, and the injuries ſuſtained by his ſubjects in conſequence thereof, he redoubled his efforts to collect a fleet ſufficiently powerful to engage him. This he effected in a very ſhort time, and embarking his forces at Gaul, ſet ſail from the coaſt of Britain.

Alectus, having received intelligence that the Roman fleet had left the harbour of Gaul, immediately ſtood off to ſea in order to intercept them; but Conſtantius eluded all his vigilance by means of a thick fog, which concealed both fleets from the ſight of each other; and the Romans ſafely reached the coaſt of Suſſex, where they landed without oppoſition.

As Conſtantius knew it would be impoſſible to defend his fleet from the attacks of the enemy, after his forces were landed, he prudently ſet his ſhips on fire. This was conſidered by the Britons as a moſt magnanimous act: they were ſatisfied in their minds that Conſtantius was determined to conquer or periſh, and therefore flocked from all quarters to his ſtandard, imploring his protection againſt the tyrant of their country.

The naval power of Alectus was far ſuperior to that of Conſtantius, but he wanted prudence to make a proper uſe of that advantage. He abandoned the only acquiſitions that rendered him formidable, and madly determined to meet the Roman army on the land. He accordingly diſembarked his forces, which were principally compoſed of Franks and foreigners, who were ſtrangers to military diſcipline, and held in the greateſt deteſtation by the Britons. Theſe he led againſt the Roman veterans, and raſhly engaged that part of the army under the command of Aſclepiodotus, captain of the guards of Conſtantius. From the great ſuperiority of a well-diſciplined force to a band of lawleſs robbers, the conteſt was of ſhort duration; the troops of Alectus were ſoon routed, and the tyrant, giving up all as loſt, ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the Roman army, and was cut to pieces, while a terrible ſlaughter was made among his foreign mercenaries.

A party of the Franks who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, marched directly to London, plundered the city, and fell down the river in veſſels loaded with the ſpoils they had taken. They were, however, met in their paſſage by a diviſion of the Roman fleet which had been ſeparated from the reſt by the late fog, and an engagement immediately took place, when the Franks being totally defeated, the booty they had taken was recovered, and the greater part of them put to the ſword.

In the mean time Conſtantius was received with open arms by the Britons, who being delivered from the tyranny of Alectus, flattered themſelves with enjoying peace and tranquillity. Nor were they, indeed, miſtaken. Conſtantius ſoon gave them ſufficient proofs of his great clemency, juſtice and diſcretion, and how deſirous he was to render them an happy people. He publiſhed a general pardon to all who had been concerned in the late revolt, and ordered reſtitution to be made to thoſe who had ſuffered on the occaſion. He diſpenſed juſtice with impartiality, and permitted the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion, which had, ſome time before, been planted in the iſland. He cleared the ſeas of pirates, reſtored commerce, ſubdued ſome northern nations, who had declared themſelves independent during the late troubles, and recovered the whole province of Britain, after it had been ten years diſmembered from the empire. Theſe judicious proceedings rendered Conſtantius dear to the Britons: they conſidered him as the deliverer of their country, and forgot that they were again ſubjected to the power of the Romans.

At this time the city of London was decorated with many elegant ſtructures, and was become conſiderable for its extent, its beauty, and its riches: it was the center of commerce, and the reſidence of many wealthy merchants. Conſtantius was pleaſed with theſe improvements, and thinking the iſland worthy of his particular notice, he took up his reſidence in the metropolis, where he directed his attention towards cultivating the riſing merit of a people who conſidered him as their father.*

A. D. 306. The wiſe and equitable adminiſtration of Conſtantius was productive of peace and tranquillity to his ſubjects; and accordingly Britain enjoyed uninterrupted repoſe till his death, which happened at York in the 17th year of his reign. His ſon Conſtantine (afterwards ſurnamed the Great) no ſooner heard of his indiſpoſition, than he left Rome, and arrived at York juſt time enough to perform the laſt offices to his father, who appointed him his ſucceſſor on the imperial throne; a nomination ſo agreeable to the army, that they immediately declared him emperor.

The firſt ſtep taken by Conſtantine, after his acceſſion to the imperial dignity, was, to march againſt the Scots and Picts, who (as their uſual cuſtom was when they thought the imperial dignity uſurped or unſettled by vacancies, factions or foreign diſputes) had made ſeveral inroads into

* It is generally ſuppoſed that what principally induced Conſtantius to fix his reſidence in Britain was, the great attachment he had for the celebrated Helena, the mother of Conſtantine the Great, who ſucceeded him in the empire. According to ſome authors this lady was a native of Colcheſter, while others affirm ſhe was the daughter of Coilus, king of the Cumbrian Britons, who inhabited the countries between the two walls built by Severus and Antoninus. But whatever may have been her family or country, ſhe was certainly a Briton, and a woman poſſeſſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments. She had long captivated the heart of Conſtantius, with whom ſhe was united in marriage, though he had, for reaſons of ſtate, been obliged to repudiate her, on his taking to wife the daughter of Maximian, to whom he owed his elevation. But notwithſtanding this Helena ſtill engroſſed his affection, and there is no doubt but it was ſolely on her account, that he took up his reſidence in Britain. She was a woman of ſo amiable a diſpoſition as to be univerſally beloved and admired. The many noble works ſhe carried on at her own expence ſufficiently diſplayed her public ſpirit; and her liberality, which at once attracted the love and veneration of the Britons, was unexampled.

into the Roman provinces. Theſe he ſoon ſubdued, and drove into their own country, leaving proper garriſons in the forts of the walls of Severus and Antoninus, to prevent any future attempts they might be inclined to make of a like nature.

A. D. 311. Having ſettled the commotions in the north, Conſtantine returned to the metropolis, and immediately raiſed a very conſiderable army of Britons. Theſe he joined with his Roman forces, and embarking the whole, proceeded to Gaul, where he conquered the Franks, who had rendered themſelves ſo powerful as to communicate their name to that country. From Gaul he marched with his army into Italy, in order to oppoſe Maxentius, who had aſſumed the imperial dignity, and was actually in poſſeſſion of Rome. Conſtantine's army was compoſed of 90,000 foot and 8000 horſe, all excellent troops, and himſelf the beſt general of his time. The greater part of his army was formed of Britons, moſt of whom had been ſome time converts to the Chriſtian religion, which Conſtantine himſelf privately profeſſed, though, for political reaſons, he did not think proper, as yet, to make publickly known.

Confident of ſucceſs, the uſurper Maxentius marched with his forces againſt Conſtantine, and a deſperate battle enſued. It was preſerved, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy, on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Conſtantine: the troops of Maxentius were routed, great numbers killed, among whom was their leader, and the reſt put to flight.

Conſtantine being now in poſſeſſion of the empire without a rival, publickly embraced the Chriſtian religion, which, in all probability, he was prompted to do from the diſtinguiſhed ardour of his Britiſh troops, the greater part of whom he knew to be of that perſuaſion. He then directed his attention towards preſerving peace throughout his dominions, which, from the meaſures he took ariſing from his natural humane and benevolent diſpoſition, was eaſily effected, and he obtained the univerſal good-will and affection of his ſubjects. Inſtead of ſullying, by examples of ſeverity, the glory of the victory obtained over Maxentius, he, with a magnanimity peculiar to himſelf, pardoned all who had fought againſt him, and reſtored the forfeited eſtates of his moſt rancorous enemies. He recalled thoſe who had been exiled by Maxentius, re-eſtabliſhed the ſenate in its antient ſplendour and authority, and made ſuch wiſe and effectual regulations to ſecure the peace and tranquillity of Rome, that, on the inſcriptions dedicated to his honour, he was ſtiled the Deliverer of the city, the founder of peace, the reſtorer of the republic, and univerſally ſaluted by the name of Conſtantine the Great.

A. D. 315. Having adjuſted all matters on the continent to the univerſal ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, Conſtantine returned to Britain, where he made ſeveral alterations in the government that were productive of general utility. As he had publickly profeſſed the Chriſtian faith, he now adorned his profeſſion by an inflexible adherence to Chriſtian principles, evincing throughout his whole conduct a degree of piety unmixed with enthuſiaſm, juſtice free from auſterity, and charity uninfluenced by oſtentation.

Under ſuch a prince, the bleſſings of liberty, plenty, union and tranquillity were diffuſed among his ſubjects. Neither diſturbances nor inſurrections took place during the whole courſe of hi reign. This, no doubt, was owing to the prudent alterations he made in the government of the iſland, which he divided into four diſtricts, viz. Britannia Prima, including the country between the Thames and the ſea. Britannia Secunda, comprehending that part which lay weſt of the Severn to the Iriſh ſea; Flavia Cæſarienſis, conſiſting of Cornwall, Somerſetſhire, and part of Wilts and Glouceſter; and Maxima Cæſarienſis, which included the northern counties of England, with Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, and Lincolnſhire. In conſequence of this diviſion, the military government of the iſland was inveſted in four perſons, named Prefects, who were appointed by the emperor, and whoſe buſineſs was to preſerve peace in the reſpective diſtricts to which they were allotted.

A. D. 337. After a long and proſperous reign of thirty-one years, the emperor Conſtantine paid the debt of nature on the 22d of May, 337. As he had lived univerſally beloved and reſpected, ſo he died univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, who had ſoon juſt reaſon to deplore the loſs of ſo diſtinguiſhed and amiable a ſovereign.

Conſtantine was, indeed, from his natural diſpoſition, formed for empire. His genius was piercing, his memory retentive, his learning uncommon, and his liberality unbounded. Being affable, polite, equitable and humane, he won the hearts of all his ſubjects, who revered him as a father, and loved him as a friend. No perſon ever retired diſſatisfied from his preſence; nor did any ever implore his aſſiſtance in vain. Inflexibly impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and deeply affected with every ſpecies of diſtreſs in others, he often repaid from his own coffers the loſs which the needy had juſtly ſuſtained by his ſentence. His ſoul was a ſtranger to cruelty. His laurels of conqueſt were never ſtained with the blood of the vanquiſhed; but, on the contrary, he ſhewed the greateſt lenity and indulgence to his moſt inveterate enemies. To be unfortunate was a ſufficient recommendation to his protection, and the ſufferer was always ſure of finding relief. He openly declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and by that means gave a powerful blow to Pagan ſuperſtition. In ſhort, his life was the beſt comment on the tenets he profeſſed; and all his actions were directed by the pure and refined morality of the Goſpel.

Such is the character of Conſtantine the Great, who, on his death, left the empire to his three ſons. France, Spain and Britain he aſſigned to Conſtantine the eldeſt; but he did not live long to enjoy it. About three years after his acceſſion he was ſlain in a battle at Aquileia, in attempting to invade the territories of his brother Conſtans, in conſequence of which the victor became poſſeſſed of his brother's inheritance.

A. D. 343. Conſtans, ſome time after acquiring the poſſeſſions of his elder brother Conſtantine, came over into Britain, in order to repel the Scots and Picts, who, on the death of the late emperor, had made incurſions into the Roman territories. This buſineſs he ſoon effected, but the reputation he acquired from ſo doing was ſoon forfeited by his inattention to the welfare of his ſubjects. He was deſtitute of all the great qualities which rendered his father amiable. He

employed his time principally in hunting and rural diverſions, leaving the cares of government to perſons unworthy of the truſt, and who abuſed his confidence. By theſe means he incurred the contempt and deteſtation of his ſubjects, who, no longer able to bear with the oppreſſion under which they had laboured, entered into open rebellion againſt him. In this they were encouraged by one Magnentius, a Gaul of Britiſh extraction, who being of an ambitious and enterprizing diſpoſition, ſoon found means to take away the life of Conſtans, and then publickly laid claim to the imperial dignity.

A. D. 350. Conſtantius was now the only ſurviving ſon of the Great Conſtantine, and conſequently by right, ſole monarch of the Roman empire. But the vices of his brother had alienated the affections of the Britons, who unanimouſly declared for Magnentius; and had that uſurper been contented with the government of the iſland, he might, in all probability, have ſupported his power againſt any attempts of his enemies. But he graſped at empire itſelf. He was ambitious of poſſeſſing the imperial throne, and raſhly paſſed over to the continent at the head of an army. He fought two battles with Conſtantius, and was unfortunate in both. At length, being driven to deſpair, and having only the wretched alternative of falling into the hands of the conqueror, or periſhing by his own hand, he choſe the latter, and put a period to his exiſtence at Lyons in France.

A. D. 354. On the death of Magnentius, the whole province of Britain acknowledged the authority of Conſtantius; but he made a very baſe and impolitic uſe of his good fortune. He was implacable in his hatred againſt the Britons for their defection in favour of Magnentius, and determined to puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity. He accordingly erected a court of confiſcation, and ſent over one Paulus, a Spaniſh notary, to act the part of inquiſitor-general. His buſineſs was to diſcover and proſecute the abettors of Magnentius, in order to confiſcate their eſtates to the imperial exchequer. Nurſed in the lap of extortion, and proof againſt every tender feeling, he executed his commiſſion in a manner peculiar to himſelf. Not contented with depriving them of their property, he committed the moſt violent outrages upon their perſons, condemning them to mines, fetters, impriſonment, tortures, ſlavery and death. The barbarity of this inhuman monſter rendered him an object of horror to the Britons: Martin, the vicar, or deputy of the province, ſaw his proceedings with grief, and the ſufferings of an injured people excited his compaſſion to intercede in their behalf. He therefore not only expoſtulated with him upon his flagrant injuſtice and cruelty, but even threatened to leave the iſland, and make a report of his conduct to the imperial court. Exaſperated at the threats of Martin, and terrified at the conſequences of having his conduct publickly examined, he ſuborned witneſſes to accuſe Martin of crimes againſt the ſtate. The deputy ſaw his danger, and determined not to ſuffer the intended diſgrace. When, therefore, called before the court, he looked ſternly at Paulus, drew his ſword, and made a thruſt at the tyrant's heart; but miſſing his blow, he turned the point of the weapon againſt himſelf, and ſheathed it in his own bowels. The baſe and cruel Paulus availing himſelf of this circumſtance, immediately haſtened to the governor's houſe, beſprinkled with the blood of Martin, as a feigned teſtimony of his having plotted againſt his life; and on this ſpecious pretence he exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties on the friends and relations of that gallant and benevolent Roman. But at length this infamous wretch was juſtly puniſhed according to his crimes, being burnt alive in the reign of Julian, the adopted ſucceſſor of Conſtantius.

A. D. 362. During the remainder of the reign of Conſtantius, as alſo that of his ſucceſſor Julian, nothing material happened in Britain. Some few incurſions, indeed, were made by the Caledonians, but they were always repelled before they could make any conſiderable progreſs; and their attempts were not ſufficient to diſturb the general tranquillity of the iſland.

A. D. 363. On the acceſſion of Valentinian to the imperial dignity, the affairs of Britain were in a very critical ſituation. The Franks and Saxons committed the moſt dreadful ravages along the coaſts, while the Scots and Picts, having broke through the walls of partition, laid the inland parts of the country waſte. Fullofaudes, the then general of the Roman army in Britain, marched againſt the invaders, but unhappily falling into an ambuſcade, he was ſlain, and the greater part of his troops cut to pieces.

As ſoon as Valentinian was informed of this diſaſter, he immediately diſpatched Severus, one of his principal officers of ſtate, to ſuppreſs the invaders; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was recalled, and Jovinus appointed in his ſtead. This commander, on his arrival in Britain, found, from the great ſtrength of the inſurgents and their diſperſion through the different parts of the iſland, that it was out of his power to repel them. He therefore diſpatched an officer to the continent informing the emperor of the true ſtate of the iſland, and that if a ſpeedy reinforcement of troops was not immediately ſent, the Roman power in Britain would be entirely loſt.

A. D. 364. In conſequence of this information, Valentinian immediately diſpatched Theodoſius, an officer of great abilities, and father to the firſt emperor of that name, at the head of a choice body of troops, to chaſtiſe the ferocious barbarians, and, if poſſible, reſtore tranquillity to the iſland.

Soon after the arrival of Theodoſius in Britain, the face of affairs was entirely changed. He marched with his veteran troops againſt the invaders, defeated them in different parts of the country, recovered the ſpoils they had taken, and generouſly returned them to the diſtreſſed owners, diſtributing only a portion among his troops as a reward for their courage and fidelity.

From theſe acts of juſtice Theodoſius obtained the univerſal affection of the Britons, who followed his ſtandard with alacrity, and nobly aſſiſted him in repelling the barbarians. He purſued his advantages with ſucceſs, and, by degrees, drove the Caledonians into their own country.

A. D. 366. But Theodoſius well knew that he had yet effected only a temporary relief; the Caledonians were repelled, but not rendered incapable

capable of making any future attempts. He therefore formed the country, between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus, into a ſeparate province, and gave it the name of Valentia, in honour of the then reigning emperor. He repaired both the walls, added new works, and placed ſtrong garriſons at proper diſtances, that a ſufficient force might always be in readineſs to render abortive any attempt that might be made in future by the reſtleſs Caledonians. Having thus far perfected his commiſſion, he left the north, and made a triumphal entry into London, where he was honoured with the appellations of Deliverer and Protector of the people.

The northern invaders being quieted, Theodoſius next reſolved to take proper meaſures for extirminating the Franks and Saxons, who continued to commit the moſt horrid ravages on different parts of the coaſt. He accordingly fitted out a ſtrong fleet, and having embarked his forces, ſailed in queſt of them. In this enterprize he likewiſe proved ſucceſsful: he took many of their veſſels and deſtroyed others, ſo that in a ſhort time theſe piratical invaders were totally routed, and the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt were again reſtored to their uſual tranquillity.

A. D. 370. Having thus provided for the general welfare of Britain, and ſettled every thing in ſuch a manner as to give entire ſatisfaction to the inhabitants, Theodoſius returned to Rome, where he was received by the emperor with the moſt public demonſtrations of friendſhip and affection; and the ſenate decreed him a ſtatue, which they ordered to be placed among thoſe of their moſt celebrated heroes.

Soon after the departure of Theodoſius, one Maximus, an officer of great merit, and of noble deſcent, and who had ſerved under Theodoſius, was advanced to the chief command in Britain. He was a man naturally well diſpoſed, and, by forming his conduct after the manner of his illuſtrious predeceſſor, acquired the eſteem not only of his own countrymen, but alſo of the Britons, ſo that for ſome time a profound peace reigned throughout the iſland.

A. D. 375. On the death of Valentinian the face of affairs was greatly changed in Britain, diſcord and rapine ſupplying the place of peace and tranquillity. Gratian, who ſucceeded his father Valentinian on the imperial throne, was a youth in every reſpect incapable of holding the reins of government, being wholly addicted to pleaſures, and directed by favourites choſen from the loweſt claſs of the people. He was, however, thoroughly ſenſible of his defects, and therefore made choice of Flavius Magnus Theodoſius, ſon of the great general of that name, to be his aſſociate in the government.

As ſoon as Maximus, the governor of Britain, heard of the promotion of Theodoſius to the imperial dignity, he was greatly incenſed againſt Gratian, and vowed to ſeek immediate revenge. He and Theodoſius had both ſerved under the celebrated conqueror of the Caledonians; but Maximus being the older officer was ſuperior in command. His ambition, therefore, would not ſuffer him to ſerve under a perſon whom he conſidered as greatly inferior to him. He complained loudly of the injuſtice that had been done him, and found means to prevail on the ſoldiers (who were averſe to Gratian's government) to take part with him in his deſign of endeavouring to obtain the imperial dignity. The Britons, who were greatly prejudiced in his favour, followed the example of the Roman forces, and declared themſelves his friends, in conſequence of which he was proclaimed emperor by the general voice of the people.

A. D. 382. Elated with this dawning of ſucceſs, Maximus collected all his forces, conſiſting of Romans, and the flower of the Britiſh youth, and paſſed over into Gaul, where the legions quartered in that country, and the neighbouring parts of Germany, joined his ſtandard. He took up his reſidence at Tiers, and was acknowledged emperor by moſt of the provinces on this ſide the Alps.

A. D. 383. The emperor Gratian, having collected together a very powerful army, marched at the head of them againſt Maximus, with a full reſolution of effectually deſtroying his claim to the imperial throne. The two armies accordingly met, and were both drawn up in order of battle; but before the ſignal was given for commencing the action, the greater part of Gratian's forces revolted, and went over to Maximus. This was a fatal ſtroke to Gratian, who, knowing it impoſſible to collect a ſecond army, fled to Lyons, where he was aſſaſſinated by Andragathius, a perſon of great power, and who had ever been his moſt inveterate enemy.

The overthrow of Gratian confirmed the power of Maximus, who, in all probability, might have enjoyed his good fortune and acquiſitions, had not his ambition rendered him preſumptuous, and prompted him to aſpire at the conqueſt of the brave Theodoſius, who inherited the virtues and valour of his father. Intoxicated with his ſucceſs, he grew inſolent beyond degree, inſomuch that from inſult he proceeded to menaces. But Theodoſius was not to be intimidated: he advanced againſt him at the head of an army of veterans uſed to conqueſt under his ſtandard, routed him in two ſucceſſive engagements, took him priſoner at Aquileia, put him to death, and thereby defeated all his arrogant projects.

A. D. 385. During theſe ſtruggles for empire on the continent, the Britons, being robbed of their forces, and deprived of the fleets which uſed to guard their coaſts, were expoſed to invaſions of foreign nations. A conſiderable body of the Iriſh landed near Dunbritton, and committed the moſt horrid ravages; while the Scots and Picts broke through the partition walls, and made depredations in various parts of the adjacent country.

As ſoon as Theodoſius was informed of the deplorable ſtate of the Britons, he immediately ſent over Chryſanthus (a valiant and experienced general) at the head of a powerful army, to repel the inſurgents. The intrepidity and judicious conduct of this commander ſoon wrought the wiſhed-for effect, and the face of affairs in Britain was totally changed. The northern invaders were driven back to their own country, the fleets of pirates, which had, for ſome time, infeſted the coaſts, were defeated, and the haraſſed Britons once more enjoyed the bleſſings of peace.

A. D. 393. During the reign of Theodoſius the Britons were ſecured from any invaſions by fo-

reign enemies, and poſſeſſed an uninterrupted ſtate of tranquillity; but, on the death of that prince, they were again expoſed to the depredations of the reſtleſs and turbulent Caledonians. Theodoſius left the empire to his two ſons Arcadius and Honorius, the eaſtern part being allotted to the former, and the weſtern to the latter. But as Honorius was only twelve years of age, the government, during his minority, was inveſted in the hands of one Stilicho, a man who had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his great abilities as well in the cabinet as the field.

A. D. 396. About this period one Neil-Naogaillac, the chief of the Iriſh monarchs, landed in England, and ravaged the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and other places on the ſea-coaſt oppoſite to Gaul; while the Caledonians were carrying on their depredations in the northern parts of the iſland.

In this diſtreſſed ſituation the Britons applied to the imperial court for aſſiſtance; in conſequence of which Stilicho immediately ſent over Victorius at the head of a legion, who effectually repulſed the invaders, and ſoon after obliged them to quit the country.

A. D. 403. During the reſidence of Victorius in Britain, the inhabitants enjoyed a profound tranquillity, but he being recalled with his legion to make head againſt Alaric the Goth, who threatened to attack even the capital of the Roman empire, the iſland was left without defence, and again expoſed to the ravages of foreign nations.

The Caledonians took particular advantage of this event, and marching towards the ſouthern provinces committed the moſt horrid depredations. In conſequence of this the diſpirited Britons applied, in the moſt humble manner, for aſſiſtance; but they received no other favour from the emperor than a letter, in which he told them it was impoſſible for him to ſend them any troops, and therefore exhorted them to take up arms in their own defence, and repel, with their own force, the lawleſs invaders of their country.

A. D. 408. Driven to deſpair by the formidable power of the Caledonians, and the refuſal of aſſiſtance from the continent, the Britons for ſome time knew not in what manner to act, but at length they reſolved to diſclaim all connection with Rome, and to form themſelves into an independent ſtate. They accordingly ſeveral times elected a king, and as often hurled him from the throne. The names of theſe monarchs are inſignificant, their actions as ſovereigns immaterial and uncertain: they were elected, for ſome time adored, and then deſtroyed. Affairs were now become deſperate, and the Romans who reſided in Britain, being perſuaded that all reſiſtance againſt the Caledonians would be in vain, buried their treaſures, and fled for ſafety to the continent.

A. D. 423. In this diſtracted ſtate did the Britons remain during the reign of Honorius, but on the acceſſion of Valentinian III. to the Imperial dignity, the face of affairs was changed. The Caledonians had committed the moſt horrid ravages, and ſpread deſolation throughout the whole country, in conſequence of which the Britons once more applied to Rome for aſſiſtance. They repreſented their country as on the brink of deſtruction, and implored the emperor not to ſuffer the barbarity of foreigners to extinguiſh the glory of a province ſo long eminent under the Roman government. Valentinian, commiſerating their diſtreſs, immediately diſpatched a legion to their relief; and ſo ſucceſsful were they, that they defeated the Caledonians in ſeveral engagements, and in a ſhort time compelled them to retire to their own country. Having done this, they repaired the partition walls, and put the northern frontiers once more into a poſture of defence. Tranquillity was again reſtored, and peace prevailed throughout the iſland.

A. D. 445. While the Roman troops continued in Britain, the Caledonians remained quiet in their own country; but no ſooner were they withdrawn than thoſe reſtleſs invaders renewed their ravages: the frontier provinces were again filled with blood and ſlaughter; the fields were laid waſte, and every ſpecies of cruelty, that a ferocious enemy could invent, was practiſed on the wretched inhabitants.

Driven to deſpair, and unable to repel the attacks of the Caledonians, the Britons again applied, in the moſt humble manner, to the emperor for protection. Valentinian readily complied with their requeſt, and immediately diſpatched a legion under the command of Gallio, an able and experienced general. Succeſs again attended the Roman ſtandards; the Caledonians were driven back to their own country, and peace was once more reſtored to the iſland.

A. D. 447. But the tranquillity of the Britons, which had been obtained by Gallio, was of ſhort duration. The diſtracted ſtate of affairs on the continent prevented the emperor from being able to ſpare any of his forces, and Gallio, with his legion, was recalled from Britain. The Roman commander was anxious for the welfare of the Britons, and therefore, previous to his departure, gave them ſuch inſtructions as he thought moſt expedient for ſecuring them againſt future depredations from their northern neighbours. He adviſed them to repair and ſtrengthen the wall of Severus, and to build forts along the coaſts againſt the ſudden attacks of pirates. He told them, in very plain terms, that the affairs of the empire would not permit the Romans to give them any farther aſſiſtance, and therefore exhorted them to practice the art of war, to become expert and regular in military diſcipline, and to unite themſelves firmly in one body for their general good. He pointed out to them the natural advantages they poſſeſſed from their ſituation; and in ſhort, gave them every inſtruction he thought neceſſary for the promotion of their welfare and future ſecurity.

Having performed theſe friendly offices, Gallio embarked his forces, took leave of the Britons in the moſt affectionate manner, and paſſed over to the continent. And thus was Britain evacuated, and totally abandoned by the Romans, A. D. 447, about 500 years after its being firſt invaded by them under the conduct of Julius Cæſar, and about 363 after the full conqueſt of it by Agricola, in the reign of the emperor Domitian.

With reſpect to the general ſtate of Britain during the time it was ſubject to the Romans, the only authentic particulars we have are the following, which were publiſhed about the year 410, in a book called the Notitia, containing an account of

the principal events and revolutions of the Roman empire.

The iſland of Britain, which was conſidered as one of the dioceſes belonging to the diſtrict of the Præfectus Prætoria of Gaul, was under the juriſdiction of a governor or vicar, who, according to the number of provinces into which the iſland was divided, had five officers under his command, two of whom were conſulars, and three preſidents. Subordinate to theſe were many others of inferior rank, who were appointed to aſſiſt them in the adminiſtration of the civil government of the nation.

The military government was under the ſuperintendance of three principal officers, the firſt of whom had the command of the troops and garriſons in the interior parts of the iſland, and the two latter of the eaſtern and northern coaſts. The whole number of forces under their command amounted to 1700 cavalry, and 19,200 infantry. Theſe were diſperſed in different parts of the iſland, ſome in garriſons on the ſea coaſts, and ſome on the northern frontiers, while others were encamped in Cambridgeſhire, and other interior counties of the kingdom.

In order to facilitate the more expeditious conjunction of theſe troops on any particular emergency, as well as to render the intercourſe of the people more eaſy and agreeable, the ſoldiers, during the times of peace, were employed in making public highways, which are to be ſeen in different parts of the kingdom *. Theſe roads, or public highways, were called by the Romans, the conſular, prætorian, regal and military ways; and afterwards by the Saxons, ſtradas or ſtreets. The moſt remarkable of theſe were four in number, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Via Vitelingiana, or Watling Street; Via Icenorum, or Ikenfield Street; Ermine Street, and Foſs-way. Two of theſe extended the whole length of the kingdom, and the other two the breadth from ſea to ſea. On theſe grand ways at proper diſtances, were ſtationary houſes for the convenience of changing horſes, as alſo a great number of inns for the accommodation of travellers. The Romans likewiſe erected many handſome cities in different parts of the kingdom, as alſo a great number of caſtles, forts, towers, walls, &c.

At what exact period of time the Chriſtian religion was firſt introduced into Britain cannot be fully authenticated, but that it was eſtabliſhed during the time the Romans were maſters of the iſland is inconteſtible †. This is evident from the tranſactions that took place in the reign of Diocleſian, when the Britiſh Chriſtians were included in the perſecutions ſet on foot by that emperor. Many of theſe ſuffered martyrdom, the principal and firſt of whom was St. Alban, who was beheaded at Verulam (now St. Alban's in Hertfordſhire) on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, and a magnificent church was erected to his memory about the time of Conſtantine the Great. This edifice, however, was deſtroyed in the Saxon wars, but rebuilt by Offa king of Mercia, and a monaſtry erected adjoining to it, ſome remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen, and the church is a Gothic ſtructure.

But the perſecution under Diocleſian did not prevent the progreſs of Chriſtianity in Britain; for we find that in 314 three Britiſh biſhops attended the council of Arles in France: the like number attended the council of Nice in 325; and in 359 three others attended the council of Arminium. From hence we can juſtly affirm that chriſtianity was very early planted in this iſland, and that the chriſtian church in Britain was originally (as it is now) independent of the church of Rome.

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* Among the many monuments of Roman antiquity ſtill ſubſiſting in England, the moſt remarkable are the remains of Adrian's vallum, and the wall of Severus, ſituated principally in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. Theſe two run parallel to each other from the Solway Frith beyond Burgh on the Sands near Carliſle, to the neighbourhood of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, which is a diſtance of ſixty-eight miles. Adrian's vallum is a rampart of earth with a large ditch to the northward, and another rampart to the ſouthward, which ſeems to have ſerved as a military way. The wall of Severus was of ſtone, and much more extenſive than that of Adrian's. There are ſome remains of the latter ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral parts, but the moſt conſpicuous are thoſe of the former. They are ſtill called by the Welch Gaul Sever, and by the Scots Grinſdyke, which in both languages literally ſignifies the wall of Severus. The remains of this famous wall may be traced from Stanwick near Carliſle weſtward as far as Foulneſs, and eaſtward through many meadows for eight miles; but in ſeveral places the wall has been broken down, ſo that there are only the remains of the exploratory towers, and the deep ditches on each ſide. From thence it extends eaſtward over a hill, where it is almoſt entire, and many of the towers are ſtill ſtanding. After running about three miles farther it croſſes the river Irthing on the borders of Northumberland: it then runs for ſome miles through an open common, in the courſe of which it is in many places from five to eight feet high. From hence it paſſes over Irthington Moor, where it croſſes a ſmall river called the Tippal, and is continued over ſeveral ridges of very ſteep rocks to the length of about nine miles, where it is from ſix to twenty-four feet high from the precipices. Continuing ſtill eaſtward, it paſſes Bankhead, a ſmall village, where it is almoſt entire; and near this place are the remains of a Roman camp ſtrongly fortified, and ſurrounded by a deep trench. From hence to Scavenſhale, about ten miles farther to the eaſt, it is not above three feet high, owing to the many inroads of the Scots and Picts, who always endeavoured to level ſuch parts as lay in their way. It terminates near the mouth of the river Tyne, but in many places no remains of it are to be ſeen. The ditch is about thirty feet broad, and notwithſtanding all the ravages of time, is in moſt places upwards of five feet deep.

† It is the opinion of ſome antient writers, that the doctrine of Chriſt was firſt preached in Britain by the apoſtle Paul. Clemens, in his famous epiſtle to the Corinthians, expreſsly tells us that, being a preacher both to the eaſt and weſt, he taught righteouſneſs to the world, and went to the utmoſt bounds of the weſt; and Theodoret and others inform us, that he preached not only in Spain, but went to other nations, and brought the Goſpel into the iſles of the ſea, by which it is conjectured, the iſland of Britain is included. And, in ſome farther obſervations on this head it appears, that they reckon the Gauls and Britons among the people whom the apoſtles, and particularly Paul, perſuaded to embrace the doctrine of Chriſt.

BOOK III.

From the final Departure of the Romans from Britain, to the total Diſſolution of the Saxon Heptarchy.

CHAP. I.

The Caledonians make great incurſions into the Britiſh territories, and commit the moſt horrid cruelties. The Britons apply to the Romans for aſſiſtance, but are refuſed. At the inſtigation of Vortigern, their prince or leader, they invite over the Saxons to aſſiſt them againſt the Caledonians. Hengiſt and Horſa, the two leaders of the Saxons, have an interview with Vortigern in the Iſle of Thanet. The Saxons join the Britons, and drive the Caledonians into their own country. Hengiſt and Horſa invite over great numbers of their countrymen, and thereby conſiderably augment their army. The Saxons form an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and proceed to open hoſtilities againſt the Britons. Vortigern, the Britiſh leader, is depoſed, and his ſon Vortimer appointed in his ſtead. The Britons fight ſeveral battles with the Saxons, in one of which Horſa is ſlain. Hengiſt encreaſes his army from the continent, takes upon him the title of king of Kent, marches againſt the Britons, and commits the moſt horrid cruelties. The Saxons make themſelves maſters of that part of Britain now called England, which they divide into ſeven kingdoms, the whole diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Saxon Heptarchy. The names of theſe kingdoms, with the counties contained in each.

A. D. 447. NO ſooner were the Caledonians informed that the Romans had finally relinquiſhed Britain, than they conſidered the kingdom as their own, and reſolved to make themſelves maſters of it with all expedition. They accordingly began their hoſtilities by attacking the wall of Severus, in doing which they met with very little oppoſition. Deprived of the animating example of the warlike Romans, and the military ſkill of experienced commanders, the few troops who were appointed to defend it ſuffered their ſpirits to ſink within them, and in the hour of exigence gave that time to deſpondency which ſhould have been employed in their defence. A breach was made, the Caledonians entered, the Britons fled, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword made the beſt of their way ſouthward, while the Picts and Scots followed, and ſpread deſolation around as they went, marking their paths with blood, and leaving every where behind them veſtiges of the moſt dreadful devaſtations.

The wretched Britons now diſpatched embaſſadors to the emperor Valentinian for aſſiſtance. With them they ſent a letter written in the moſt abject ſtrain, and inſcribed, "The groans of the people." Nor were the contents of the letter leſs abject than the inſcription: "The barbarians (ſaid they) drive us towards the ſea, the ſea throws us back upon the barbarians, and we have only the wretched alternative left us, of periſhing either by the ſword, or by the waves." But their requeſt was in vain: Valentinian himſelf was ſo cloſely preſſed by the Goths and Vandals, that no forces could be ſpared to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed iſlanders: the ravages on the continent were at leaſt equal to thoſe committed in Britain.

The refuſal of all aſſiſtance from Rome threw the Britons into an abſolute ſtate of deſpair: inſtead of attempting to take any meaſures for repelling the invaders of their country, they fled for ſhelter to their woods and mountains, neglected the cultivation of their lands, and, for ſome time, ſought a livelihood from hunting.

A. D. 448. The retired ſituation of the Britons, and the total neglect of agriculture, produced a calamity more prejudicial than the ravages made by the cruel Caledonians. A dreadful famine took place, during which prodigious numbers of the Britons periſhed for want of food. The ferocious Caledonians themſelves ſeverely felt the conſequences of their inhuman depredations. They found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt in a country they themſelves had laid waſte; and therefore retired to their mountains with the ſpoils they had taken from their puſillanimous neighbours.

As ſoon as the Britons found that the Caledonians had retired to their own country, they immediately left their woods and mountains, and returned to their former occupations. They applied themſelves, with great diligence, to the cultivation of the land, till at length famine fled before induſtry, and agriculture ſoon repleniſhed the exhauſted granaries. Bleſſed with the bounties of returning plenty, and cheared by the ſmiles of long loſt freedom, the Britons had now the faireſt opportunity of becoming at once a happy and formidable people; but, emerging from the moſt abject ſtate of miſery, they were not capable of bearing proſperity either with diſcretion or advantage. The public good was ſacrificed to private gratifications, and the intemperance of individuals proved eſſentially injurious to the ſtate. In proportion as they loſt their fears, they grew fond of pleaſures, and becoming the ſlaves of luxury, were incapacitated from every

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ROMAN



SAXON



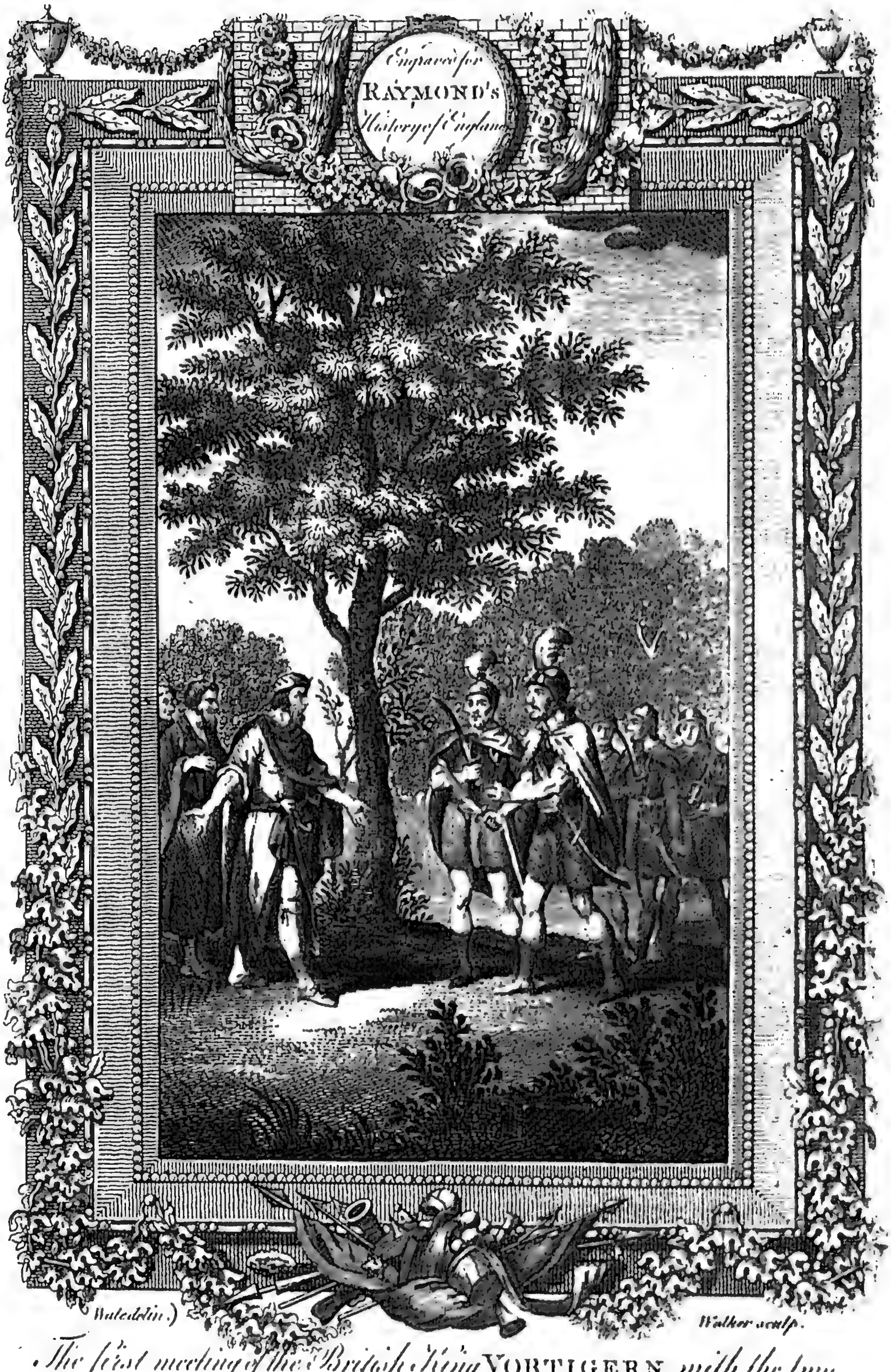




DANE

NORMAN

Portraits of a Roman Commander, *a* Saxon Chief, *a* Danish General, *&* *a* Norman, *all habited in the respective Dresses of the Times in which they invaded & conquered England at different Periods.*



The first meeting of the British King VORTIGERN *with the two Saxon Chiefs* HENGIST *and* HORSA, *in the Isle of Thanet*

every noble exertion. Their vices were proportioned to their diſſipation, till (ſays Gildas) "evil "was called good, and good evil. To be lewd "was thought honourable; to be virtuous, diſ-"graceful. Being blind themſelves, they be-"came haters of the light, and the meaſures of "their actions were what was moſt pleaſing to "their inclinations. All things were tranſacted "directly contrary to the public welfare and "ſafety, not only of the laity, but alſo the "clergy; and thoſe who ſhould have been ex-"amples of virtue often proved the ringleaders "of vice."

While the Britons continued in this diſſipated ſtate they choſe ſeveral kings of their own; but the power inveſted in them excited the envy of others, and proved fatal to themſelves. Among theſe monarchs was Vortigern, who obtained the ſovereign authority by murdering his predeceſſor, and though contaminated with every vice, governed, for ſome time, the degenerated Britons.

A. D. 449. The interior parts of the iſland had been greatly thinned by the ſword and famine; but now another calamity took place, which, for ſome time, threatened a total depopulation of the country. This was a dreadful plague, which raged ſo furiouſly, and ſwept away ſuch prodigious numbers, that, in many parts, the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead.

No ſooner had this dreadful calamity ſubſided, than the Scots and Picts, judging of the weakneſs of the nation from the reports they had received of the ravages occaſioned by the diſorder, immediately made an irruption into South Britain, and penetrated as far as Stamford in Lincolnſhire.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the debaſed and puſillanimous Vortigern, inſtead of animating his ſubjects to defend themſelves, formed a ſcheme for inviting over a foreign army to protect his people. Accordingly, a council was called, the propoſition approved of, and a deputation ordered to be ſent to treat with the Saxons for their protection and aſſiſtance.

At this time the Saxons* were a very formidable people, and inhabited the ſea coaſt from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland. Their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic was valour and the love of liberty. Their chiefs who led them to battle, and preſided in their councils, were far from enjoying a deſpotic power; they were ſubject to the regulations of the ſtate, and to the general voice of the people, who always went armed to the council, in order to declare their ſentiments. Their attachment to their leaders was remarkable: when any of them fell in battle, they thought themſelves obliged to revenge their deaths, and never to ſurvive a defeat. They were almoſt ſtrangers to agriculture: they had no lands they could properly call their own, a new diviſion being made every year, leſt the love of property ſhould leſſen their military ardour, which they conſidered as the true ſupport of the ſtate. Such were the Saxons, whom the Britons invited into their country, to defend them againſt the ravages of the Scots and Picts; but who ſoon convinced them that, inſtead of their having ſolicited a friendly alliance, they had taken ſome pains to procure a moſt implacable enemy.

It is little to be wondered at that the ſolicitation of the Britons ſhould be readily agreed to by the Saxons, a people long inured to the camp, who had lived by rapine, and whoſe country, at the time, was overſtocked with inhabitants. Hengiſt and Horſa, their two principal leaders, and who had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their military proweſs, received the Britiſh deputies with great reſpect, and entered into a treaty with them for complying with the requeſt of their maſter. Theſe two commanders were brothers, and no ſtrangers to Britain, having often viſited the coaſts of the iſland in their piratical excurſions. They knew it to be a fertile country, and the climate inviting; and therefore had no great difficulty in perſuading their countrymen to engage in an enterprize which foreboded the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantages.

A. D. 450. The two Saxon chiefs having collected an army of 1600 choſen men, embarked them on board three veſſels, and ſailing with a fair wind arrived ſafe in the Iſle of Thanet in Kent, which was aſſigned them for their place of reſidence by Vortigern, and was conſequently the firſt piece of land they ever poſſeſſed in Britain.

As ſoon as Vortigern underſtood that the Saxons were arrived, he immediately repaired with his nobles to the Iſle of Thanet in order to compliment them on the occaſion. Hengiſt and Horſa approached the Britiſh monarch in the attitude of ferocious warriors, having in their hands their ſhort broad ſwords, which they uſed with ſo much dexterity and effect; and their troops followed them in the ſame poſture, in order to convince the Britons that they had not applied to a people incapable of affording them that aſſiſtance they had requeſted.

A treaty was now entered into between Vortigern and the Saxon chiefs, in which it was ſtipulated that the latter ſhould defend the Britons from the incurſions of their enemies, for which, beſides the portion of land aſſigned them, they were to be bountifully fed, and liberally rewarded.

The articles of the treaty being ſigned, Vortigern joined his forces with thoſe of the Saxons, and immediately marched againſt the northern invaders of his country. The Caledonians were ſoon convinced that victory was not confined to the Roman ſtandards: in ſeveral repeated engagements the Caledonians were defeated with great ſlaughter, owing to the diſtinguiſhed intrepidity of the Saxons, and were at length obliged to fly to the frontiers of their own country, leaving the prey they had taken to fall into the hands of the conquerors.

This eaſy victory gave the Saxons a very mean opinion of the power of the Britons, who were unable to repel the attacks of ſo undiſciplined a foe: they perceived their own ſuperiority, and determined to improve it to their own advantage. Their different expeditions againſt the Scots had given

* The Saxons derived their name from the Gothic word SEAX; a word that implies a ſhort, crooked, or hooked ſword, which they wore as their principal weapon, and for the dexterous uſe of which they were particularly celebrated.

given them the opportunity of seeing various parts of the country, which, from its great beauty, verdure and fertility, they beheld with an eye of desire; and observing, at the same time, that the Britons were enervated by luxury, and sunk in vice, their ambition was awakened to the idea of ruling those they came to defend, and enslaving a people they had been employed to protect.

To effect this purpose, Hengist (the most artful of the two Saxon leaders) prevailed on the weak and undiscerning Vortigern to make a more general invitation of his countrymen, telling him, that as the Saxons were particularly skilled in husbandry, the soil of the country would be considerably improved, and the Britons would be initiated in that superior kind of agriculture to which they had hitherto been strangers. This argument had the desired effect: a second invitation was sent to Saxony, and a fleet of seventeen sail brought over a prodigious number of Saxons, Jutes and Angles. With these came Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, a lady of incomparable beauty, and who was afterwards essentially serviceable in facilitating the designs of her countrymen.

A short time after the arrival of Rowena, Hengist invited Vortigern to a sumptuous entertainment, at which he took care that his daughter should not only be present, but that she should particularly distinguish herself by waiting on the king. This answered the designs of Hengist: for no sooner did Vortigern behold the lustre of Rowena's charms, than he became the slave of their attractions, and, though he had already got a consort, demanded her in marriage. The artful Hengist pretended to decline so great an honour, on account of the great inferiority of his daughter; but this only increased the desires of Vortigern, who appeared willing to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his passions. Hengist determined to take advantage of the then disposition of the king, and therefore proposed the following conditions: that the whole county of Kent should be ceded to him; and that Vortigern should divorce his queen, and make Rowena his sole consort. The infatuated Vortigern readily consented to this proposal: Kent was immediately given up to Hengist, and the British princess was cruelly divorced, though she had borne her husband many children.

The charms of Rowena so wrought upon Vortigern that he gave himself up entirely to her company; and she obtained such an ascendancy over him that her will was law. This was easily perceived by Hengist, who determined to take advantage of it, and to strike his ultimate stroke of policy. He accordingly desired his daughter to propose to Vortigern that another body of his countrymen should be sent for, who, by inhabiting the northern parts of the island, would be a constant check upon any attempts that might be in future made by the Caledonians. Vortigern, without giving himself the least trouble to think of the consequences, readily consented to this proposal. Accordingly, a third embarkation took place; forty sail of ships soon appeared on the British coasts, and the northern parts of the island began (as the southern had for some time done) to swarm with strangers from the continent.

A. D. 451. From the great increase of the Saxons the army of Hengist was considerably augmented, the number of troops added to his army amounting to upwards of 5000 effective men. The Britons beheld this with the utmost anxiety of mind; and the very people in whom they had placed their confidence now became their terror. They had been witnesses of their valour against their northern enemies, and dreaded the consequences that would inevitably ensue should they turn their swords against them.

It was not long before the Britons were made sensible that their apprehensions were too justly founded. Hengist and Horsa, having succeeded to their wishes, now thought proper to throw off the mask, and publickly avow their intentions. They accordingly began by demanding a larger sum of money, and a greater quantity of provisions, than what they were entitled to by the original stipulations, that those of their countrymen, who last came over, might be as well provided for as those who first landed. This request was unanimously refused by the Britons, who remonstrated with the Saxons on the unreasonableness of their demand, as their number had so greatly increased, since their first arrival in the island. The refusal was what the Saxons expected, and, in fact, wished for, as it gave them the shadow of a pretence to commence hostilities, by pretending to pay themselves, and take by force what, they affirmed, was unjustly with-held from them. They accordingly, without any further hesitation, entered into an alliance with the Scots and Picts, ravaged the adjacent country, and laid waste, with fire and sword, the territories of a people who had called them to their defence.

A. D. 455. The deluded Britons now perceived the folly of the step they had taken, and were desirous of retrieving it. Filled with indignation at the perfidy of the Saxons, and exasperated at the vices of Vortigern, they hurled the guilty potentate from his throne, and placed the sceptre in the hands of Vortimer his son. Under the banners of that active prince they fought many battles with various success, though the advantage was generally on the side of the Saxons. In one remarkable action, however, fought at Eglesford (now Ailsford) victory declared for the Britons, and Horsa, one of the Saxon generals, fell in the conflict.

A. D. 457. From the different engagements with the Britons, the Saxon army was greatly reduced, in consequence of which Hengist (who was now the sole commander of his countrymen) sent over to Germany for a fresh supply of troops. On the arrival of these Hengist took upon himself the title of king of Kent, and marching at the head of his army marked his route with blood and devastation. Neither age nor sex were spared: the priests were burnt upon the altars, and the prince and the peasant shared the same fate. The structures dedicated to religion were levelled in the dust; and the whole country through which they passed exhibited the most dreadful spectacle of horror and desolation.

A. D. 465. The British monarch beheld the destruction of his country with the most poignant grief, and exerted his utmost endeavours to put a stop to the barbarous ravages of the Saxons. But before he could accomplish this desirable end, death

death put a final period to his labours, and the Britons were left without a leader. As the fate of their country was now at ſtake no time was to be loſt in appointing one to ſupply the place of their late commander; and accordingly Ambroſius, a Briton of Roman deſcent, was choſen to the regal dignity by the unanimous voice of the people. A more proper perſon could not, indeed, have been choſen to hold the reins of government at this dangerous criſis. He was humane, prudent and intrepid: his conduct and valour were equally eminent; he was not to be intimidated by the power of the enemy, nor provoked to raſh meaſures by their cruelty. He endeavoured all in his power to unite his countrymen in their reſiſtance againſt the Saxons: nor were his labours wholly without ſucceſs; the military ſpirit of the Britons, who had been long ſunk into a fatal lethargy, was revived, and their ſtruggles for maintaining their liberty ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue.

The Saxon leader perceived the great alteration in the conduct of the Britons, and was alarmed for the conſequences. Inſtead of extending his ravages, he found it difficult to keep poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Kent. Aſſiſted by the famous Arthur *, (whoſe exploits have given riſe to many fables) Ambroſius defeated ſeveral detachments of the Saxons, and, from his diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs, greatly alarmed the camp of the enemy. In conſequence of this Hengiſt ſent for another tribe of his countrymen under the command of his brother Octa; but inſtead of joining the Saxons in Kent, he ordered him to land and ſettle in Northumberland, in order to divide the forces and attention of Ambroſius; while himſelf continued with his army in the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

A. D. 468. While Hengiſt lay inactive, Ambroſius was aſſiduous in ſettling the affairs of his kingdom, and taking ſuch meaſures as might enable him to withſtand any future attempts of the enemy. He ſummoned a general aſſembly of the heads of the people at York, where orders were given for reſtoring the ſtate of the churches, which had been almoſt wholly deſtroyed by the Saxons; he likewiſe made many regulations for the benefit and welfare of his ſubjects, who were ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct, that they teſtified their approbation by ſolemnly crowning him king at Stonehenge in Wiltſhire, then the moſt ſacred and eſteemed place in the Britiſh dominions.

A. D. 477. During theſe tranſactions freſh forces were continually arriving from the northern parts of Germany, under different leaders. Among theſe the Angles made a conſpicuous figure, both with regard to number and military abilities. They were of a different nation from the Saxons; but being of the ſame religion, ſpeaking the ſame language, and coming upon the ſame errand, they joined the forces of Hengiſt, and, with them, acted in concert againſt the forces of Ambroſius.

A. D. 478. In the beginning of this year one Ella, a Saxon chief, attended by his three ſons, Cymer, Wlecing and Ciſſa, landed, at the head of his forces, on the coaſt of Suſſex. He was, however, bravely oppoſed by the Britons, and obliged to wait for freſh ſuccours before he could make any ſettlement in the country. Theſe being arrived, he committed the moſt horrid depredations, putting to death every perſon that fell into his hands without diſtinction of age or ſex. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter fled, and took refuge in the foreſts, leaving their poſſeſſions to the conqueror, who ſoon after extended his dominion over all Suſſex and a great part of Surry, taking upon him the title of king of the South Saxons.

A. D. 495. The next diſtinguiſhed chief among the Saxons that arrived in England was Cerdic, who, accompanied by his ſon Kenrick, landed on the weſtern coaſt with a conſiderable army, about ſeventeen years after Ella had founded the kingdom of Suſſex. The forces of Cerdic were much ſuperior to thoſe of Ella, notwithſtanding which he met with much greater difficulties. The Britons, taught by paſt experience, were continually on their guard, and ſo well prepared to receive the enemy, that they gave Cerdic battle on the very day of his landing; and though vanquiſhed, they continued, for ſome time, to defend their poſſeſſions and liberties againſt the invaders of their country. At length the army of Cerdic being conſiderably reinforced, he conquered all oppoſition, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Weſſex.

A. D. 527. While the Saxons were buſily employed in extending their conqueſts in the ſouth, a conſiderable body of them, headed by ſeveral leaders, landed on the eaſtern coaſt of Britain. After fighting many battles, of which hiſtory has preſerved no particular account, they eſtabliſhed three new kingdoms in the iſland, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Eaſt Anglia, Mercia, and Eaſt Saxony, or Eſſex. Uffa, a celebrated leader of the Angles, aſſumed the title of king of the firſt, Crida of the Second, and Erkenwin of the third.

Some time after Hengiſt had prevailed on the weak and deluded Vortigern to admit of a ſecond embarkation of his countrymen, great numbers of them ſettled in different parts of Northumberland; but not having a proper leader, they were for ſome time unable to ſubdue the inhabitants. At length, from the great conqueſts made by other chiefs, an enterprizing leader, named Ida, was induced to try his fortune in that part of the iſland. He accordingly embarked from the continent with a conſiderable army, and, joining his countrymen, marched againſt the Britons, whom he drove, with great ſlaughter, from their poſſeſſions, and having totally ſubdued the inhabitants of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, took upon himſelf the title of king of Bernicia.

While Ida was employed in reducing the northern parts of the kingdom, another Saxon prince, named Ella, ſubdued Lancaſhire and the greater part of Yorkſhire, which he formed into a kingdom,

* This hero, we are told, was born at Tindagium, or Tindangel, in Cornwall, but, like ſome other great men in the early part of the hiſtory of this iſland, his origin is ſo obſcure as not to be traced with any certainty. Some writers make him the ſon of Utherpendragon brother to Ambroſius; while others ſay, he was the ſon of Nazon Leod, who was either one of the kings of Wales, or a general of the Britons; but others, and indeed with greater probability, make him the ſon of Gurlois, and add, that he was king of Cornwall.

dom, under the title of Deiri. Theſe two kingdoms were afterwards united by a marriage between the grandſon of Ida, and the daughter of Ella, under the title of the kingdom of Northumberland.

Thus was that part of Britain called England, totally ſubjugated by the Saxons, who divided the whole into ſeven diſtinct kingdoms, each under the direction of a particular monarch.—A diviſion mentioned by all writers under the name of the Saxon Heptarchy.

The names of the different kingdoms, by whom founded, and the counties each contained, will be ſeen at one view in the following table:

Kingdoms.	By whom founded.	Counties contained in each.
Kent	Hengiſt	Kent
South Saxons	Ella	Suſſex Surry
Weſt Saxons	Cerdic	Cornwall Devonſhire Dorſetſhire Somerſetſhire Wiltſhire Hampſhire Barkſhire, or Berkſhire
Eaſt Saxons	Erkenwin	Eſſex Middleſex Part of Hertfordſhire
Northumberland	Ida	Lancaſhire Yorkſhire Durham Cumberland Weſtmoreland Northumberland Part of Scotland, as far as the Frith of Edinburgh
Eaſt Anglea	Uffa	Norfolk Suffolk Cambridgeſhire And the Iſle of Ely
Mercia	Crida	Glouceſterſhire Hereford ſhire Worceſterſhire Warwickſhire Rutlandſhire Northamptonſhire Lincolnſhire Huntingdonſhire Bedfordſhire The other Part of Hertfordſhire Buckinghamſhire Oxfordſhire Staffordſhire Derbyſhire Shropſhire Nottinghamſhire Cheſhire

With reſpect to the particular circumſtances that took place in the courſe of this long war between the Saxons and the Britons, little is recorded, and that ſo incoherent as not to deſerve the notice of an hiſtorian. All that can be relied on as authentic is, that the renowned Britiſh prince Arthur ſignalized himſelf for his military exploits under Ambroſius: that on the demiſe of that prince he ſucceeded to the command of the Britons, and headed them in divers engagements with the Saxons, and with various ſucceſs; till at length his own nephew, having violated his bed and uſurped his authority, Arthur raiſed a powerful army to chaſtiſe his treacherous conduct, as did the other to ward off the reſentment of his juſtly incenſed uncle; and that both parties being highly enraged, they challenged each other to a ſingle combat, in which Mordred the nephew was ſlain on the ſpot, but not till he had mortally wounded his uncle Arthur, who after lingering a few days, expired at Glaſtonbury in the year 542, having bravely aſſerted his country's cauſe for the ſpace of ſeventy-ſix years.

CHAP. II.

Containing an account of the reſpective monarchs that ſucceeded each other on the different thrones that formed the Saxon Heptarchy, with a circumſtantial detail of the various tranſactions and revolutions that took place in each kingdom, from their firſt eſtabliſhment to their final diſſolution by Egbert, the firſt ſole monarch of England.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, premiſed as much as can be deemed authentic relative to the arrival of the Saxons in this iſland, and the ſtate of the war by which the Heptarchy, or goverment of the Anglo Saxons, conſidered as forming one body and one ſtate, was eſtabliſhed, we ſhall now proceed to give a ſuccinct account of the ſucceſſion of the kings, and the revolution of each particular kingdom, of which the Saxon Heptarchy was compoſed. In doing this we ſhall place them in order according to the different periods they were eſtabliſhed, beginning with

The Kingdom of KENT.

A. D. 455. THE kingdom of Kent, which was by far the moſt formidable of all thoſe that conſtituted the Heptarchy, was founded by Hengiſt, the great leader of the Saxons, in the year 455, about five years after his firſt arrival in Britain. During his life the kingdom of Kent claimed an aſcendancy, in point of ſtrength and power, over the reſt; but after his death it greatly declined, owing to the inattention and ſupineneſs of his three immediate ſucceſſors, namely, Eſke, Octa and Ymrick.

The indolence of the Kentiſh princes was particularly

ticularly obſerved by Ceaulin king of Weſſex, a man of an ambitious and aſpiring diſpoſition, who having unjuſtly ſeized the ſceptre of Suſſex, reſolved to attempt the reduction of Kent, and, if poſſible, make himſelf maſter of the whole heptarchy.

A. D. 593. At this time, Ethelbert, the great grandſon of Hengiſt, filled the Kentiſh throne. He had long beheld with grief the declining ſtate of the kingdom, and reſolved to uſe his utmoſt efforts in order to reſtore it to its primative luſtre. Poſſeſſed of all the intrepidity of Hengiſt, and being at the ſame time a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, he was univerſally beloved, not only by his own ſubjects, but alſo thoſe of the confederate kingdoms, and the different princes paid him the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect.

Ethelbert was no ſtranger to the ambitious deſigns of Ceaulin, which he determined, if poſſible, to render abortive. To effect this, he ſummoned the other princes of the different kingdoms to a general council, when he informed them that Ceaulin had acted inconſiſtently with the true and original ſtate of the heptarchy, by ſeizing the territories conſtitutionally appertaining to the South Saxons, and that if ſome efficacious meaſures were not immediately taken, he might, in time, make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. The other Saxon princes ſaw this repreſentatation in its proper light, and, in conſequence thereof, not only furniſhed him with troops, but likewiſe appointed him to the chief command againſt the king of the Weſt Saxons, whom they now conſidered as their common enemy.

Ceaulin clearly ſaw the ſtorm that was gathering around him, and exerted his whole force to defend himſelf againſt its fury. Having gathered together his troops, he marched with great reſolution againſt Ethelbert, when a deſperate battle enſued, which was ſupported, for ſome time, with equal ſpirit on both ſides. At length victory declared in favour of Ethelbert, the forces of Ceaulin were routed with great ſlaughter, and though himſelf was not ſlain in the battle, yet he ſoon after paid the debt of nature.

Thus deprived of their leader, and having loſt the greater part of their army, the Weſt Saxons were in no condition to make any farther attempts in oppoſing the combined army: they therefore threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to Ethelbert, who reſtored the kingdom to the lawful heir, and, from his great military proweſs, as well as ſingular talents in the cabinet, became afterwards the chief of the Saxon ſovereigns.

A. D. 596. But the moſt remarkable incident that diſtinguiſhed the reign of Ethelbert was, the introduction of Chriſtianity among the Saxons. The Britons had long enjoyed the light of the goſpel, but whether or not they made any attempt to convert them is uncertain: indeed, the Saxons, except thoſe who inhabited the kingdom of Kent, had been ſo continually engaged in the hurry and tumults of war, that they had no leiſure to examine into the truths of chriſtianity; at the ſame time it could hardly be ſuppoſed they would liſten to the reaſonings of the Britons, who were at once both their ſlaves and their enemies.

Theſe difficulties, however, were at length happily removed by the marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, the daughter of Caribert king of France. This princeſs was a Chriſtian, and therefore it was ſtipulated, by the articles of marriage, that ſhe ſhould be permitted to enjoy the free exerciſe of her own religion. In conſequence of this ſhe was atttended by one Luidard, a prelate venerable at once for his great piety and learning. He officiated in the church of St. Martin, which had been built in the time of the Romans, near the walls of Canterbury, and, by his frequent diſcourſes with the nobility, and others belonging to the court, converted many to the Chriſtian faith. The excellent genius and underſtanding of the queen greatly contributed to his ſucceſs; and at the ſame time her exemplary life and uncommon learning, made a ſtriking impreſſion on the king, who, in conſequence thereof, conceived a very favourable idea of the principles of the Chriſtian religion.

Theſe favourable circumſtances being made known to Pope Gregory the Great, who then filled the papal chair, he began to entertain the pleaſing hopes of being able to deſtroy the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the Saxons in Britain, and, inſtead thereof, to eſtabliſh the glorious tenets of the goſpel. To accompliſh this noble deſign he ſent Auguſtine, or Auſtin, a Roman monk, with ſeveral others of his fraternity, to preach the Goſpel in Britain. Theſe miſſionaries accordingly ſet out on their embaſſy, but on their arrival at Provence in France, they were ſo intimidated from the accounts they received of the ferocious manners of the Saxons, and their ſuperſtitious attachment to the religion of their anceſtors, that they ſent their ſuperior back to the pope, in order to obtain leave to relinquiſh their deſign, and return to Rome.

Gregory was inflexible in his deſign, and therefore ſent peremptory orders for them to proceed; but at the ſame time, in order to remove all diſagreeable apprehenſions, he wrote a letter to the king of France, beſeeching him to take the fathers under his protection, and furniſh them with every neceſſary for promoting the ſucceſs of the undertaking. He likewiſe wrote a letter to Brunehaute, queen of Burgundy, requeſting, in the moſt preſſing manner, her aſſiſtance on this intereſting occaſion. This ſolicitation was far from being made in vain. Brunehaute exerted all her power to render the attempt ſucceſsful, and not only ſupplied the miſſionaries with interpreters who could ſpeak the Saxon language, but likewiſe ſent letters to the moſt conſiderable people at the Britiſh court, recommending Auguſtine and his followers to their protection.

A. D. 597. Thus furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for his miniſtry, Auguſtine, accompanied by his aſſiſtants, embarked for Britain, and, after a ſhort paſſage, ſafely landed in the iſle of Thanet. Auguſtine immediately diſpatched one of his interpreters to the Kentiſh court, informing Ethelbert of the intention of his coming, and requeſting his permiſſion to preach publickly the doctrine of the goſpel. This meſſage was reſpectfully received by Ethelbert, but at the ſame time he did not think proper to grant Auguſtine an immediate audience. He, however, ordered him to continue in the iſle of Thanet, and gave directions for his being properly ſupplied with all the neceſſary articles of life.

A few days after this Ethelbert, accompanied by

by his queen and the greater part of the nobility, repaired to the isle of Thanet, in order to hear Austustine expound the doctrine of the gospel. Apprehensive, however, that spells or enchantments might be used against him by priests, who brought an unknown worship from a distant country, the king took the precaution of receiving the missionaries in the open air, where he imagined the force of their magic (should they attempt to practise any) would be rendered abortive.

Ethelbert and his queen being seated under a tree, the monks advanced to audience with a slow and solemn pace, chanting their litanies with all the marks of unaffected devotion. Austin then expounded the doctrines of the Christian religion, and, to strike an impression on the mind of Ethelbert, to whom he particularly addressed himself, promised him eternal joys above, and a kingdom in heaven without end, if he would be persuaded to receive the salutary tenets of the gospel. "Your words and promises (replied Ethelbert) "are fair; but as they are new and uncertain, "I cannot entirely yield to them, and relinquish "the principles, which I and my ancestors have "so long maintained. You are welcome, how-"ever, to remain here in peace, and as you have "undertaken so long a journey solely, as appears, "for what you believe to be for our advantage, I "will permit you to deliver your doctrines to my "subjects." At the same time he ordered Austin and his companions to be provided with all necessaries, and allotted Canterbury, the capital of his dominions, as the place of their residence.

Encouraged by this favourable reception, Austin and his companions proceeded, with redoubled zeal, to preach the gospel to the Kentish Saxons, and added strength to their doctrine by the remarkable austerities of their lives. The Saxons were persuaded that the followers of a religion which mortified every passion, must act from conviction, and that the tenets they professed must be founded on a basis more than human. They therefore listened with great attention to the new doctrine, and many of them were brought over to the Christian faith. Ethelbert himself, convinced of the truth of the gospel, no longer hesitated to profess its tenets, but publicly acknowledged his conversion, by suffering himself to be baptized, in the presence of his courtiers, who, from his example, became proselytes to the Christian religion.

In consequence of this success the liberties of the missionaries were enlarged, and Christianity preached in every part of the island. Christchurch in Canterbury, which had been built in the time of the Romans, was made a cathedral, and Augustine appointed archbishop; the churches which had fallen to decay were repaired; the heathen temples were consecrated and set apart for divine worship, and a seminary of learning was opened in Canterbury, the capital of Ethelbert's dominions.

The propagation of Christianity in Britain was (as is generally the case where there is a similarity of sentiments in religion) productive of civil connections. The Anglo-Saxons opened an intercourse with the nations on the continent, and, from them, conceived an idea of more cultivated manners. They saw the many advantages that resulted from a polite and generous behaviour; from connections founded on virtue; from reciprocal acts of kindness and benevolence; and wished to imitate the practice.

A. D. 598. After Ethelbert had become a convert to the Christian faith, he used his utmost efforts, in conjunction with Bertha his queen, to propagate the tenets of the gospel throughout his dominions. In this he succeeded to his wishes, having done which he directed his attention towards the civil government of his people. He made many wise regulations for their future welfare, and enacted a body of laws, which he caused to be written and published, that none might plead ignorance of the contents.

The remaining part of the reign of Ethelbert is marked with no transaction of importance, except the death of the virtuous Bertha. No disturbance happened: his people were happy, and he, after a prosperous reign of forty-eight years, paid the debt of nature, universally beloved and lamented by his subjects.

A. D. 616. On the death of Ethelbert the Kentish throne was filled by his son Eadbald, a prince of a very wicked and profligate disposition. Blinded by an incestuous passion for his mother-in-law (a French princess whom his father had married after the death of the amiable Bertha) he abandoned his religion that he might indulge his criminal excesses without restraint. In consequence of this step many of the nobility followed his example, and the tenets of the gospel were in danger of falling a sacrifice to heathen superstition.

The abandoned life of Eadbald, and the consequences that arose therefrom, greatly affected Laurentius, who succeeded Austin in the see of Canterbury. This prelate, fearless of danger when religion called for his assistance, laboured, with the utmost assiduity, to make Eadbald sensible of the enormity of his vices; and at length happily succeeded. Convinced by the arguments of Laurentius, he renounced the Pagan religion, divorced his incestuous consort, and became a remarkable penitent for the crimes he had committed. He demolished the idolatrous temples, and established the Christian religion throughout his kingdom. He extended his care for the interest of the gospel even beyond the limits of his territories; and greatly contributed, by the force of his arguments, as well as by his exemplary piety, to the conversion of Edwin king of Northumberland.

In this manner did Eadbald spend his time for the space of twenty-four years, when he paid the debt of nature, leaving behind him the character of an excellent and pious prince. Before his death he obtained the consent of his subjects to settle the succession of the throne on his youngest son Ercombert, but with this restriction, that the heirs of Ermenfrid, his elder brother, should succeed to the crown at his decease.

A. D. 640. Ercombert readily agreed to the conditions, and as readily forgot them when settled on the throne. But, excepting this breach of promises, he might be called a good prince, and a zealous professor of christianity, for, during the short time he possessed the sovereignty he contributed to the establishment of Christianity, by destroying every temple and idol throughout his

his dominions. He reigned twenty-four years, and, at his death, left two ſons, namely, Egbert and Lotharius.

A. D. 664. Egbert having obtained the ſovereignty reſolved to preſerve it by means the moſt deteſtable, namely, by taking off his nephews, whom he well knew, were the true heirs to the throne. He accordingly prevailed on one Thunner, a creature of his own, to murder the royal youths. This execrable monſter performed the inhuman office, and threw the bodies into a river, where they were afterwards found floating on the water, and being taken up were interred in the abbey of Ramſay.

But the death of theſe two young princes was not ſufficient to remove the jealouſy of Egbert: their ſiſter Domneva was ſtill alive, and married to the king of Mercia. He therefore prevailed upon her to renounce her claim to the crown, in conſideration of ſome lands being ceded to her in the Iſle of Thanet, where ſhe built a monaſtery, and preſided herſelf as prioreſs.

The remaining part of Egbert's reign was mild, peaceable and virtuous. He applied himſelf to the duties of religion, in order to atone for the atrocious crime he had committed, and at length died in the ninth year of his reign, leaving two ſons, namely, Edric and Widred.

A. D. 673. On the death of Egbert his brother Lotharius, under pretence of his nephews being too young to govern, ſeized on the ſovereignty. This dignity he enjoyed without moleſtation during a period of ten years, when he aſſociated with him his ſon Richard as a partner in the kingdom.

This proceeding ſo incenſed his nephew Edric, that he immediately withdrew from court, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to obtain his right of the ſovereignty by force of arms. To effect this he applied to Adelivalch, king of the South Saxons, who generouſly aſſiſted him with a conſiderable body of forces. At the head of theſe Edric marched into Kent, and a general battle enſued, in which the troops of Lotharius were defeated, and himſelf, being mortally wounded with an arrow, died ſoon after.

A. D. 685. On the death of Lotharius, his ſon Richard, inſtead of making any attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the crown, fled into Germany, leaving Edric ſole maſter of the Kentiſh dominions. But this dignity he only enjoyed one year, and even this ſhort interval of time was filled with tumults and commotions, occaſioned by the party of the late king, and the diſputes which took place relative to the ſucceſſion.

During theſe commotions, Ceadwalla, king of Weſſex, invaded Kent, and plundered a conſiderable part of the country without oppoſition, till all the inhabitants, provoked by their loſſes, took up arms in their own defence, and defeated their enemies. Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla, being obliged to retire for ſafety into a houſe, with twelve of his followers, defended himſelf, for ſome time, with great bravery, but at length the Kentiſh men ſet fire to the building, in conſequence of which both he and his gallant companions periſhed in the flames. His brother was ſo exaſperated at this cruel action, that he entered Kent at the head of a powerful army, and, fired with reſentment, laid waſte the greater part of the country.

In the midſt of theſe diſtractions Edric died; nor was there any prince of the Hengiſt family that had ſpirit ſufficient to aſſume the reins of government, ſo that an inter-regnum, or rather anarchy enſued, which continued about ſix years.

A. D. 693. At length Widred, the youngeſt ſon of Egbert, aſcended the throne, and, in order to appeaſe the commotions that ſubſiſted among the nobility, aſſociated with him one Swabert (a very popular man and a particular favourite of the people) in the government. But Swabert did not long enjoy his power: he ſurvived his elevation only four years, and then left Widred in ſole poſſeſſion of the throne.

Widred, being now freed from the commotions which had ſo long diſtracted the kingdom, governed his people with remarkable prudence and equanimity. He was a great benefactor to the church, which, together with his juſtice, candour and humanity, gained him the univerſal affection of his ſubjects.

On the death of Widred his eldeſt ſon Edbert ſucceeded to the ſovereignty. He inherited the underſtanding and humanity of his father, and by theſe means enjoyed a peaceable reign for the ſpace of thirty-two years, when he died, leaving the crown to his brother Edelbert.

A. D. 725. Edelbert, on his acceſſion to the throne, admitted his ſon Ardulph as a partner with him in the government, but ſurviving him, he bequeathed the ſcepter to his brother Aldric.

A. D. 760. Aldric was the laſt prince lineally deſcended from Hengiſt, the firſt founder of the monarchy. After his death (which happened in 794) the kingdom was rent with factions, for eleven years, during which time the crown became the ſport of fortune. The towns were laid in aſhes, and the fields manured with the blood of their owners. Nor were theſe troubles terminated till Egbert (in the year 805) united in his perſon the ſeven crowns of the Saxon Heptarchy, after Kent had continued a diſtinct and ſeparate kingdom during an interval of 350 years.

The Kingdom of SUSSEX, or the SOUTH SAXONS.

A. D. 477. THIS kingdom was the moſt inconſiderable of all thoſe which formed the Saxon Heptarchy, and the hiſtory of it is exceeding imperfect. It contained only the two counties of Suſſex and Surry, a very conſiderable part of which was covered with woods and foreſts. At the ſame time it was very thinly inhabited, and therefore incapable of making any effectual reſiſtance againſt the attempts of an enterprizing enemy.

The kingdom of Suſſex was founded by Ella, a perſon of great military merit, who landed in Britain,

tain, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to ſtrengthen the intereſt of Hengiſt. He maintained his ground ſome time againſt the Britons, whom he at length totally routed; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of a throne was, on the death of Hengiſt, choſen by the Saxons to ſucceed him as head of the confederacy.

A. D. 514. On the death of Ella the throne of Suſſex fell to his ſon Ciſſa, who, contented with the quiet poſſeſſion of a power, the foundation of which was obtained by ſlaughter, choſe to pay a yearly proportion of money, and furniſh a certain number of troops, to Cerdic king of Weſſex, who, on the death of Ella, was placed at the head of the Saxon Heptarchy. By theſe means Ciſſa prevented the flames of war from ſpreading into his own country, and Cerdic was farther enabled to repel and ſubdue the Britons.

Though Ciſſa was far from poſſeſſing the abilities of his father in a military line, yet he was equally well calculated to hold the reins of government. He dedicated his time to acts of the moſt commendable nature, and inceſſantly laboured to promote the happineſs and tranquillity of his ſubjects. He built the city of Chicheſter, and made it the capital of his dominions. His age and the length of his reign were extended beyond the common limits of mankind. He paid the debt of nature in the 117th year of his age, ſeventy-ſix of which he governed his kingdom with general ſatisfaction, and died univerſally lamented.

A. D. 590. Ciſſa dying without iſſue, Ceaulin, king of the Weſt-Saxons, ſeized his dominions, in conſequence of which a confederacy was formed againſt him, and he was vanquiſhed and diſpoſſeſſed by his nephew Ceolric, who retained Suſſex as part of his conqueſts.

After this event the kingdom of Suſſex was ſubject to ſeveral revolutions; but at length it was totally ſubdued and united to that of the Weſt-Saxons, after it had remained a ſeparate kingdom 277 years, from its firſt eſtabliſhment by Ella.

The Kingdom of WESSEX, or the West-Saxons.

AS the kingdom of Suſſex was one of the moſt inconſiderable, ſo was that of Weſſex one of the moſt important of the heptarchy, and the Saxons met with greater oppoſition in their endeavours to poſſeſs themſelves of this than any other part of the country. It received its name from being ſituated to the weſt of the other Saxon ſettlements in Kent and Suſſex, and extended from the river Thames to the Britiſh channel. Its principal cities were Winchеſter the capital, Southampton, Portſmouth, Saliſbury, Dorcheſter, Sherborne and Exeter.

A. D. 521. The founder of this monarchy was Cerdic, one of the greateſt generals among the Saxons. He and his ſon Kenric fought many battles againſt the natives with various ſucceſs, nor was Cerdic able to eſtabliſh his kingdom till after the deaths of Ambroſius and Arthur, who, for ſeveral years, ſupported the falling liberties of their country. With them all reſiſtance terminated, and Cerdic ſat down in peace on the throne he had founded in the blood of an innocent people. He enjoyed the ſovereignty for the ſpace of twenty-three years, when he died, and left it to his ſon Kenrick, who had come over with him from Germany, and been very inſtrumental in defeating the Britons, and procuring the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom.

A. D. 544. Kenrick preſerved the ſovereignty only four years, when he died, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Ceaulin. This prince inherited the military abilities and ferocious paſſions of his grandfather, but was a ſtranger to his milder virtues. He carried on a continued war againſt the Britons, and added great part of the counties of Devon and Somerſet to his other dominions. Hurried away by the tide of ſucceſs, he invaded the other Saxon ſtates in the neighbourhood of his own territories, and became at length ſo terrible to all that a general confederacy was formed againſt him. Ethelbert king of Kent was made general of the allied forces, and the army of Ceaulin was totally defeated. This misfortune rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects, who, from the cruelty of his diſpoſition, only obeyed him through fear: they therefore now publicly ſhewed their abhorrence of his conduct, and expelling him from the throne, he died in exile and miſery.

A. D. 594. After the expulſion of Ceaulin, the victorious Ethelbert placed his nephew Ceolric on the throne of Weſſex. This prince had joined the confederacy formed againſt his uncle, and was entirely devoted to his benefactor. He reigned only ſeven years, during which nothing material occurred worthy of hiſtorical notice.

A. D. 601. On the death of Ceolric the crown of Weſſex fell to his nephew Ceolwulph, a prince of great military abilities, and poſſeſſed of talents equally well calculated for the cabinet as the field. He ſupported the dignity of his kingdom, and acquired great reputation by his prudent conduct and deliberate government; but his whole reign was one continued ſcene of action. He had many enemies to contend with, the moſt formidable of whom was Redwald, king of Eaſt-Anglia, at that time the head of the Saxon confederacy. The conteſt between them was violent and bloody, but at length victory declared in favour of Ceolwulph. He did not, however, long enjoy the honours he had acquired, being ſuddenly taken off while he was engaged in reducing the South-Saxons, after having ſat on the throne ten years.

A. D. 611. Ceolwulph dying without iſſue was ſucceeded by his nephew Kinegils, or Cinegils, who, in the third year of his reign, admitted his brother Quincelm as partner with him in the government. For the ſpace of two years after this conjunction the kingdom enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but at the expiration of that time the Britons began to make inroads into the territories of Weſſex. In conſequence of this the two brothers marched at the head of their forces againſt the enemy, whom they atttacked near Bindon in Dorſetſhire, and a deſperate battle enſued,

sued in which the Britons were routed with great slaughter *.

By this defeat the Britons were disabled from making any farther attempts against the Saxons for some time, and a general tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom. But at length the great qualities of the conjunctive monarchs procured them another enemy in the person of Penda, king of Mercia, who attempting to take from them the town of Cirencester, a battle ensued, which continued with astonishing resolution till night put an end to the contest. The next morning presented to their eyes a most dismal scene of slaughter, and cooler thoughts suggested, that a renewal of the engagement would end in the destruction of both armies. In consequence of this each party relaxed, a reconciliation was formed, and peace happily concluded.

A. D. 634. The next material transaction that took place was, the establishment of Christianity in Wessex; for though the gospel had been planted in the kingdom of Kent, yet the West Saxons were still immersed in all the errors of Pagan superstition. The torch of truth had not yet been lighted up in this part of the island; but the darkness of bigotry and error was now to be dispelled, and the true religion established in its stead. One Berinus, an Italian ecclesiastic, after being consecrated by the pope, was sent into Britain, in order to assist in converting the Saxons to christianity. He preached for some time in different parts of Wessex, and was at length heard by Kinegils himself, who struck with his arguments, and convinced of the truth of the gospel, suffered himself to be publickly baptized. The king's example was followed by numbers of his subjects; in consequence of which churches were erected for the worship of the true God; the heathen temples were in many places destroyed, and Berinus was invested with the episcopal title of Bishop of York. Quincelm, however, did not follow the example of his brother till some time after, when, being seized with a violent fever, he embraced the faith, soon after which he paid the debt of nature. Kinegils survived his brother about eight years, and then did universally beloved and lamented by his subjects.

A. D. 643. On the death of Kinegils the throne of Wessex was filled by his son Kenwalch, or Kenwal. This prince was far from inheriting any of the virtues of his father. He was unstable, pusillanimous, and luxurious, and therefore incapable of guiding the reins of government with steadiness and resolution. Having embraced the doctrine of the gospel, he married a sister of Penda, king of Mercia, whom he soon after divorced, and renounced the Christian religion, without giving the least reason for his conduct.

Penda, exasperated at this insult offered his sister, entered the dominions of Kenwal, at the head of a very powerful army, before he was prepared to act on the defensive. In consequence of this Kenwal was obliged to fly for protection to Annas king of the East-Angles, with whom he remained three years in exile, during which Penda kept possession of the throne of Wessex. But the school of adversity, together with the admonitions of Annas wrought effectually on the mind of Kenwal, who again professed himself a Christian, was baptized, and, by the assistance of Annas, replaced on the throne of his ancestors.

A. D. 652. Kenwal had not long resumed his seat of power, when he was disturbed by a rebellion which broke out in his kingdom, and once more threatened him with exile. In consequence of these disturbances he raised a considerable body of forces and marched at the head of them against the insurgents. The latter were too precipitate in their measures, and rashly engaged the royal army before they could be joined by their adherents from different parts of the kingdom. The battle was fought at Bradford in Wiltshire, and lasted with great obstinacy on both sides for some time, till at length the army of Kenwal prevailed, prodigious numbers of the insurgents were slain, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitate flight.

A. D. 658. But though the rebellion was quelled, yet peace was far from being restored to Wessex. The Britons, who had long waited for an opportunity of retaliating on the Saxons the many injuries they had received, thought this a proper period for attempting the accomplishment of their wishes. They accordingly invaded the dominions of Kenwal, and in their route, committed the most horrid outrages, levelling all before them with fire and sword. Kenwal advanced at the head of his army towards the enemy, and a dreadful battle ensued at a place called Pine, in Shropshire. At their first meeting the Britons fell on the Saxons with such fury, that they were obliged to give way; but at length recovering themselves they renewed the attack with such intrepid resolution as baffled all farther attempts of the Britons, who were totally defeated, and great numbers put to the sword.

A. D. 661. This victory, which delivered Kenwal from any farther apprehensions from the Britons, excited the jealousy of Wulphur, king of Mercia, who entered Wessex at the head of a considerable body of forces. Kenwal marched against him, and the two armies met at Pontesbury in Shropshire, where a desperate battle ensued, but the event of the battle is uncertain, some historians giving it in favour of Kenwal, while others assert that Wulphur obtained a compleat victory. But however this may have been, it produced a peace between the contending powers, and tranquillity was once more restored to Wessex.

After this Kenwal spent the remainder of his days in peace, dedicating his attention to the welfare and good goverment of his subjects. Among other acts for the promotion of the Christian religion he built the cathedral church of St. Peter at

* Henry of Huntingdon, and other historians of those times, tell us, that when the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, the splendor of the massy axes of the Saxons, together with the length of their spears, and the compact order of their ranks, struck the Britons with a panic, which the Saxons improving, obtained a compleat victory. They farther tell us, that no less than 2062 of the Britons were left dead on the field of battle.

at Wincheſter, which ſoon after became the ſee of a biſhop. But he did not long enjoy this interval of tranquillity, death putting a period at once to his labours and his life.

A. D. 672. Kenwall dying without iſſue, the crown of Weſſex was left in the hands of his wife Saxeburga. She was a princeſs of great talents and undaunted courage, and, during the ſhort time of her reign, held the ſceptre with honour to herſelf, and advantage to her country. She governed only twelve months, when ſhe paid the debt of nature univerſally lamented by her ſubjects.

A. D. 673. On the death of Saxeburga the throne of Weſſex was filled by Eſcwin, a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and deſcended from one of the collateral branches of the family of Cerdic. The firſt two years of his reign he enjoyed the crown in peace; but the reſtleſs ambition of the Saxon princes would not ſuffer any potentate to enjoy a long ſeries of tranquillity. Wulphur king of Mercia invaded his dominions, and a dreadful battle enſued at Bedwin in Wiltſhire. The conteſt was long and doubtful, and a terrible ſlaughter was made on both ſides: at length Wulphur obtained the advantage, but it was ſo trifling that he was in no condition to continue in the country of the enemy. Two years after this battle Eſcwin died, and left the throne of Weſſex to Kentwin, a ſon of the late Kinegils.

A. D. 677. Kentwin was no ſooner eſtabliſhed on the throne than he waged war againſt the Britons, whom he defeated, and drove from their country; in conſequence of which Cadwallader their king went over to Bretagne, in order to procure aſſiſtance againſt ſo powerful an enemy.

While Kentwin was employed in his wars with the Britons his nephew Ceadwalla, a prince of great expectations, and who had acquired a large ſhare of popularity, laid claim to the crown, which being made known to Kentwin he immediately repaired to his capital and obliged Ceadwalla to leave the kingdom. In conſequence of this Ceadwalla retired to the foreſt of Andreſwald in Suſſex, where he was joined by ſuch a number of people from every quarter, that he ſoon became exceeding formidable. Alarmed at his increaſing power, Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, aſſembled a body of forces to drive him out of his dominions; but this attempt proved unſucceſsful, his army being defeated and himſelf ſlain.

Fluſhed with this victory, Ceadwalla attempted to make himſelf maſter of Suſſex; but he met with ſuch oppoſition from the inhabitants, headed by Berthun and Anthun, two popular noblemen, that he was obliged to retire, after loſing a conſiderable number of his forces.

A. D. 686. A ſhort time after this Kentwin died, and Ceadwalla was placed on the throne of Weſſex. In conſequence of this acquiſition of power he immediately returned into Suſſex, defeated Berthun, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword. He then plundered the kingdom of Kent, and afterwards inveſted the Iſle of Wight, where he committed the moſt horrid cruelties on the wretched inhabitants. It is, however, to be obſerved, for the honour of Chriſtianity, that Ceadwalla was then a Pagan. He had, indeed, been very liberal to the church, having devoted a tenth part of his ſpoils to donations, which, according to the ignorance of that age, was conſidered by the clergy as a ſufficient atonement for his crimes; but, as William of Malmſbury juſtly obſerves, "Whoever offers a victim from the ſubſtance of the poor, ſacrifices the ſon in the eyes of the father."

Ceadwalla being at length impreſſed with a due ſenſe of the enormity of his paſt conduct, reſolved to make a ſerious atonement by profeſſing the doctrines of Chriſtianity. He accordingly repaired to Rome, where he was publicly baptized by Sergius II. who then filled the papal chair. But he did not long ſurvive the ceremony, for he died a few days after, and was interred in the church of St. Peter. He was poſſeſſed of great abilities, but few virtues; of much ſeeming religion, but very little real piety.

A. D. 688. On the death of Ceadwalla the throne of Weſſex was filled by his nephew Ina, one of the moſt illuſtrious monarchs mentioned in the Saxon Heptarchy. He was at once a general and a ſcholar, and formed to ſhine either in the council or the field. His abilities were ſo conſpicuous, and his virtues ſo great, that he had not ſet a year upon the throne before he was elected chief of the Saxon confederacy; and this æra he diſtinguiſhed by digeſting a body of laws for the good government of his ſubjects, which were ſo well concerted as to lay a foundation for thoſe enacted in the following century by Alfred the Great. He likewiſe convoked a general aſſembly of the clergy, at which meeting many wiſe and judicious regulations were made for the better government of the church.

The firſt military expedition undertaken by Ina was againſt the inhabitants of Kent, in order to revenge the death of his kinſman Mollo. But Withred, who then filled the Kentiſh throne, not chuſing to contend with him by force of arms, purchaſed an accommodation by the payment of a very conſiderable fine.

A. D. 710. Ina, being thus ſatisfied with the Kentiſh monarch, returned to his own dominions, and ſoon after made war with the Britons who inhabited the eaſtern part of the country. In this enterprize he proved ſucceſsful, and ſubdued the greater part of their territories; but he treated the vanquiſhed with a degree of humanity before unknown among Saxon conquerors. He allowed them to retain the poſſeſſion of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his own ſubjects, and gave them the privilege of being governed by the ſame laws.

A. 715. In the beginning of this year Ina declared war againſt Ceolred king of Mercia; and the two armies meeting at Woodenberg in Wilts, a battle enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Ina, and ſuch of the Mercians who eſcaped the ſword were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

After defeating the Mercians, Ina marched his army againſt the South Saxons, who had revolted from their obedience and depoſed their king. Theſe he ſoon ſubdued, and having reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom, returned in triumph to his own dominions.

A. D. 725. Ina, having governed thirty-ſeven years,

years in a continued ſtate of activity, now reſolved to dedicate the remainder of his life entirely to the exerciſes of devotion. As a prelude to the carrying his deſign into execution, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order to hold a conference with Gregory II. the then pontiff. During his reſidence in that city he erected a college for the reception of Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, to eſtabliſh which he impoſed a tax upon his ſubjects, afterwards called Peter's-pence. This tax was, for many years, converted to the purpoſes intended by Ina; but at length it was claimed as a debt by the popes, and conſidered as a legal part of their revenues.

The founding of this ſeminary was the laſt public act of Ina's reign. He had, from his judicious conduct, attained to the very pinnacle of renown, and was not only revered and loved by his own ſubjects, but was eſteemed and dreaded by the neighbouring kingdoms. But on his return from the continent he fell into a malady incident to thoſe times of darkneſs and ignorance, being affected with ſuch a wild enthuſiaſtic conſcientiouſneſs as to form the reſolution of ſacrificing his regal ſtate to the dull retirement of a monkiſh cloiſter. He accordingly reſigned his ſceptre, went to Rome, and aſſumed the habit of a monk; and in this ſtate of obſcurity finiſhed a life, the former part of which entitled him to the admiration of cotemporaries, and the reſpect of poſterity. His wife ſoon followed his example, aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and ended her days in ſullen retirement from ſociety, to which, in her elevated ſtation, ſhe might have been both uſeful and ornamental.

A. D, 727. On the abdication of Ina the crown of Weſſex was placed on the head of his kinſman Ethelhard, who found a powerful competitor in the perſon of Oſwald, a nephew of the late king Ceadwalla. Oſwald, being ſupported by great numbers of the principal people of the kingdom, raiſed a very conſiderable army, and determined to claim his right by force of arms. In conſequence of this Ethelhard, who was a ſtranger to fear, marched his troops againſt him, when a deſperate battle enſued, the iſſue of which was, that the forces of Oſwald were totally routed, and himſelf driven into exile, where he ſoon after died, leaving the conqueror to enjoy his crown unrivalled.

A. D. 740. Ethelhard, having reigned thirteen years without any diſturbance either from foreign or domeſtic enemies, paid the debt of nature, and not having any iſſue, the crown devolved on Cuthred his brother, or, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, his nephew.

The whole of this prince's reign was one continued ſcene of tumult and diſorder. His ſon was ſlain in a mutiny which happened ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne; and this misfortune was followed by a rebellion, which was raiſed in the weſtern parts of his kingdom. The inſurgents were headed by Edelhun, one of their chief nobility, and celebrated for his military abilities and intrepid courage. This brave and experienced commander met Cuthred in the field with a body of forces far unequal in number to thoſe brought by that prince; but, animated by the example, and conducted by the prudence of Edelhun, they attacked the troops of Cuthred with ſuch fury, that victory was on the point of declaring in their favour, when unfortunately their intrepid leader was dangerouſly wounded. Confuſion was now conſpicuous in the rebel army, which being obſerved by Cuthred, he took advantage of it, and drove them from the field with great ſlaughter. Edelhun was taken priſoner; but the manner in which he had ſuſtained himſelf with ſuch a ſmall body of men recommended him ſo ſtrongly to the favour of Cuthred, that he not only granted him a pardon, but likewiſe made him general of his own forces.

Cuthred was ſoon convinced of the propriety of his conduct with reſpect to Edelhun. The Weſt Saxons, headed by this able commander, were invincible, and wherever they turned their arms they conquered. The flames of rebellion were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and the nobles, intimidated by the power of the army, buried their animoſities in the grave of circumſpection. But it was in vain to expect tranquillity while the iſland was divided into ſo many petty kingdoms, without any barrier to prevent the incurſions of the borderers. Ethelbald, king of Mercia, entered the territories of Cuthred, and committed all the exceſſes that might be expected from ſo ferocious a leader, who had already ravaged the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, and Eaſt-Anglia. But his victorious forces could not intimidate Edelhun: he led the army of Cuthred againſt the enemy, and, after an obſtinate engagement obtained a compleat victory, and Ethelbald was obliged to ſave himſelf by a precipitate flight.

After this victory Cuthred ſent Edelhun at the head of his forces againſt the Britons of Cornwall, whom he conquered, and part of their country was united to the dominions of Weſſex. In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes Cuthred paid the debt of nature, after having held the ſceptre for the ſpace of fourteen years.

A. D. 754. On the death of Cuthred the crown of Weſſex fell to his nephew Sigebert, who might have reigned in peace had he but liſtened to the voice of reaſon. But he would not be directed by thoſe whom age and experience had taught wiſdom. Proud of the merit of his anceſtors without poſſeſſing any himſelf, and cruel without provocation, he treated his nobles with inſolence, and his people with inhumanity. In ſhort, he was deſtitute of every virtue, and attached to almoſt every vice.

Such a prince could not fail of incurring the hatred of a people accuſtomed to the ſweets of liberty. They accordingly flew to arms, and being headed by Kinewulf, a prince of the royal blood, compelled him to abandon a throne he wanted courage to defend. But ſo far were they from treating his perſon with any violence, that he was even allowed a large diſtrict in Hampſhire for his ſubſiſtence, where he might have ended his days in peace, had his reverſe of fortune taught him to govern his head-ſtrong paſſions; but that was a virtue to which Sigebert was a ſtranger. During his exile one Cumbrian (at that time governor of a large diſtrict in Hampſhire) who had been his warmeſt friend, expoſtulated with him on the impropriety of his conduct, and endeavoured to reclaim him from thoſe vices which had deprived him of his crown. But the cruel Sigebert conſidering this wholeſome advice as a flagrant act

of

of diſreſpect, was ſo incenſed that he cauſed his friend and benefactor to be put to death.

This inhuman action rendered Sigebert odious in the eyes of thoſe who had hitherto been his adherents; and Kinewulf, who had been choſen to the ſovereignty in his ſtead, thought himſelf obliged, from the duty he owed his people, to deprive ſo deteſtable a monſter of the means of gratifying his cruel diſpoſition. He therefore diſpoſſed him of his territory, and obliged him to fly for ſhelter to the foreſt of Andreſwald, where he had not been long before he met that fate he ſo juſtly merited, being put to death by the ignoble hand of a ſwine-herd.

A. D. 755. Kinewulf, being now fully eſtabliſhed on the throne of Weſſex, turned his arms againſt the Britons in Cornwall. He had a natural propenſity to war, and his undertakings were generally ſucceſsful; but at length he was routed by Offa, king of Mercia, who took from him all his dominions north of the Thames.

This reverſe of fortune encouraged Kyneherd, the brother of Sigebert, to attempt the recovery of the crown, which had been uſurped by Kinewulf; but not having ſufficient power to execute it by force of arms, he determined, if poſſible, to accompliſh his ends by ſtratagem. He did not wait long before an opportunity offered for effecting his deſign. Being informed that Kinewulf often paid private viſits to a lady at Merton in Surry, he ſelected a party of his adherents, and went to the houſe, which they forcibly entered, and found means to penetrate to the door of the apartment where the king was before his attendants were alarmed. On their entering the room Kinewulf, ſeeing the danger, ran haſtily to his arms, and, for ſome time, defended himſelf with great reſolution; but being at length overpowered by numbers, he fell covered with wounds.

But though Kyneherd had thus far obtained his ends, they were far from turning out to his advantage. The people reſpected Kinewulf as the perſon they had choſen to rule over them, and who had freed them from the rod of tyranny. As ſoon, therefore, as they heard of his aſſaſſination, great numbers of the nobility and others, headed by one Oſric, a popular man, and diſtinguiſhed friend of the deceaſed, advanced in a body to the houſe, with a reſolution of revenging the death of their ſovereign. On their arrival they found the conſpirators had barricadoed the houſe, in order to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Kyneherd, perceiving the danger he was in, appeared on the battlements, and endeavoured to divert them from their deſign, by remonſtrating with them on the legality of his claim to the crown, and promiſing that he would confirm their liberties, and increaſe their honours. But the noblemen anſwered, that the ties of blood were feeble compared with thoſe of duty: that their maſter had been baſely ſlain, and they were come to revenge his murder. Accordingly the gates were immediately forced open, and Kyneherd, with his adherents, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were all put to the ſword.

A. D. 784. The murder of Kinewulf being thus revenged, and his funeral obſequies performed at Wincheſter, his ſon Brithric was placed on the throne of Weſſex. This prince, being of a meek, pacific diſpoſition, employed himſelf in the cultivation of the arts of peace, preferring the character of a good politician to that of a diſtinguiſhed warrior. But notwithſtanding the natural evenneſs of his temper, he could not avoid entertaining ſome jealous ſuſpicion of Egbert, a prince of the blood, who was highly eſteemed by the people for his many amiable qualities, and who, in point of birth, had a prior right to the throne.

It was not long before Egbert perceived in what light he was held by Brithric, and therefore thought it unſafe to remain any longer in his territories. In conſequence of this he privately withdrew to France, where he was kindly received by Charlemagne, who then ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom. At this court he remained twelve years, during which he cloſely applied himſelf to the ſtudy of military diſcipline, and acquired thoſe accompliſhments which afterwards enabled him to make ſuch a ſhining figure on the throne; ſo that the misfortunes of his youth were of the utmoſt advantage to himſelf and his country.

A. D. 787. A ſhort time after Egbert left the Britiſh court. Brithric married Eadburga, the daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, a woman equally infamous for her cruelty and incontinence. Having great influence over her huſband, ſhe often incited him to deſtroy ſuch of the nobility as were obnoxious to her; and when this expedient failed, ſhe made no ſcruple of putting the cruel deſign in execution with her own hand.

A. D. 797. The horrid diſpoſition of Eadburga proved fatal to Brithric, who, by her means, loſt his life at a time when he little ſuſpected the leaſt danger. A young nobleman, a particular favourite of Brithric, having incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe determined to avenge the affront; but nothing leſs than the life of the offender would ſatisfy her vengeance. Accordingly, one evening as the nobleman and Brithric were drinking together (as they frequently did) the baſe and treacherous Eadburga mixed poiſon in a cup of wine, and gave it to the victim of her revenge. Unfortunately for the king he likewiſe drank ſome of the wine, and in a ſhort time after they both expired.

This horrid act rendered Eadburga ſo obnoxious to the people, that they compelled her to quit the kingdom. She accordingly retired to an obſcure part of France, where, after a ſeries of misfortunes, ſhe ended her days in miſery and exile.

After the Weſt-Saxons had paid their laſt duties to the remains of their deceaſed monarch, they ſent an honourable embaſſy to Egbert (then with Charlemagne at Rome) inviting him immediately to come over, and take poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. Egbert readily complied with their requeſt, and was accompanied by the monarch who had ſo honourably entertained him during his exile. On his arrival in England he was placed on the throne of Weſſex, amidſt the acclamations of a people who had long loved and honoured him for his virtues.

Egbert, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, put a final period to the Saxon Heptarchy; but the manner in which he effected this, and the various occurrences that took place during the time he reigned ſole monarch of England, will be hereafter related.

THE

The Kingdom of ESSEX, or the EAST-SAXONS.

THIS kingdom was founded by Erkenwin, who began his reign in the year 527; but we have no particulars recorded of him, except that he was poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty ſixty years, at the expiration of which he died, and left the crown to his ſon Sledda.

A. D. 587. Sledda, being a prince of a very pacific diſpoſition, lived in profound peace ten years, when he paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded on the throne by his ſon Sebert.

A. D. 597. Sebert, at the time of his acceſſion to the throne, was a pagan; but he ſoon after embraced the doctrine of the goſpel at the inſtigation of his uncle Ethelbert king of Kent, who, being deſirous of rendering others partakers of the ſame happineſs he had received from the preaching of Auſtin, ſent Melitus into Eſſex, in order to plant chriſtianity in that kingdom. The intentions of Ethelbert were fully anſwered, and, from the doctrine preached by Melitus, his nephew Sebert became a convert to the Chriſtian religion.

The firſt inſtance Sebert gave of his attachment to the new doctrine was, by joining with his uncle in erecting the cathedral church of St. Paul, which was built on the foundation of an heathen temple dedicated to Diana by the Romans. London was ſoon after made a biſhop's ſee, and given to Melitus as a mark of approbation of his conduct.

From the great increaſe of the proſelytes to Chriſtianity that took place after the opening of the cathedral of St. Paul, the two princes were encouraged to rebuild the church of St. Peter at Weſtminſter, which had been demoliſhed by the Saxons. That ſtructure was erected in the time of Conſtantine the Great on the foundations of a temple built by the Romans, and dedicated to Apollo. The founding theſe two churches gave a fatal blow to the idolatry of the Saxons, and many of their temples were deſtroyed in different parts of the kingdom.

Sebert, after a reign of ſeventeen years, which he devoted to acts of piety and virtue, paid the debt of nature, and according to moſt hiſtorians, was interred in the abbey at Weſtminſter which he had contributed to erect.

A. D. 614. On the death of Sebert, the kingdom of Eſſex devolved on his three ſons, Soxred, Siward, and Sigebert, who began their reigns with renouncing the Chriſtian faith, and expelling Melitus, the firſt biſhop of London, for no other reaſon but becauſe he remonſtrated with them on their infidelity and immorality. Theſe three brothers being of an impetuous diſpoſition, engaged in a war with Kinegils and Quincelm, kings of Kent, by whom they were defeated, and afterwards fell a ſacrifice to their temerity.

A. 623. Sigebert the Little, ſon of Siward, one of the triumvirate, now aſcended the throne of Eſſex; but whatever his actions were, they are conſigned to oblivion, nor even is it known how long he reigned. He was ſucceeded by Sigebert the Good, nephew to the pious king Sebert. This prince reſtored the Chriſtian religion throughout his dominions, after it had been almoſt extinguiſhed by the three brothers who preceded him in the government of that part of the heptarchy. He was greatly aſſiſted in this buſineſs by one Cadda, to whom he was ſo ſtrongly attached, that he afterwards conſecrated him biſhop of the Eaſt-Saxons. But this attachment proved fatal to him: that prelate had excommunicated two noblemen for their profligate behaviour, and the king refuſing to remove Cadda, they entered into a plot, and procured his death by aſſaſſination.

The reigns of the other kings of Eſſex are totally barren of any incidents worth recording in hiſtory. Suffice it, therefore, to ſay, that after an interval of 219 years, from the acceſſion of the firſt monarch to the death of the laſt, the kingdom of Eſſex was reduced by Egbert, who ſoon after put an end to the Saxon Heptarchy.

The Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THIS kingdom, which was one of the moſt conſiderable of the Heptarchy, received its name from being ſituated on the north ſide of the Humber. It was for ſome years equally divided into two provinces by the names of Bernicia and Deira. The former of theſe, which conſiſted of the country ſituated to the north of the wall of Severus, was founded by Ida in the year 547; and the latter, containing the ſouthern part of the kingdom, by Ella, about one hundred years after the firſt ſettlement of the Saxons in Britain.

Ida, the founder of Bernicia, was a brave and generous prince, equally great in council and the field. As a general he was intrepid and prudent; as a governor, equitable and humane. He fought many battles with the Britons with great ſucceſs, but was at length ſlain by Owen, prince of the Cumbrians.

Hiſtory is exceeding ſilent with reſpect to the firſt five deſcendants of Ida: their names, indeed, are mentioned, and that is all, not the leaſt account being given of their virtues, their vices, their government or their wars.

A. D. 586. The firſt of Ina's deſcendants that diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſovereign was Ethelfrid, a brave and active prince, but arbitrary and cruel in his diſpoſition. Some time after his acceſſion he married Acca, the only daughter of Ella, and on the death of that prince ſeized on the kingdom of Deira, which he united to his own.

The firſt military exploit performed by Ethel-

frid was againſt the Scots, who, having formed a confederacy with the Britons, invaded the kingdom of Northumberland, and ſpread terror and devaſtation wherever they went. Ethelfrid, having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, marched againſt the invaders, and a deſperate battle enſued, which was long, bloody, and, for ſome time doubtful. But at length the Saxons prevailed, and the Scots were totally routed.

A. D. 613. After this victory, Ethelfrid marched, at the head of his forces, into the country of the Britons, a great part of which he laid waſte with fire and ſword. He proſecuted his route as far as the environs of Cheſter, with a reſolution of making himſelf maſter of that city. On his approach the Britons, who were exaſperated at the cruelties he had exerciſed on their countrymen, took the field, and advanced to meet the invaders of their country. They were accompanied by a body of twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who attended in order, by their preſence and exhortations, to animate the ſoldiers to uſe their utmoſt efforts in oppoſing the enemy. The appearance of ſo conſiderable a body of men unarmed attracted the particular notice of Ethelfrid, who, aſking the reaſon of it was told, that they were prieſts, who had come out to pray for the deſtruction of his army. "Then (ſaid he) they are as much our enemies, as thoſe who intend to fight againſt us." In order to ſatisfy his revenge he immediately diſpatched a party of his troops againſt the defenceleſs monks, and ſo great was the ſlaughter, that only fifty out of the whole eſcaped with their lives. This event ſo aſtoniſhed the Britons, that they were unable to exert themſelves againſt the enemy, who falling on them with great reſolution, ſoon obtained a compleat victory, prodigious numbers of the Britons being ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. In conſequence of this Ethelfrid made himſelf maſter of Cheſter, and then marching to Bangor, wreaked his vengeance on the remaining monks, by firſt obliging them to fly, and then deſtroying their monaſtery, which he did ſo effectually as to level it with the foundation.

A. D. 616. After having thus ſubdued the Scots and Britons, Ethelfrid returned with his forces to his own dominions. But notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of war, he lived in great diſquietude on account of young Edwin, whom he had unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of the crown of Deira. This young prince was now arrived at the ſtate of manhood, and, by his conduct, evinced that he was poſſeſſed of thoſe virtues which always render a king great, and his people happy. Ethelfrid was too good a judge of mankind not to perceive theſe growing qualities: he ſaw their dawn, and dreaded their effects; what in others would have been amiable was criminal in Edwin. But the young prince, conſcious that the right of ſucceſſion was conſidered by an uſurper as an unpardonable crime, avoided the deſtruction that awaited him by a precipitate flight.

Edwin, for ſome time, led the life of an exile, wandering from one kingdom to another, and being in continual danger from the deſigns of Ethelfrid. At length he fortunately applied to the court of Eaſt-Anglia, where he was hoſpitably received by Redwald, king of that province.

Ethelfrid, hearing that Edwin had obtained protection at the Eaſt-Anglian court, was greatly alarmed, and immediately diſpatched an ambaſſador to Redwald, offering him a large ſum of money to deliver up the refugee, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to declare war againſt his dominions. Allured by the bribe, and intimidated by the menace of ſo formidable a prince, Redwald was at firſt inclined to comply with the demand; but the voice of honour, the dictates of his own conſcience, and the perſuaſions of his queen, at length prevailed, and he reſolved to protect the young prince at the hazard of his own crown.

Redwald well knew the implacable and cruel diſpoſition of Ethelfrid, and therefore wiſely determined to take ſuch meaſures as might prevent its effects. He accordingly collected a very powerful army, and marched directly into the territories of Northumberland. His troops were divided into three bodies, the firſt of which was led by his ſon Reyner, the ſecond he headed himſelf, and the third was commanded by Edwin. Reyner received orders to advance in order to ſecure a paſs; but the impetuoſity of his courage carried him too far to be properly ſupported in caſe of an attack. Ethelfrid, who was already in the field, meeting this diviſion totally defeated them, and ſlew prince Reyner with his own hand.

Enraged almoſt to a ſtate of madneſs at the death of his ſon, Redwald advanced with the remaining part of his army againſt the Northumbrians. A dreadful battle enſued, and victory was for ſome time doubtful, till at length the Northumbrian army, unable to withſtand the ſhock any longer gave way, and betook themſelves to flight. Ethelfrid tried all he could to rally his ſcattered forces, but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he ruſhed furiouſly into the thickeſt of the enemy's ſquadrons, where, after performing prodigies of valour, he fell, covered with wounds.

The victorious Redwald met with no farther oppoſition; for the ſons of Ethelfrid no ſooner heard of their father's defeat and death, than they immediately fled for refuge to Scotland, and the inhabitants of Northumberland readily ſubmitted. But far from taking the advantage of a conqueror, Redwald contented himſelf with the glory of the expedition he had undertaken, and chearfully placed Edwin on the throne of Northumberland.

A. D. 625. Edwin had formerly married a ſiſter of the Mercian king; but ſhe being dead he eſpouſed Ethelburga, daughter of Eadbald, king of Kent. This princeſs being a Chriſtian, and Edwin a Pagan, it was ſtipulated in the marriage articles, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her own religion, and be permitted to retain in her ſervice Paulinus, a Chriſtian biſhop, and ſuch other attendants as ſhould be thought neceſſary for performing the offices of Chriſtianity.

As ſoon as the nuptials were celebrated, Edwin and Ethelburga, accompanied by Paulinus, took up their reſidence at York, the capital of the kingdom, where Ethelburga took every opportunity



PUBLICK BAPTISM of EDWIN the first Christian KING of Northumberland
by PAULINUS at York.

tunity she could to endeavour to persuade the king to embrace the Christian faith. Struck with the amiable virtues of Ethelburga, and charmed with her humane and tender disposition, Edwin listened, with great attention, to her exhortations; and was at length so wrought upon that he declared himself a convert to Christianity, and was publickly baptized at York, in a church dedicated to St. Peter. The ceremony was performed by Paulinus, whom he afterwards appointed bishop of that see. The king's example was followed by great numbers of his subjects, insomuch that, according to most historians, no less than twelve thousand persons were, on the same day, baptized in the Christian faith.

A. D. 627. The conversion of Edwin to Christianity considerably increased his power, which the neighbouring princes could not behold without envy, more especially Penda, king of Mercia, who, joining his forces with those of Ceadwalla, king of the Britons, invaded Northumberland. They had advanced as far as Hatfield forest in Yorkshire, and committed the most dreadful outrages, before Edwin was informed of their having entered his dominions. Penetrated with the distress of his people, and enraged at the perfidy of the enemy, he marched at the head of an inferior number of troops to give them battle, in order to terminate, as soon as possible, the miseries of his subjects. The contest was dreadful, and for some time fortune seemed inclinable to bestow on Edwin the palm of victory. But at length an event took place which determined the fate of the day. Offrid, the eldest son of Edwin, was shot with an arrow, and fell dead at his father's feet. This circumstance threw Edwin into a mere state of madness: he lost his usual steadiness and presence of mind; and running with a regardless impetuosity, into the thickest part of the enemy's troops, was cut to pieces. This disaster so intimidated the Northumbrians, that they were thrown into the utmost confusion; in consequence of which great numbers were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitate flight. The devastation that followed in Northumberland cannot be described: neither age nor sex were spared; the old and the young fell the undistinguished victims of an unrelenting foe. Ethelburga and Paulinus fled into Kent, where they were received by the king with every token of the most affectionate respect; the former having certain lands allotted for her subsistence, and the latter being appointed to the see of Rochester.

A. D. 633. The Northumbrians, aggrieved by the repeated cruelties of the tyrannic Penda, resolved to make a vigorous effort towards the recovery of their former independence, preferring a glorious death to a life of the most ignoble and vile subjection. To promote this design, they placed Osric, a relation of Edwin, on the throne of Deira, and Anfrid, son of Ethelfrid, on that of Bernicia. But these two princes did not long survive their elevation; for Osric, having rashly besieged Ceadwalla at York, the British king made a furious sally, routed the besiegers with great slaughter, and, with his own hand, slew the young but enterprizing prince. The victor immediately seized the kingdom of Northumberland, where he exercised the greatest cruelty during the space of a year, at the expiration of which Anfrid, going very indiscreetly, with only ten soldiers, to treat with him, was seized by his orders, and instantly put to death.

A. D. 634. The Northumbrians now groaned under the most dire calamities, the victorious Ceadwalla laying waste the greater part of their country with fire and sword. This dreadful scene of horror and devastation continued for some time, till at length Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrid, who had long been an exile in Scotland, resolved either to put a stop to the cruelty of so inhuman a tyrant, or perish in the generous attempt. Accordingly, having collected a body of men, he marched against Ceadwalla, who was then at the head of an army considered as irresistible. Oswald, who directed all his steps with caution, took possession of an advantageous post at a place called Halidown, a little to the north of the wall of Severus. Here he waited the approach of Ceadwalla, who, flushed with success, no sooner beheld Oswald's forces, than he considered them as victims destined to slaughter, and rather looked upon them as a prey than an enemy. After taking a cool and deliberate view of the intrenchments of the enemy, he gave orders for a general assault. The attack was furious; but not successful; and Ceadwalla, leading his forces to make a second assault, was pierced through the heart with an arrow, and fell dead on the ground. In consequence of this fatal stroke, a general confusion took place among the army of the Britons, which being observed by Oswald, he immediately issued from his intrenchment at the head of his forces, and fell on them with such impetuosity that the greater part were killed, and the rest fled with great precipitation into their own country.

Having thus defeated the army, and slain the tyrant who had so unmercifully ravaged his country, Oswald took quiet possession of the united kingdom of Northumberland. His first care was, to re-establish civil polity, and restore religious worship. His education rendered him the wisest prince of the age, while his great virtues not only obtained him the universal affection of his subjects, but likewise gained him such credit among the Saxon princes, that he was chosen chief of their political confederacy.

A. D. 642. Peace and good order being thus restored to the Northumbrians, they enjoyed a state of happiness for some time, till at length they were interrupted by Penda, king of Mercia, who entered Northumberland at the head of a considerable body of forces, and committed the most horrid outrages wherever he went. Oswald gathered together what forces he could, and hastened with all expedition against the invader of his country. The two armies met at a place called Maserfelt, where a dreadful battle ensued. But the troops of Oswald were too few to contend in the open field with the Mercian forces long used to conquest: the Northumbrians were totally routed, and Oswald himself was found among the slain. After this Penda ravaged various parts of the country, committing the most horrid acts of inhumanity on the wretched inhabitants. At length, however, his progress was stopped at Banbury-Castle, which bid defiance to his power; and being satiated with blood and slaughter, he marched at the head of his forces into his own dominions.

A. D. 643. On the death of Oswald, the throne

of Northumberland fell to his ſon Oſwy, whoſe whole reign was one continued ſcene of war and tumult. He held the ſovereignty for the ſpace of twenty-ſeven years, and then dying left the crown to his ſon Egfrid.

A. D. 670. The firſt military expedition in which Egfrid engaged himſelf was againſt the Picts, who, having raiſed a prodigious army among the northern nations, entered his territories, and committed violent outrages in different parts of the kingdom. Egfrid loſt no time in endeavouring to repel their force, and though his army was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, he attacked them with ſuch ſucceſs that they were totally defeated, and the greater part of them put to the ſword.

A. D. 684. Egfrid now turned his arms againſt the Scots, in violation of a treaty concluded with Eugenius their king, and waſted great part of their country with fire and ſword. But at length Eugenius, having brought over the Picts to his alliance, attacked him ſo furiouſly, that his army was totally routed, and himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life.

A. D. 685. Incenſed at the revolt of the Picts, Egfrid marched the next year with a powerful army into their country, in order to chaſtiſe them for their treachery. But this expedition proved fatal to him; for the Picts, knowing themſelves incapable of meeting him in the open field, made a feigned retreat towards their mountains, and by this ſtratagem drew Egfrid into an ambuſcade, whereby himſelf and the greater part of his army were cut to pieces.

From this period few tranſactions happened in Northumberland worthy of notice, except the depoſition and murder of its princes. The people were treated with cruelty, and ſuperſtitious bigotry uſurped the place of genuine religion.

The Kingdom of EAST-ANGLIA.

THIS kingdom was founded by the Angles, a people from Jutland, who landed at different times in independent bodies on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland. They were ſtrongly oppoſed by the Britons, with whom they fought many battles; nor were they able to eſtabliſh themſelves till forty years after their firſt arrival in Britain.

A. D. 571. The firſt perſon that aſſumed the title of king of Eaſt Anglia, and who, therefore, may be properly termed the founder of the kingdom, was Uffa. This prince enjoyed the ſovereignty about ſeven years, and then dying left the ſcepter to his ſon Titel, who reigned twenty-one years. But hiſtory is ſilent with reſpect to the actions of both theſe princes; ſo that we may ſuppoſe they reigned in a profound ſtate of eaſe and tranquillity.

A. D. 599. On the death of Titel, the throne of Eaſt-Anglia fell to his ſon Redwald, a prince whoſe great merits rendered him ſo conſpicuous, that he was placed at the head of the heptarchy, which poſt he held with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation. After a glorious reign of twenty-five years, he paid the debt of nature, as univerſally lamented as he had been beloved by his ſubjects.

A. D. 624. Redwald was ſucceeded by his ſon Eorpwald, a prince, who ſo far degenerated from the virtues of his father, that he rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects by every meanneſs that could diſgrace royalty. Such was his puſillanimity and inactiveneſs, that he left the weighty affairs of government to Edwin king of Northumberland, to whom he even offered his crown; but this Edwin generouſly declined, the dictates of honour and juſtice (in conſideration of the great benefits he had received from Redwald his father) preponderating in the boſom of that virtuous monarch.

Eorpwald, towards the cloſe of his reign, embraced the Chriſtian religion, which ſo incenſed Richbert, a principal officer of the army, that he aſſaſſinated him with own hand.

On the death of Eorpwald, the aſſaſſin Richbert conducted the affairs of ſtate for the ſpace of three years, without aſſuming the title of king; during which time the thickeſt clouds of Pagan darkneſs overſpread the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

A. D. 633. Tired with the uſurpation of Richbert, the Saxons recalled Sigebert (a ſon of the late Redwald) from France, where he had been ſome years in a ſtate of exile, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors. This prince, during his reſidence abroad, had embraced chriſtianity, and improved himſelf in every branch of uſeful learning. As ſoon, therefore, as he was ſettled on the throne he applied himſelf, with great diligence, to the propagation of the goſpel among his ſubjects, in which laudable work he was aſſiſted by one Felix, a Burgundian prieſt, and the ſucceſs they met with anſwered their utmoſt expectations. After this Sigebert reſigned his crown to his ſon Egric, and retired to the monaſtery of St. Edmundſbury, which he had founded himſelf, preferring the habit of a monk to the robes of royalty.

A. D. 644. Egric had not been long on the throne before his dominions were invaded by that reſtleſs tyrant Penda, king of Mercia. In conſequence of this the Eaſt-Angles, knowing the power of Penda, and being diffident of the courage and abilities of Egric, had recourſe to Sigebert, intreating him to quit the cloiſter, and take upon him the command of their forces. After many repeated ſolicitations, their importunity prevailed, and Sigebert left the convent; but, retaining his ſuperſtition, he abſolutely refuſed to carry any other weapon than a wand. The fatal effect of this frantic behaviour ſoon appeared; for the Eaſt Anglian army was totally routed, and both Sigebert and his ſon ſlain in the field of battle.

On the death of Sigebert the crown devolved on Annas, a nephew of the famous Redwald, who was one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever filled the Eaſt-Anglian throne. He received the young king of Weſſex, whom the turbulent Penda had driven from the throne, converted him to chriſtianity, and re-eſtabliſhed him in his kingdom. This conduct exaſperating the furious Penda, he threatened to ravage his country with fire

fire and ſword. Annas, however, was not to be intimidated by threats: he made the neceſſary preparations for receiving the ambitious Saxon; but was prevented from carrying his deſign into execution by death, which ſuddenly took him off after a reign of ten years.

The reigns of the ſucceeding kings of the Eaſt Angles contain no particulars worthy the recital of an hiſtorian, except that of Ethelbert, their laſt prince, who acceded to the throne in the year 792. This young prince was naturally of a very amiable diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed all the virtues neceſſary to diſtinguiſh royalty. The goodneſs of his heart, and the humility of his mind, together with the regard he ſhewed for religion, and the ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, rendered him the delight of his people, who wanted nothing but an heir to ſucceed him on the throne at his deceaſe. To effect this, they requeſted him to form an alliance with a princeſs properly qualified as a partner for him on the throne. Ethelbert made no oppoſition to this requeſt, and a treaty of marriage was concluded between him and Althrida, daughter to Offa king of Mercia, a princeſs equally remarkable for her piety and mental accompliſhments. Every thing being ready, Ethelbert, with a ſplendid retinue, repaired to the court of Mercia, in order to conſummate his nuptials. But Offa had other views. Ambition had more charms than virtue. He was determined to annex the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia to his own, though at the price of every thing that ſhould be held dear by man. He violated the ſacred rights of hoſpitality and honour, by cauſing the innocent and unſuſpecting Ethelbert to be cruelly aſſaſſinated; after which he forcibly ſeized his kingdom, and united it to his own dominions, in which ſtate it remained till the final diſſolution of the heptarchy by Egbert.

The Kingdom of MERCIA.

THIS was by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable kingdom of the whole heptarchy. It was founded by Crida in the year 584, who dying after a reign of ten years, the kingdom was ſeized by Ethelbert, king of Kent. This prince kept poſſeſſion of it three years, when finding that his uſurpation produced murmurs that were likely to terminate in his own ruin, he reſigned the throne to Whibba the ſon of Crida, who, after a reign of nineteen years, left it to his ſon Penda.

A. D. 616. Ethelbert, who ſtill reigned in Kent, knowing the reſtleſs ambition and turbulent temper of Penda, and fearing the conſequences, again ſeized the crown of Mercia, which he retained for the ſpace of one year, when he reſigned it in favour of Ceorl, nephew to the late king. This prince, who could be conſidered in no other light than that of an uſurper, reigned eight years, and dying without iſſue, the crown devolved on Penda, the lawful heir, who, at the time, was in the fiftieth year of his age.

A. D. 625. Penda ſat on the throne for the ſpace of thirty years, during which time he was engaged in continual hoſtilities againſt the neighbouring ſtates, and by his injuſtice and violence became at once equally odious to his own ſubjects and to ſtrangers. The flame of ambition, which generally grows languid with age, glowed with full vigour in Penda. He planned conqueſts, when others were tottering on the brink of the grave, and in the eightieth year of his age marched at the head of his army into Northumberland, with a reſolution of making himſelf maſter of that country. But victory now forſook his ſtandards, and he fell a ſacrifice to his ambition, being ſlain in battle by Oſwy, king of Northumberland, and the greater part of his army cut to pieces.

A. D. 655. Penda was ſucceeded on the throne of Mercia by his ſon Peada; but he did not long enjoy the regal dignity, being cut off by poiſon after a reign of only two years.

On the death of Peada, the ambitious Oſwy took poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of Mercia, which he enjoyed without interruption for three years, when the Mercians took up arms, and being headed by three popular noblemen drove Oſwy out of the kingdom; after which they placed Wulphur, the ſecond ſon of Peada, on the throne of Mercia.

A. D. 660. Wulphur, during the whole of his reign, was employed in committing hoſtilities upon his neighbours, and moſt of his enterprizes were attended with ſucceſs; but he fell in battle at Bedwin in Wiltſhire, by the ſword of Eſcwin king of Weſſex.

A. D. 675. On the death of Wulphur the crown of Mercia deſcended to his ſon Kenred, who being an infant, the government was placed in the hands of Ethelred, brother to the late king. This prince in 676 made war upon the king of Kent with ſucceſs, but in 679 was defeated by the Northumbrians. After this he remained in a ſtate of tranquillity for twenty-five years, when, reſigning his kingdom to his nephew Kinred, he retired to a monaſtery, and there ſpent the remainder of his days.

A. D. 704. Kenred, after holding the ſcepter five years, followed the example of his predeceſſor, leaving the crown to his uncle Ceolrid. This prince maintained a bloody and undeciſive war with the Weſt-Saxons, and after a reign of twelve years, loſt his life by poiſon.

A. D. 716. Ceolrid was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, brother to Penda, whoſe whole life was ſpent in committing hoſtilities on his neighbours. He was of a moſt unſocial and cruel diſpoſition, and ſo deteſted by his ſubjects, that they at length found means to have him aſſaſſinated, after having held the ſcepter thirty-nine years.

A. D. 755. On the death of Ethelbald, one Beornred, a very popular and enterprizing man, took poſſeſſion of the throne; but the Mercian nobility, incenſed at his inſolence, took up arms, and exerted their power ſo effectually, that they drove him out of the kingdom, and veſted Offa, nephew to the late king, with the royal ſcepter.

A. D. 757. The firſt military expedition of Offa, after being ſeated on the throne, was againſt

the inhabitants of Kent, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, ſlew their king with his own hand, and made himſelf maſter of their country. Elated with this ſucceſs, he marched with his forces to the northward, and invaded Northumberland, which at that time was diſtracted with wars and inteſtine commotions. In conſequence of this he met with little oppoſition from the inhabitants, and accordingly returned loaded with ſpoils.

The military proweſs of Offa, and the ſucceſs that had attended his arms, ſtruck a general terror in the other Saxon princes; but the only one that made any attempt to ſtop his progreſs was Kinewulf king of the Weſt-Saxons, who raiſed a powerful army, and marched againſt the conqueror. A deſperate battle enſued at a place called Beſſington in Oxfordſhire, but victory declared in favour of Offa, and Kinewulf, though a brave and experienced commander, was obliged to purchaſe a peace at the expence of all his territories to the northward of the Thames.

A. D. 776. The commotions in the different Saxons ſtates, occaſioned by the ambitious proceedings of Offa, were particularly attended to by the Britons, who, deſirous of taking any advantages made ſudden inroads into their territories, which being unexpected, proved ſucceſsful. They at length penetrated into the frontier provinces of Mercia, upon which Offa marched againſt them, and a deſperate battle enſued, when the Britons were defeated with great ſlaughter, and thoſe who eſcaped the ſword fled with precipitation into their own country. To prevent their incurſions in future Offa threw up a ſtrong entrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee in Flintſhire, and, running along the mountains, terminated at the influx of the Wye into the Severn near Briſtol. This was the moſt arduous work executed during the heptarchy, a part of which ſtill remains, and is known by the name of Offa's Dyke.

The great ſucceſs of Offa's arms raiſed his reputation to the higheſt ſummit. His court was now reſorted to by all the neighbouring princes, who attended either to pay him homage, or conciliate his favours, Offa received them with the greateſt reſpect, and even intereſted himſelf in adjuſting their domeſtic differences, ſo that they might ſit eaſy and firm on their reſpective thrones. But all theſe good actions were ſtained by the treacherous murder of Ethelbert king of Eaſt-Anglia, the particulars of which have been already related in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

A. D. 792. Impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of the horrid crime he had committed, as well as deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing his reputation among his people, Offa enriched the cathedral of Hereford, gave the tenth of all his goods to the church, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received abſolution from the pope. In return for this favour, he eſtabliſhed in his dominions an annual tax to the pontiff called Peter's-pence, becauſe it amounted to a penny each houſe. This tax was levied by the pope's agents for upwards of ſeven hundred years, till it was at length aboliſhed, together with the papal ſupremacy, in the reign of Henry VIII.

Soon after Offa returned from the continent, he erected the famous monaſtery of St. Alban's, where he reſided for the ſpace of two years, and then paid the debt of nature, leaving the crown of Mercia to his ſon Egfrid.

A. D. 794. Egfrid began his reign with ſome popular acts, and the people flattered themſelves with being very happy under his government; but their expectations were ſoon rendered abortive by his death, which happened about five months after his acceſſion to the throne.

On the death of Egfrid the crown devolved on Kenulf, a prince deſcended in a collateral branch from Penda, and poſſeſſed of the ferocity and ambition of that family. Soon after his acceſſion he waged war againſt Kent, and taking Egbert the king priſoner, in the fury of his zeal, ordered his hands to be cut off, and his eyes put out, after which he took him to Mercia, leaving his brother Cuthred in poſſeſſion of the crown of that kingdom.

Theſe are the only particulars we have recorded of this prince, who, after holding the ſceptre twenty-four years, died, leaving a ſon named Kenelm, and two daughters, Quendrida and Burgamida.

A. D. 819. Kenelm acceded to the throne of Mercia on the death of his father, but being a minor he was placed under the care of his ſiſter Quendrida, who, inſtead of performing the duty ſhe owed her father, baſely cauſed him to be murdered, and then uſurped the ſeat of ſovereignty. She did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of her perfidy, being ſupplanted by her uncle Ceolwulph, who, two years after, was dethroned by a popular nobleman named Beornulf. This uſurper held the reigns of ſovereignty only two years, when he was defeated and ſlain by the king of the Eaſt-Angles. Ludican, his ſucceſſor, underwent the ſame fate; and Wiglaf, who ſucceeded him, found every thing in ſuch confuſion that he was unable to withſtand the fortune of Egbert, who united all the Saxon kingdoms into one great monarchy, affixing to the whole the common name of ENGLAND.

Remarkable occurrences during the Heptarchy.

578 Anchors for ſhips firſt forged.
605 A Court of Chancery inſtituted by Ethelbert king of Kent.
663 Glaſs invented and brought into England by Benedict a monk.
751 Organs firſt introduced into the Engliſh churches.
760 Burials permitted in Towns, which uſed to be in the highways.
788 Pleading in Courts of Judicature inſtituted.
824 Oath, firſt adminiſtered in judicial proceedings.

BOOK

Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England

EGBERT

ETHELWOLF

ETHELBALD

ETHELBERT

Metz delin.

Grignion sculp.

Striking Likenesses of the KINGS of ENGLAND, in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned, from EGBERT the Great Father of the English Monarchy to the NORMAN CONQUEST — Plate I.

BOOK IV.

From the Foundation of the Engliſh Monarchy by Egbert, to the Norman Conqueſt.

CHAP. I.

EGBERT.

Egbert is placed on the throne of Weſſex. Marches againſt the Britons. His dominions invaded by Bernulf, king of Mercia, whom he engages and totally defeats. Reduces the ſeveral kingdoms of the Heptarchy and becomes ſole monarch of England. Is ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter. A conſiderable body of Danes land in England. Egbert engages them, and is defeated; but the Danes, ſuſtaining great loſs, retreat to their ſhips, and quit the iſland. The Britons invite over the Danes to join them againſt Egbert. They accordingly land, and the conjunctive armies marching againſt Egbert, a battle enſues, in which the latter proves victorious. Egbert fits out a fleet of ſhips to ſtop the incurſions of the Danes, but ſoon after dies, leaving the crown to his ſon Ethelwolf.

IT has been already obſerved, towards the cloſe of the hiſtory of Weſſex, that on the death of Brithric, a deputation was ſent to Egbert, then an exile in France to return, and take upon him that crown to which he had a right by lineal deſcent. This invitation he readily accepted; ſo that at his return he was immediately placed on the throne amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 800. Egbert on his firſt acceſſion, directed his conduct in ſuch a manner as to prevent the leaſt ſuſpicion of the grand deſign he had concerted, while in the court of Charlemagne, namely, that of reducing the ſeven Saxon kingdoms, into one grand monarchy. Inſtead of ſeeming to aſpire to conqueſt, he appeared the kind mediator between the other kings, and became ſo reſpected for his prudent deciſions, that they appealed to his award upon all occaſions. Thus by obtaining their confidence he gradually aroſe to an aſcendency at which he did not ſeem to aim, and from an adviſer became a dictator to his royal cotemporaries.

A. D. 808. Egbert was not inſenſible of the great power and authority he had over all the monarchs of the heptarchy; but ſtill he thought it neceſſary to act with the greateſt precaution, leſt they ſhould be alarmed, and thereby prompted to meaſures that might interrupt the proſecution of his main deſign. He wiſely conſidered that it would be in vain to attempt any thing againſt the Saxons while the Britons remained in a condition to oppoſe him. He knew they would be ſure to join the weaker party, and though nothing could make them hearty friends, yet a little diſcipline might render them formidable enemies. He therefore determined to commence hoſtilities againſt the antient inhabitants of the iſland, and having raiſed a conſiderable army, marched into Cornwall, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of that part of the country. No ſooner were the Britons informed of Egbert's arrival in their territories than they immediately marched againſt him, and the two armies meeting at a place called Camelford a deſperate battle enſued, which was attended with great ſlaughter on both ſides, but at length victory declared in favour of Egbert. This battle was followed by many others, and the war carried on with great ſpirit on both ſides for a conſiderable time, till at length the genius of Egbert prevailing, the Corniſh Britons were vanquiſhed, and Cornwall was added to the dominions of the conqueror.

While Egbert was attempting to reduce the Corniſh Britons, thoſe who inhabited Wales contributed all they could to their aſſiſtance. This ſo irritated Egbert, that he made an expedition into their country, and after totally ſubduing them, made a law, which enacted, that if any Welchman preſumed to paſs Offa's Dyke, the offence ſhould be capital, and he ſhould anſwer for his preſumption by the loſs of his life.

The great ſucceſs of Egbert's arms over the Britons attracted the attention and excited the envy of the other Saxon princes. But no one was able to contend with him except Bernulf king of Mercia, who had reduced the Eaſt-Angles, and made the kings of Eſſex and Kent his tributaries. Bernulf was particularly alarmed at the ſucceſs of Egbert; he ſaw that unleſs ſomething happened to check him in his purſuit after conqueſts, he would ſoon be maſter of the whole heptarchy. He therefore increaſed his army, and taking the opportunity of Egbert's abſence, invaded that part of Weſſex which bordered on his own dominions.

A. D. 823. Egbert was no ſooner informed of this event, than he immediately marched his forces againſt the invader of his country. The two armies met at a place called Elandine (now Wilton) in Wiltſhire, and a deſperate battle enſued. The conteſt was long and bloody; but at length the fortune of Egbert prevailed, and Bernulf was obliged to ſeek his ſafety in flight, leaving the greater part of his army dead on the field of battle.

Egbert now determined to make a bold attempt for effecting the plan he had ſo long concerted. He did not, however; chuſe to proſecute his deſign by purſuing the conqueſt he had made over the Mercians. He marched with his forces into the kingdom of Kent, where Baldred the then monarch, held his power as tributary to Bernulf king of Mercia. The Kentiſhmen made very little oppoſition to the forces of Egbert; in conſequence of which Baldred fled for ſafety to the oppoſite ſide of the Thames, leaving the Weſt-Saxons in full poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

The great power of Egbert ſo intimidated the Eaſt and South Saxons that they quietly ſubmitted to his victorious arms; and Egbert, having taken poſſeſſion of their reſpective kingdoms, annexed them to his own dominions.

The example of the Eaſt and South-Saxons was followed by the Eaſt-Angles, who not only implored the protection of Egbert, but alſo took up arms in his defence. This ſo irritated Bernulf, king of Mercia, to whom they had been long ſubject, that he marched at the head of his forces againſt them, in order to chaſtiſe them for their perfidy. The Eaſt-Angles were exceeding formidable, having received conſiderable aſſiſtance from Egbert; ſo that Bernulf had a difficulty to ſurmount much greater than he imagined. As ſoon as the two armies met a deſperate battle enſued, which laſted ſome time with equal obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of the Eaſt-Angles, and Bernulf was found among the ſlain.

This defeat convinced the Mercians that it was in vain to make any father attempts upon the Eaſt-Angles, more eſpecially as they were ſupported by the powerful Egbert. The immediate danger of their own country now called for their whole attention, to guard againſt which they placed one Wiglaf, a perſon of known valour and military proweſs, on the throne of Mercia.

A. D. 825. But the power of Egbert was not to be reſiſted. He marched at the head of his forces into the heart of the Mercian territories, and obtained eaſy conqueſts over a weak and diſheartened people. Wiglaf was driven from one province to another, and at length obliged to fly for ſhelter to Seward, abbot of Croyland. In conſequence of this, Egbert made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Mercia; but at the interceſſion of Seward he reſtored Wiglaf to the throne, permitting him to retain the title of king, on condition of paying him an annual tribute. This condeſcenſion produced an advantageous effect, the Mercians (who eſteemed Wiglaf) being perfectly reconciled to the ſubmiſſive ſtate in which they were reduced by the powerful Egbert.

A. D. 826. The only kingdom of the heptarchy that now remained unconquered was Northumberland, which, by inteſtine broils, had been long in the moſt diſtracted ſtate; all civil ſubordination was loſt, and the ſhadow of royalty only held by Ealdred. As ſoon, therefore, as Egbert had penetrated with his formidable army into the territories of Ealdred, he immediately diſpatched meſſengers with offers of ſubmiſſion, and reſigned his kingdom to the conqueror, only ſtipulating that he might, in future, govern as a deputy, what, before, he had ruled as a king.

A. D. 829. The victorious and intrepid Egbert having thus ſucceſsfully obtained the ultimate wiſhes of his ambition, by reducing the whole ſeven kingdoms of the heptarchy to his authority, convened a general aſſembly of all the different ſtates to meet at Wincheſter, where by the unanimous conſent of both clergy and laity, he was ſolemnly crowned king of England. Immediately after the ceremony he iſſued a proclamation or edict for aboliſhing all diſtinctions among the Saxon kingdoms, and commanded that, in future, the whole ſhould be called by the common name of ENGLAND.

Egbert was now poſſeſſed of more power and glory than any monarch that had had hitherto preſided in the iſland; and what he had acquired by the force of arms he endeavoured to preſerve by the judiciouſneſs of his conduct. He permitted the inhabitants of the ſeveral kingdoms that had formed the Heptarchy to enjoy their former laws and cuſtoms, and to chuſe their kings, only paying him an annual tribute as a mark of ſubjection. By theſe means he reſtored peace throughout his dominions, and obtained the univerſal reſpect and affection of his ſubjects.

But theſe flattering days of proſperity were ſoon obſcured by the clouds of adverſity, and the tranquillity of the nation interrupted by the appearance of the Danes, who, for ſome time back, had, at different periods, committed the moſt barbarous ravages in different parts of the iſland.

A. D. 831. A conſiderable body of theſe piratical invaders now landed in the iſland of Shepey, which they ravaged, and returned to their ſhips loaded with plunder. This ſucceſs encouraged them to make a deſcent the year following at Tinemouth, but being reſolutely oppoſed by the inhabitants, they re-embarked, and cruiſing along the coaſt landed a body of near fifteen thouſand men at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire.

A. D. 833. Egbert was no ſooner informed of the landing of theſe ferocious invaders than he immediately marched againſt them; but his army being too weak, they gained a compleat victory, and Egbert himſelf was indebted to the darkneſs of the night for his ſafety. The Danes, however, had ſuſtained ſo conſiderable a loſs in the action, that they did not think proper to continue their ravages, but retreated to their ſhips, and, for ſome time, quitted the iſland.

A. D. 836. The Britons in Cornwall had been long diſſatisfied with their ſituation, and were determined, if poſſible, to ſhake off the Saxon yoke. To effect this they invited over the Danes to join them, and a numerous body of theſe pirates landing in Cornwall, a conjunction was immediately formed, they took the field and marched into the dominions of Egbert.

But Egbert, notwithſtanding his late defeat, was not to be intimidated. As ſoon as he heard of this conjunction, he collected his forces, and marched with all expedition to give the enemy battle. The two armies met at a place called Hengſton-hill, where the fortune of Egbert prevailed: the combined army was totally defeated, great numbers ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. The Danes retired to their ſhips, and the Britons ſecured themſelves by taking ſhelter in their mountains.

Egbert now flattered himſelf with ſpending the remainder of his days in eaſe and tranquillity: but the reſtleſs Danes continuing to harraſs his dominions, he was once more called into the field, and was once more victorious. The Danes were again defeated, and obliged to return without their booty.

A. D. 838. From the repeated attacks of the rapacious Danes, Egbert was convinced of the neceſſity of a fleet to check their progreſs, and accordingly fitted out a number of ſhips for that purpoſe; but he had no ſooner accompliſhed this buſineſs than he paid the debt of nature, leaving the crown to his ſon Ethelwolf.

Egbert

Egbert was formed both for conqueſt and government, being intrepid, wiſe and humane. He acquired a kingdom by his valour and military proweſs, and rendered his people happy by his prudence, beneficence, and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. He reigned as king of the Weſt-Saxons twenty-ſeven years, and ten years as ſovereign of England.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Egbert.

803. A dreadful famine in Scotland.
824. A great Mortality in England, and another Famine in Scotland.
826. An Inundation of the Humber, which did conſiderable damage.
831. Dongale, king of Scotland, drowned in paſſing the river Spey.
836. A violent Inundation of the Tweed, which did conſiderable damage, and deſtroyed great numbers of cattle.

CHAP. II.

ETHELWOLF.

Ethelwolf, being attached to a monaſtic life, neglects the affairs of government, in conſequence of which the Danes land in different parts of England, but are oppoſed by the inhabitants with various ſucceſs. Ethelwolf at length marches againſt them, and is defeated. He relinquiſhes a part of his dominions to his ſon Athelſtan. The Danes continue to commit farther ravages in various parts of the iſland. Ethelwolf makes a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return marries Judith, the daughter of king Charles the Bald. During his abſence a conſpiracy is formed to diveſt him of the ſovereignty, but on his arrival matters are accommodated, and tranquillity reſtored. He grants the tithes of the kingdom to the clergy, which is confirmed by the ſtates and people. Makes his will, and ſoon after pays the debt of nature.

A. D. 838. THE prudent and diſcerning Egbert, being conſcious of the advantages he had obtained from the extreme devotion to which the Engliſh Saxons were attached, endeavoured to remove the like from his ſon Ethelwolf; and therefore, when on his death-bed, beſought him not to become a ſlave to that indolence which he ſaw predominant in his temper, and which, he was apprehenſive, ſhould it be indulged, might prove fatal to him and his kingdom.

Ethelwolf had been educated in a cloiſter, and even taken the orders of a ſub-deacon in the monaſtery of Wincheſter during the life of his elder brother; but, on his death, pope Leo granted a diſpenſation, whereby he was permitted to marry, and aſſume a ſecular life. After leaving the cloiſter he ſerved under his father againſt the Danes with great reputation, but he could never ſhake off his attachment to a monaſtic life; and when he acceded to the throne, notwithſtanding the advice of his dying parent, he gave a looſe to his favourite paſſion, neglected the affairs of government, and preſerved the character of a monk, inſtead of that of a monarch.

The Danes, encouraged by the indolent diſpoſition of Ethelwolf made ſeveral deſcents in England, and committed the moſt horrid ravages wherever they went. In the firſt year of his reign a conſiderable body of theſe piratical rovers landed at Southampton; but before they could pillage the country, Wulfheard, a brave and intrepid general, attacked and routed them with great ſlaughter, obliging thoſe who eſcaped to fly to their ſhips with the greateſt precipitation.

Soon after this they made a ſecond deſcent at Portland, upon which Ethelwolf, who was too inactive to take the command of the army himſelf, diſpatched Edelhelm, a brave and experienced officer, to oppoſe them. For ſome time the Saxons engaged the pirates with ſuch fury, that they were thrown into the utmoſt diſorder; but receiving freſh ſupplies from their ſhips, they rallied, and returned to the charge with ſuch reſolution, that the Engliſh were entirely defeated, and Edelhelm, their commander, fell among the ſlain.

A. D. 839. In the beginning of this year the piratical Danes landed at Romney, where they were oppoſed by Herebert, a brave and experienced general; but he alſo was defeated, and loſt his life in battle. Elated with this ſucceſs, the Danes penetrated farther into the country, ſo that all Eaſt-Anglia and Kent felt the effects of their barbarous fury: and ſoon after London, Canterbury and Rocheſter, met with the like fate. As the whole deſign of theſe expeditions was plunder they ſeldom met with any other oppoſition than from the militia of the place where they landed; ſo that they embarked with their booty before the people whom they pillaged could be properly ſuſtained by the army.

A. D. 840. From the variety of deſcents made be theſe piratical invaders in different parts of the kingdom, they had diſcovered the natural fertility of the country, and were determined, if poſſible to make a ſettlement in the iſland. Accordingly, a numerous body of them landed at Charmouth, where Egbert had, ſome years before, been defeated. Alarmed at the great danger which now threatened his kingdom, Ethelwolf was rouſed from his monkiſh lethargy, and placing himſelf at the head of his forces, marched with all expedition againſt the invaders of his country. A bloody battle enſued, in which the troops of Ethelwolf were defeated, and the enemy continued maſters of the field. But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the barbarians were convinced, from the great oppoſition they had met with, that a ſettlement could not be attempted with ſucceſs. They therefore abandoned their deſign for the preſent, and after pillaging the country retired to their ſhips, and once more quitted the iſland.

Ethelwolf was now convinced that a continued courſe of activity was neceſſary to fruſtrate the attempts of the reſtleſs and barbarous Danes. But the fatigues of military duty were far from being agreeable to his diſpoſition. He therefore, in order to procure that indolent tranquillity which he valued much more that power, reſolved to diveſt himſelf of part of his dominions, and accordingly

ingly reſigned the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex to his ſon Athelſtan.

A. D. 845. The inveſting of Athelſtan with the ſovereign power over theſe parts of his dominions greatly contributed towards the ſecurity of the ſouthern coaſt; but the other parts of the kingdom were ſtill expoſed to the ravages of the mercileſs Danes. A prodigious number of theſe piratical invaders landed near the mouth of the river Parret in Somerſetſhire; but being attacked with great fury by the Engliſh forces, they were totally defeated, and the principal part of their army cut to pieces.

A. D. 851. This overthrow had ſo ſickened the Danes that they deſiſted from any farther invaſions for the ſpace of ſix years, at the expiration of which they landed in much greater bodies than they had hitherto done, being reſolved to accompliſh their grand deſign of making a ſettlement in the iſland. But the event did not anſwer their expectations. One party was routed at Wenbury, by Ceorle governor of Devonſhire, and another was defeated by Alcher governor of Kent, while Athelſtan defeated them in a naval engagement near Sandwich, took nine of their ſhips, and obliged the reſt to leave the coaſt.—As no mention is made of Athelſtan after this action, it is conjectured he fell in the glorious attempt of reſcuing his country from the ravages of an invete- and mercileſs enemy.

A. D. 852. But notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes the Danes were not to be intimidated. They embarked the following ſpring on board a fleet of three hundred ſail, entered the river Thames, ravaged London and Canterbury, and penetrated into Surry; but being met at a place called Oakly, by Ethelwolf and his ſon Ethelbald, a deſperate battle enſued, which terminated in favour of the Engliſh, the Danes being routed with great ſlaughter.

A ſhort time after this the Danes landed in the Iſle of Thanet, where they were attacked by Ealker and Huda governors of Kent and Surry. The beginning of the action was favourable to the Engliſh; but at length victory declared for the Danes, and both the governors fell in the conflict. The Danes then removed to the Iſle of Sheepey, where they took up their winter quarters, and erected ſeveral fortifications for their future ſecurity.

A. D. 854. Ethelwolf had, for ſome time, formed the reſolution of making a pilgrimage to Rome, and, notwithſtanding the dangerous ſituation of his kingdom, he was now determined to carry his deſign into execution. Accordingly, taking with him his youngeſt ſon Alfred, he repaired to that city, where he was received with particular marks of reſpect by Leo IV. the then pontiff; and in his turn gave his holineſs the moſt ſubſtantial proofs of his ſubmiſſion and regard. During his ſtay at Rome he ſpent the greater part of his time in religious exerciſes, viſiting every ſhrine, and paying his devotions to every relic. He rebuilt the Engliſh college which had been reduced to aſhes, and engaged to extend the tax of St. Peter's-pence throughout his kingdom. Beſides this liberality, he undertook to pay an annual tribute of three hundred marks, two thirds of which were appointed for defraying the expence of tapers in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other third was a preſent to the pope himſelf.

A. D. 855. After ſtaying a year at Rome, Ethelwolf took leave of his holineſs, and ſet out for his own dominions. On his way he ſtopped at the court of France, where he fell in love with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. This young princeſs was a widow, though no more than thirteen years of age; but notwithſtanding the great diſparity of their years, Ethelwolf married her, and indulged himſelf for ſome time in the French court, without paying the leaſt attention to the welfare of his country.

In the mean time England was expoſed to the inſults of the rapacious Danes, who, taking advantage of the king's abſence, made ſeveral incurſions from their ſettlement in the Iſle of Sheepey. Ethelbald, the king's ſecond ſon, a prince of an aſpiring diſpoſition, was ſo irritated at the negligence of his father, that he formed a deſign of ſeizing the ſcepter, in which he was joined by the greater part of the nobility, but more particularly Alſten, biſhop of Wincheſter, who was an undaunted patriot, and at that time in great reputation with the people. Several conſultations were held on the ſubject, and it was at length reſolved that Ethelbald ſhould aſſume the government, and take poſſeſſion of that throne, which his father, from his weakneſs and ſuperſtition, was ſo ill qualified to fill. Meaſures were accordingly concerted for fixing the ſovereignty in Ethelbald, but before they could be carried into execution, Ethelwolf, accompanied by his new queen, returned to his dominions.

The arrival of the king did not intimidate Ethelbald: he proſecuted his deſign with the ſame vigour as before, and Ethelwolf made preparations for oppoſing him. The torch of civil diſcord was now lighted, and every thing ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to the country, when the noblemen and prelates interpoſed, and, by their good offices, prevailed on the king and his ſon to accommodate their differences without the effuſion of human blood. This was accordingly done by Ethelwolf's ceding to Ethelbald the antient kingdom of Weſſex, reſerving the other parts of the iſland to himſelf.

Peace and tranquillity being thus reſtored, Ethelwolf, inſtead of attending to the affairs of government, reſolved to indulge his favourite paſſion of augmenting the power of the church; and accordingly beſtowed on the clergy a donation for which they had contended for ſeveral centuries. They had maintained that the Moſaic law, which gave to the Levites the tenth part of all the produce of the land was obligatory to Chriſtians, and this doctrine they preached up with the utmoſt aſſiduity; but hitherto the intereſt of the laity had been too ſtrong for their arguments. The power of Ethelwolf, however, effected what all their eloquence had attempted in vain. He ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates, and, by a formal charter, granted tithes to the church, which he ordered to be levied throughout the kingdom. This grant was confirmed by the ſtates and people, who might probably be the more ready to conſent thereto, from conſidering it in a religious light, and ſuppoſing that it might be a means of their obtaining the Divine aſſiſtance againſt the ferocious Danes, who had

had long been a terror to the inhabitants of various parts of the iſland.

Ethelwolf, having thus accompliſhed his grand deſign in favour of the church, ſpent the reſt of his days in acts of charity and devotion. At length, finding his end approaching, he made his will, in order to prevent any diſputes that might otherwiſe ariſe among his children after his death. He bequeathed his regal domains to his two eldeſt ſons, with this diſtinction, that Ethalbald ſhould ſtill enjoy the territories already aſſigned him, and Ethelbert thoſe which had been retained by himſelf. If either died, the ſurvivor was to ſucceed to the whole, and in caſe of the deaths of both, the third ſon, was to be the next heir. His perſonal eſtates he gave to charitable uſes, and ordered that all his ſucceſſors ſhould maintain one poor perſon out of every tenth family.

Ethelwolf, having thus ſettled his temporal concerns, directed his attention towards making the neceſſary preparations for futurity, and at length paid the debt of nature, after ſwaying the Engliſh ſceptre for the ſpace of nineteen years. He died at Wincheſter on the 13th of January, 857, and was buried at Steining in Suſſex. He left behind him the character of a well-diſpoſed prince, who might have ſhone in his exalted ſphere, had he not been actuated by the predominant bigotry and ſuperſtition of the age in which he lived.

CHAP. III.

ETHELBALD AND ETHELBERT.

Ethelbald purſues wicked courſes, for which he is reprimanded by Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter. He reforms, but ſoon after dies, leaving his brother Ethelbert ſole monarch of England. The Danes land at Southampton, and deſtroy the city of Wincheſter. They are oppoſed by the Engliſh, and defeated with great ſlaughter. They land in the Iſle of Thanet and commit the moſt horrid barbarities. Death of Ethelbert.

A. D. 857. AS no oppoſition was made to the will of the late king, Ethelbert took poſſeſſion of the dominions of his father, while Ethelbald kept his ſeat on the throne of Weſſex.

Ethelbald was a very wicked and profligate prince: he was both indolent and perfidious, and governed his people in the moſt arbitrary and cruel manner. Soon after the death of his father, he committed inceſt, by marrying Judith his mother-in-law, for which, and other vices, he was reprimanded by Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter. This good prelate, being grieved at the enormous actions of his maſter, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to bring him to a ſenſe of his crimes, and at length happily ſucceeded. Ethelbald was convinced of the impropriety of his conduct, and began his reform by divorcing his wife Judith. A change of government immediately ſucceeded, and Ethelbald endeavoured to make atonement for his faults by a ſtrict obſervance of religious duties, and beſtowing benefactions on the church. But the people were hardly ſenſible of this happy alteration when the king paid the debt of nature, leaving his brother Ethelbert ſole monarch of England.

A. D. 860. The diſpoſitions of theſe two princes were directly oppoſite, Ethelbert being as remarkable for his virtues as his brother had been for his vices. His adminiſtration was conducted with ſuch prudence and moderation, that tranquillity prevailed throughout his dominions, and he lived univerſally reſpected and beloved by his ſubjects.

But this tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by the reſtleſs Danes. The Engliſh had been ſome time free from their barbarous ravages, and ſuppoſing themſelves ſecure under the mild government of Ethelbert, made no preparations to prevent their being again oppreſſed by theſe piratical invaders. A naval force, the only bulkwark that could defend them, was neglected: the coaſts were unguarded, and the whole kingdom expoſed to the invaſions of foreign enemies.

A. D. 862. In conſequence of this remiſſneſs, a conſiderable body of Danes landed at Southampton, and not meeting with any oppoſition they extended their ravages to Wincheſter, which they firſt plundered, and then reduced to aſhes. The inhabitants, inſtead of attempting to make any reſiſtance, betook themſelves to flight, which filled the Danes with ſuch an inſolent confidence, that they feared no oppoſition, and therefore marching into the more interior parts of the country, they reduced the inhabitants to the moſt abject ſtate of diſtreſs, plundering wherever they went, and marking their route with deſolation and ruin.

Ofric and Ethelwolf, two diſtinguiſhed generals of the Engliſh forces, hearing of the diſtreſſed ſituation of their countrymen, and the rapid progreſs made by theſe barbarous invaders, marched with all expedition againſt them. The conſequence of this was, that a deſperate battle enſued, which, for ſome time, was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh. The Danes were routed with great ſlaughter, and the few that eſcaped the ſword ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight, leaving the plunder they had obtained in the hands of the conquerors.

A. D. 865. But notwithſtanding this defeat, the Danes were far from being intimidated. A prodigious body of them landed in the Iſle of Thanet, and committed ſuch horrid ravages as are ſhocking to humanity. The inhabitants of Kent, deſirous of diverting the ſtorm which threatened them, had recourſe to negotiation, and agreed to pay them a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to ſave their eſtates from inevitable ruin. The Danes readily agreed to theſe propoſals; but being perſuaded that they could gain more by pillage than the ſums ſtipulated in the treaty, they perfidiouſly took advantage of the truce, and, re-commencing their ſhocking ravages in the night, laid the eaſtern part of the country waſte with fire and ſword.

ſword. They ſpared neither age nor ſex, and wherever they went their paths were marked with the moſt horrid deſtruction. The churches were levelled with the ground, the monaſteries reduced to aſhes, and thoſe of a religious order treated with the moſt inhuman brutality.

A. D. 866. Theſe ſhocking acts of cruelty greatly diſtreſſed the mind of Ethelbert. He ſaw with grief the miſeries of his country which he could not prevent; and giving way to deſpair, it ſo wrought upon his ſpirits as to diveſt him of life, after having reigned ſole monarch ſix years univerſally beloved and revered by his ſubjects.

CHAP. IV.

ETHELRED I.

Ethelred accedes to the throne on the death of his brother Ethelbert. The Danes land in Eaſt-Anglia, and make themſelves maſters of Northumberland. They commit the moſt horrid ravages in different parts of the kingdom. Remarkable inſtance of virtuous fortitude in the abbeſs and nuns of Coldingham. The Danes defeat the Engliſh at Thetford, and cruelly put to death Edmund the tributary king of Eaſt-Anglia. Ethelred and Alfred march againſt them, but are defeated. Another battle takes place, in which the Engliſh prove victorious. Ethelred again marches againſt the invaders of his country, but is defeated, receives a mortal wound, and dies.

A. D. 866. SO ſtrictly was the will of Ethelwolf adhered to, that notwithſtanding Ethelbert left two ſons, yet, on his demiſe, his brother Ethelred ſucceeded to the throne, to which he was admitted by the unanimous voice of the people.

Ethelred began his reign with an act of injuſtice, by poſſeſſing himſelf of ſome territories which had been jointly given by his father between him and his brother Alfred. In conſequence of this Alfred appealed to the nobles, who had been witneſſes to the deed, and a new convention was ratified, ſtipulating that Alfred ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom on the death of Ethelred, and that, in the mean time, he ſhould poſſeſs certain domains for ſupporting him in a manner conſiſtent with his dignity. This being ſubmitted to by Ethelred, an accommodation took place, and the two brothers unanimouſly agreed to exert their joint efforts againſt the Danes, who were now become ſo formidable as to require the ſtrongeſt union to prevent their becoming maſters of the whole iſland.

The continual deſcents of theſe piratical invaders had greatly weakened the authority of the kings of Weſſex over the princes of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland. The tributary princes of thoſe reſpective diſtricts had almoſt thrown off their allegiance, and were on the point of aſſuming the ſame authority they had held previous to the diſſolution of the heptarchy.

The moſt powerful of theſe tributary princes was Oſbert, king of Northumberland, from whoſe miſconduct the Danes were encouraged to make farther devaſtations in various parts of the iſland. Oſbert, returning one day from hunting, called at the houſe of Bruen Brocard, a nobleman of diſtinction, for refreſhment. Brocard happening to be abſent, his lady, a woman of great beauty, entertained the king, who, after dinner, ſeduced her to her chamber, under pretence of ſecret buſineſs, and violated her honour. On her huſband's arrival ſhe informed him of the outrage, at which he was ſo irritated, that he vowed a ſevere revenge; but his reſentment was not confined to the perſon who had injured him: the meaſures he took were of a general nature: he ſacrificed to a perſonal injury the lives of thouſands, and involved his country in miſery and diſtreſs. He privately made a voyage to Denmark, informed Ivar, the then reigning monarch, of the injury he had ſuſtained, and requeſted him to eſpouſe his cauſe, by attempting to make himſelf maſter of Northumberland, which he repreſented to be in ſo weak a ſtate, that it might be taken without the leaſt danger. Ivar readily liſtened to this propoſal, and a powerful fleet was immediately fitted out under the command of him and his brother Hubba, on board of which was a prodigious number of troops, and every thing neceſſary for effecting the deſign projected by Brocard.

A. D. 867. Thus prepared, the Danes embarked for England, and landed, without the leaſt oppoſition, in the territories of the Eaſt-Angles, where they took up their winter quarters.

In the enſuing ſpring they marched into Northumberland, and directed their courſe towards York, where Oſbert at that time kept his court; and had he ſatisfied himſelf with defending that city, the Danes would, in all probability, have been defeated. But the impetuoſity of his courage gained the aſcendancy over his prudence. On their approach near the city he ſallied out to meet them, and a deſperate battle enſued, in which Oſbert fell among the ſlain. The Danes obtained a compleat victory, and the inhabitants, in order to ſecure their lives and properties, entered into a treaty with Ivar, by which he was permitted to take quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Northumberland.

A. D. 868. Not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſions they had already obtained, the Danes reſolved to extend their conqueſts, and accordingly penetrated into Mercia, committing the moſt horrid ravages in their march. Buthred, the then tributary prince of that province, fearful of the conſequences, applied for aſſiſtance to Ethelred; who readily promiſed to join his forces in order to ſtop the progreſs of the invaders. He accordingly ſet out with his brother Alfred, at the head of an army, and joining the Mercians, approached the Daniſh forces; but they had poſted themſelves in ſo advantageous a place, that Ethelred was deſirous of avoiding a battle, in conſequence of which both parties conſented to a truce.

A. D. 869. But this truce was ſoon broke by the perfidious Danes, who, directing their march towards

Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England

ETHELRED



ALFRED



EDWARD
The Elder

ATHELSTAN

Metx delin

Grignion sculp.

Four Portraits of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND *in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned from* EGBERT *the* Great, *Father of the English* ——— *Monarchy, to the* NORMAN CONQUEST ——— *Plate II*

towards Northumberland, committed the moſt horrid outrages. Among other acts of cruelty, they plundered the monaſtery of Bardney in Lincolnſhire, put all the monks to death, and then levelled the building with the ground. The monaſteries of Peterborough, Ely, and indeed all that were ſituated in their way, ſhared the ſame fate; towns and cities were laid in aſhes, women raviſhed and murdered, and neither age, ſex or quality were ſufficient to ſecure the wretched inhabitants from the wantonneſs of ſavage cruelty. The cataſtrophe of the abbeſs and nuns of Coldingham Abbey in Yorkſhire was truly deplorable. Underſtanding that the Danes intended to attack the convent, Ebba, the abbeſs, in order to ſecure herſelf and nuns from falling ſacrifices to the luſtful paſſions of the Danes, propoſed that they ſhould diſfigure their faces, by cutting off their noſes and upper lips. The propoſal was readily embraced, and the abbeſs ſetting the example, it was followed by the whole ſiſterhood. This expedient produced the deſired effect with regard to their honour, but it was purchaſed at the expence of their lives: for the brutal Danes, incenſed at their diſappointment, ſhut up the nuns in the monaſtery, and ſetting fire to it, they all periſhed in the flames.

A. D. 870. After continuing ſome time in Northumberland, the Danes made a deſcent into the province of Eaſt-Anglia, committing in their route the moſt horrid ravages. Edmund, the then tributary king of that diſtrict, led his forces againſt them, and the two armies meeting at Thetford a dreadful battle enſued, which terminated in favour of the Danes. The Engliſh forces were totally routed, and the victors purſuing their conqueſt, great numbers were put to the ſword. Edmund himſelf was taken priſoner, and became an object of their ſavage cruelty, the barbarians tying him to a tree as a butt or mark, and then ſhooting him to death with arrows. His remains were afterwards decently interred, and from the ſpot where they were depoſited, together with the circumſtances of his death, the town of St. Edmund's-bury in Suffolk received its name.

A. D. 871. Having ſecured the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia, the Danes marched into the country of the Weſt-Saxons, the only people that could diſconcert their deſign of ſubjecting the whole iſland to their ambition and cruelty. They ſoon penetrated as far as Reading in Berkſhire, which, from its ſituation on the confluence of the rivers Thames and Kennet, they found might be eaſily defended with a ſmall force againſt a powerful army. Here, therefore, they fixed their head-quarters, and to render the poſt more difficult of acceſs, they made a deep trench between the two rivers, which they ſtrongly fortified with ramparts.

In the mean time Ethelwulf, earl of the county, a man of an intrepid diſpoſition, obſerving the ſituation of the enemy, and that they often ſent out ſtrong detachments to forage, determined to make an attack on them when they were at a proper diſtance from the camp. Accordingly he fell upon one of their ſtrongeſt parties at a place called Englefield, when, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were routed and put to flight, and one of their commanders killed on the ſpot.

This gleam of ſucceſs encouraged Ethelred and Alfred, who had united their forces, to march with all expedition againſt the enemy. On their arrival near Reading they were joined by the forces under the brave Ethelwulf, and having cut off all the advanced parties of the enemy, made preparations for attacking the fortreſs itſelf. The Danes, who had collected all their forces within the town, perceiving their danger, made a vigorous ſally on the Engliſh forces, and, after an obſtinate engagement, in which the brave Ethelwulf was ſlain, obtained a victory.

But this defeat was far from intimidating the Engliſh; on the contrary they were anxious for a ſecond engagement, that they might have the opportunity of revenging the death of the brave Ethelwulf. Accordingly, four days after their defeat they again marched towards the enemy, who advanced from the town to meet them, and drew up their army in two bodies, one of which was commanded by Ivar and Hubba, and the other by their generals. Ethelred made the like diſpoſition of his forces, placing himſelf at the head of one party, and his brother Alfred at that of the other.

The two armies met on a plain near Aſhdown, and the attack was begun with great fury by Alfred, who, for ſome time, nobly ſuſtained the ſhock of the whole Daniſh army. It happened that Ethelred was then engaged in hearing maſs in his tent, and though Alfred ſent a meſſenger requeſting his immediate attendance, yet he would not move till the ſervice was over. As ſoon, however, as Ethelred joined his forces with thoſe of his brother, the Danes, who had ſtood firm againſt the charge of Alfred, gave way, a dreadful carnage enſued, and the enemy was obliged to ſeek their ſafety by a precipitate flight. One of their principal commanders, with many of their nobles, were found among the ſlain.

The ſcattered remains of the Daniſh army fled to Reading, from whence, about a fortnight after their defeat, they made an excurſion, and were attacked by the royal brothers at Baſing in Hampſhire; but here victory declared in favour of the Danes, and the Engliſh, after ſuſtaining ſome loſs, were obliged to retire.

About two months after this the two armies met at Merton in Surry, and a deſperate battle enſued, which, for ſome time, appeared likely to terminate in favour of the Engliſh; but the Danes having rallied their forces, ruſhed to the charge with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Engliſh were obliged to give way, and the laurel they had ſo nearly obtained fell into the hands of the enemy. Many of the Engliſh nobility fell among the ſlain, and the brave Ethelred received a wound that proved mortal, and of which he died on the 27th of April, 872, leaving the kingdom to his brother Alfred. He was buried at Winburn in Dorſetſhire, and his death was univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, whom he had governed with moderation, prudence, juſtice and humanity.

CHAP. V.

ALFRED, furnamed THE GREAT.

Alfred ſucceeds his brother Ethelred on the throne of England. Marches againſt the Danes, and is worſted. Enters into two treaties with them, both of which they violate, after committing the moſt horrid ravages, and make themſelves maſters of Exeter. Deſtroys the Daniſh fleet, marches to Exeter, and enters into another treaty, in which he obliges them to quit the kingdom. Another body of Danes make themſelves maſters of Mercia, and commit the moſt horrid ravages. Alfred conceals himſelf in the cottage of a cow-herd, and afterwards retires to a deſart part of Somerſetſhire. Odun, earl of Devonſhire, engages the Danes, and obtains a compleat victory. Alfred gets admiſſion into the Daniſh camp by diſguiſing himſelf in the character of a muſician. He engages the Danes, and obtains a compleat victory. Allows them the ſame privileges with his own ſubjects. Eſtabliſhes a militia, encreaſes his navy, and erects fortreſſes in different parts of the kingdom. A prodigious body of Danes land in England, under the command of a famous leader named Haſtings; upon which Alfred marches againſt them, obtains a compleat victory, and obliges them to abandon the iſland. He divides the kingdom into counties, hundreds and tythings. Makes many wiſe regulations for the good order and government of his ſubjects. His death and character.

A. D. 872. ON the death of Ethelred his brother Alfred* ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned † at Wincheſter amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. Though only twenty-two years of age at the time of his acceſſion, yet he had given ſo many inſtances of his being a good man, a ſound politician and a courageous ſoldier, that no prince, perhaps, ever aſcended the throne with a more favourable proſpect of reigning in the hearts of his ſubjects. But at the ſame time he was ſurrounded with difficulties, and expoſed, on every ſide to the moſt imminent dangers from a lawleſs and barbarous enemy. Many of the principal cities in his kingdom were levelled with the ground; the farms were deſtroyed; agriculture was neglected; and the dejected peaſant pined for want of bread, in the midſt of fields that lately waved with all the beauties of a golden harveſt.

Such a ſituation would have ſtaggered the fortitude of a ſoul leſs intrepid and enterprizing than Alfred's; but his penetrating genius pointed out reſources to ſupport him under all his difficulties, and he determined either to relieve his country, or glorioufly periſh in the attempt. He therefore applied himſelf with great diligence to revive among his troops that diſcipline which he thought moſt likely to lead to conqueſt. He knew that great difficulties could only be ſurmounted by great efforts; and that the utmoſt activity was neceſſary to prevent the moſt alarming misfortunes. The meaſures he took were, therefore, of ſuch a nature as to preſage the reſtoration of happineſs and tranquillity to his people. They ſaw the noble exertions of royalty in their defence, and flattered themſelves with future felicity. The firmneſs and intrepidity of the monarch revived the drooping ſpirits of the ſubject. The ſoldiers caught the noble infection, and doubted not but, under ſo able a leader, their future efforts would be crowned with ſucceſs.

Satisfied of the affections of his people, and the unſhaken confidence of the army, Alfred applied himſelf with great diligence to correct every abuſe which had crept into the civil adminiſtration; but his attention was ſoon called off from the affairs of government to thoſe of the field. The barbarous Danes ſtill continued to commit the moſt horrid ravages, and though Alfred's forces were very inferior in point of number to thoſe of the enemy, yet he collected what troops he could, and marched againſt them, reſolved, if poſſible, to relieve his people from ſuch mercileſs oppreſſors. The two armies met at Wilton, and a deſperate battle enſued, in the commencement of which the Engliſh had the advantage, and obliged the Danes to quit their ground; but the latter finding by the purſuit, the inferiority of Alfred's forces in point of number, rallied, and charging the Engliſh overpowered them merely by dint of ſuperiority of numbers. This engagement, however, ſo fully convinced the Danes of the military proweſs of Alfred, and the ſpirit with which the Engliſh troops were likely to behave under ſuch a commander that they willingly entered into a treaty with him for a ſafe retreat, promiſing on that condition, to depart the kingdom. They accordingly marched to London, where they were permitted to take up their winter quarters.

A. D. 873. The perfidious Danes did not long preſerve the treaty they had made with Alfred.

* Alfred had given very early prognoſtics of thoſe great virtues and ſhining talents by which he afterwards ſaved his country from utter ruin and ſubverſion. He was always the favourite of his father; but being indulged in all the pleaſures of youth, his education had been ſo greatly neglected, that, when twelve years of age, he was totally ignorant of the loweſt elements of literature. His genius was firſt rouſed by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the queen greatly delighted; and this ſpecies of erudition expanded thoſe noble and elevated ſentiments which he had received from nature. Encouraged by the queen, and ſtimulated by his own ardent inclination, he ſoon learned to read thoſe compoſitions, and then proceeded to acquire a knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which he met with authors better adapted to his genius and heroic ſpirit. Abſorbed in theſe elegant purſuits, his acceſſion to royalty was rather an object of regret than triumph; but being called to the throne by the voice of the whole nation, in preference to his brother's children, as well as in conformity to the will of his father, he ſhook off his literary indolence, and boldly exerted himſelf in defence of his people.

† Alfred was the firſt monarch of this country, at whoſe coronation the ceremony of anointing was performed.

fred. Inſtead of making any preparations for quitting the kingdom, they applied themſelves to their old practices, pillaging the adjacent country, and committing the moſt violent diſorders wherever they went. Buthred, the tributary king of Mercia, (in whoſe territories London was ſituated) purchaſed a peace with them, on condition of their retiring to Lindſey in Lincolnſhire. But this was a diſtrict they had already laid waſte, and was therefore no agreeable ſpot to a people whoſe trade was rapine and violence. They ſo far, indeed fulfilled their engagement with Buthred as to retire to the place ſtipulated; but they ſoon removed from thence into Derbyſhire, and laid the whole country deſolate with fire and ſword. Buthred, finding himſelf unable to withſtand an enemy, who could neither be reſiſted by force, nor bound by treaty, gave himſelf up to deſpair, abandoned his kingdom, and repaired to Rome, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in the gloomy receſſes of a cloiſter.

A. D. 874. On the abdication of Buthred, the Danes made themſelves maſters of Mercia, and ſet up one Ceolwulph, a man of mean abilities, to govern that part of the kingdom as their deputy, while they concerted meaſures for reducing the whole to their authority. They had received conſiderable reinforcements from the continent, and being too numerous to ſubſiſt in one place, they divided their army into two bodies. One of theſe, commanded by Halfden, a Daniſh king, marched into Northumberland, and wintered on the banks of the Tyne; while the other, headed by three celebrated chiefs, took up their quarters at Cambridge.

A. D. 875. The proceedings of the Danes greatly alarmed Alfred. He clearly ſaw that it would be impoſſible to conquer an enemy whoſe armies were continually reinforced with freſh troops; and therefore wiſely applied himſelf to prevent, if poſſible, their future increaſe. To effect this, he fitted out a fleet of ſhips in order to guard the coaſts, and was ſoon convinced that the meaſures he had taken were not in vain. A Daniſh ſquadron of ſeven ſail made an attempt to land on the coaſt of Kent, but were prevented by the fleet of Alfred, who, engaging them, took one of their ſhips, and ſo greatly ſhattered the reſt, that they were obliged to retire.

A. D. 876. In the beginning of this year Halfden ſurpriſed Wareham-caſtle, at that time the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Weſſex. Rouſed at this daring depredation, Alfred immediately marched with his forces againſt them, reſolved, if poſſible to chaſtiſe them in a ſevere manner for their perfidious proceedings. But on his arrival, Halfden, not thinking it prudent to engage, ſued for peace, and offered to give hoſtages for the faithful obſervance of the treaty. Alfred liſtened to his propoſal, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Danes engaged to quit the kingdom; and in order to oblige them to pay a ſtrict attention to the articles, he compelled them to ſwear upon the bracelet, which was the moſt ſacred object of Daniſh adoration.

But no oaths were ſufficient to bind theſe unfeeling barbarians, nor could even their regard for their hoſtages, which, on this occaſion were the nobleſt in their army, induce them to obſerve the terms of the treaty. They continued quiet, indeed, for two or three months, and ſeemed to make preparations for their departure; but they waited only for the opportunity of attacking Alfred's army to advantage. It was not long before their wiſhes were anſwered. The Britiſh cavalry, confiding in their ſtrict adherence to the late treaty made with Alfred, diſperſed themſelves into ſmall parties, in order to procure forage for the Engliſh forces. This was particularly obſerved by the Danes, who reſolved to take advantage of ſo favourable an incident. They accordingly iſſued from their camp in the night, attacked the parties of cavalry, ſeized their horſes, and mounting them fled to Exeter. The ſudden and unexpected appearance of the enemy ſtruck the inhabitants with deſpair: they flew to arms, but it was too late: the Danes eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place, increaſed the fortifications, and there took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 877. The perfidious conduct of the Danes greatly affected Alfred, who determined, if poſſible, to reſcue his ſubjects from the oppreſſion of ſuch mercileſs invaders. He therefore applied himſelf to put his navy on a more reſpectable footing, in order to deſtroy their power by ſea, and prevent their receiving any farther reinforcements from the continent. Accordingly, a formidable fleet was fitted out, which immediately ſet ſail in order to block up Exeter by ſea, while Alfred marched with his forces to attack it by land. The Engliſh ſquadron, in their paſſage to Exeter fell in with the grand fleet of the Danes, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty ſail, loaded with military ſtores, and having on board a ſtrong reinforcement of troops. A deſperate engagement took place, which, for ſome time, was very obſtinate on both ſides; but at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, and the whole Daniſh fleet was totally deſtroyed.

The news of this defeat ſo terrified the Danes, that when Alfred arrived with his forces before Exeter, inſtead of making any attempt to oppoſe him, they had again recourſe to negotiation, offering to give freſh hoſtages, and engaging to quit the iſland. Alfred had ſufficiently experienced their natural perfidy, and was therefore determined to act with the utmoſt caution. He, indeed, concluded a treaty with them, but would not ſuffer them to march by land from Exeter. He received their hoſtages, and compelled them to embark on board their ſhips for their own country.

A. D. 878. Alfred now flattered himſelf with being able totally to prevent any future depredations from the barbarous Danes, and to reſtore peace and tranquillity to his ſubjects. But in this he was greatly miſtaken. During his ſtay at Exeter a prodigious body of theſe piratical invaders landed on the coaſt of Kent, and ſoon after receiving conſiderable reinforcements, penetrated into Mercia, and committed the moſt horrid barbarities, laying the whole country waſte with fire and ſword. Add to this, thoſe who had quitted Exeter landed and joined them, ſo that, like a general inundation, they covered the whole face of the country. The wretched inhabitants were ſo aſtoniſhed and intimidated, that they abandoned their habitations, and ſought their ſafety in a ſpeedy flight: great numbers retired to the continent

continent, while others took up their reſidence in the mountains and foreſts of Wales.

Alfred, finding it impoſſible either to remove the fears of his ſubjects, or collect a ſufficient body of forces to oppoſe the enemy, yeilded to the torrent of misfortune; but at the ſame time his ſoul was too great to give way to deſpair. He knew that without ſome judicious ſtep he muſt fall a ſacrifice to the ſuperior power of a barbarous and inveterate enemy, and therefore determined to ſecret himſelf for a time, in ſome private retreat, not doubting but a future opportunity would offer by which he might be enabled to preſerve, and procure happineſs and tranquillity to his ſubjects. Accordingly, having diſpoſed of his family to perſons on whoſe circumſpection and fidelity he could rely, he wandered about for ſome time in the character of a peaſant, and at length obtained admiſſion into the cottage of a cowherd, where, to conceal the dignity of the monarch, he ſubmitted to become the domeſtic of a clown *.

After Alfred had remained ſome time in this humiliating retreat, he left it, and joining his band of choſen friends, retired to a moraſs in Somerſetſhire, formed by the waters of Parret and Thane †. In the center of this moraſs he built a fortreſs, which he encloſed with intrenchments; but its greateſt ſecurity was, the intricate roads leading to it, and the foreſts and moraſſes with which it was ſurrounded. From this retreat Alfred and his followers made frequent and unexpected ſallies upon ſtraggling parties of the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm without being able to diſcover the quarter from whence the blow proceeded.

While Alfred continued in this obſcure retreat, Hubba, a Daniſh prince, landed with a freſh body of troops at the mouth of the Taw near Barnſtaple in the north of Devonſhire, and beſieged the Caſtle of Kenwith. Odun, earl of Devonſhire, with his followers, had taken ſhelter in this fortreſs, and ſeeing their danger reſolved to make one bold attempt to prevent falling into the hands of a mercileſs enemy. They accordingly made a ſudden ſally upon the Danes early in the morning, and taking them unprepared routed their whole army; no leſs than twelve hundred were cut to pieces, while the reſt fled for ſafety to their ſhips, leaving Hubba, their leader, dead on the field of battle. But what rendered this action ſtill more remarkable was, the conquerors taking the famous magical ſtandard of the Danes. This ſtandard was called Reafen, from its having the figure of a raven embroidered on it by the three ſiſters of Hubba, and was conſidered by the Pagans as the palladium of their preſervation.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Alfred now determined to carry into execution a project he had ſome time formed, but which he had kept a profound ſecret even from his deareſt friends. The Daniſh camp was at no great diſtance, and Alfred reſolved, if poſſible, to get a view of it, in order to diſcover the ſtate and proceedings of the enemy. To effect this, he took upon him the character of a muſician, a profeſſion which he knew to be held in the higheſt eſteem amongſt the moſt barbarous of the northern nations. Alfred's love of the liberal arts had given him great opportunities of perſonating this character to advantage. He therefore, without any difficulty, obtained admiſſion into the Daniſh camp, and ſo highly entertained them with his muſic and facetious humour, that he was introduced into their general's tent, where he continued ſeveral days, and even gained the favour of that ferocious leader.

While Alfred remained in this ſituation, he took particular notice of the ſupine ſecurity of the Danes, their contempt of the Engliſh, and their diſſolute manner of waſting what they had acquired by rapine and violence. He ſaw that riot had uſurped the place of order, and that diſcipline was loſt in intemperance.

Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, Alfred left the camp, and returned to his friends, whoſe drooping ſpirits he revived, by telling them the particulars of what had paſſed, and aſſuring them that he doubted not of being yet ſucceſsful againſt the barbarous invaders of their country. He immediately diſpatched meſſengers to the moſt conſiderable of his ſubjects, ſummoning them to aſſemble, together with their followers, at Brixton, near Sherwood foreſt, in Wiltſhire. This was agreeable news to the diſtreſſed inhabitants; they had long been in the moſt abject ſtate, and anxiouſly wiſhed for the opportunity of retaliating the cruelties they had ſuffered on the barbarous invaders of their country. They accordingly aſſembled with the greateſt alacrity, and every perſon capable of bearing arms appeared at the place of rendezvous on the day appointed.

But how great was their ſurprize when they beheld their beloved monarch, whom they had long conſidered as no more! The joy they expreſſed on this occaſion is more eaſy to be conceived than deſcribed. Alfred acquainted them with the expectations he entertained of conquering his foes, and once more reſtoring peace and tranquillity to his kingdom. This ſo operated on the minds of his affectionate ſubjects, that they knew not how to expreſs their ſatisfaction. Even thoſe who had tamely ſubmitted to the Danes were aſhamed of their conduct, and from the diſtinguiſhed proofs of virtue and reſolution which had been given by Alfred, and his few choſen friends, they unanimouſly determined to follow their examples, and either

* It is ſaid, by ſome writers, that while Alfred was in this ſituation, there occurred the following circumſtance. The cowherd's wife, conſidering the king in the light of a common domeſtic, one day deſired him to mind ſome cakes that were baking before the fire, while ſhe was employed in other affairs of the family. But that Alfred, neglected the injunction, which ſo enraged the good woman, that ſhe ſeverely reprimanded the king, telling him, he was ready enough to eat the cakes, when baked though he was negligent in taking care of them while doing.

† Another ſtory related of Alfred is, that while he continued in this obſcure retreat, a pilgrim one day ſtopped at his houſe, and aſked charity; upon which Alfred, who then poſſeſſed only one loaf of bread, cut it aſunder, and gave one half to the beggar. But both theſe ſtories are evidently nothing more than legendary tales, and ought therefore to be expunged. We have only mentioned theſe to ſhew what fabulous narrations are related in former hiſtories, the like of which it ſhall be our buſineſs to avoid, and (guided only by the pen of truth) ſhall attend to ſuch authentic facts as are moſt eſſentially neceſſary to explain and illuſtrate the Britiſh annals.



KING ALFRED *the Great, disguised as a* MUSICIAN, *meaning the Situation of the Enemy in the* DANISH CAMP, *previous to his defeating them on the borders of Hampshire.*

either recover their liberty, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

From the diſtinguiſhed alacrity of the people in ſo punctually attending agreeable to the orders of Alfred, and their expreſſing their reſolution of ſupporting him to the laſt extremity, Alfred made not the leaſt doubt but he ſhould prove ſucceſsful in the buſineſs he was about to undertake; and therefore, placing himſelf at the head of his ſubjects, marched immediately againſt the enemy.

The Daniſh army was encamped at a place called Yatenden on the borders of Hampſhire, and was formed in the moſt confuſed and irregular manner: from the conqueſts they had made they dreaded no oppoſition, and ſupinely imagined they had no enemy to fear. Alfred marched towards the camp with the greateſt privacy, and taking advantage of the knowledge he had previouſly acquired of the place, directed his attack againſt the moſt unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, imagining that Alfred had periſhed in the wrecks of his fortune, and that with him the glory and power of England had expired, were ſurprized at ſeeing an Engliſh army, but ſtill more aſtoniſhed when they were informed that Alfred was at their head. Confuſion now took place among the barbarians, whom Alfred charged with ſuch impetuoſity that, notwithſtanding their numbers, they were totally routed, and the greater part cut to pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped fled to a neighbouring fortreſs for ſhelter; but Alfred ſurrounded their retreat, and by cutting off all ſupplies of proviſion, ſoon obliged them to ſurrender.

But lenity ſtill glowed in the breaſt of Alfred; he could not be cruel even to an enemy that had ruined his country. He therefore not only gave them their lives, but even formed a ſcheme for rendering them friends and uſeful confederates. He offered to give them ſettlements in the kingdoms of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, which they had depopulated, provided they would embrace the Chriſtian religion, and, to the utmoſt of their power, prevent any more of their countrymen from landing in thoſe parts of the iſland. Theſe terms were readily accepted by the greater part, and thoſe who rejected them were compelled immediately to quit the place, which they accordingly did, and embarked for Flanders.

About three weeks after this convention was ſigned, Guthrun, the Daniſh chief, ſet the example, which was followed by his countrymen, of fulfilling the treaty made with Alfred. Being attended by thirty of his principal officers, he repaired to Aller, a ſmall village in Somerſetſhire, where they all received the ceremony of baptiſm. Alfred himſelf ſtood ſponſor for Guthrun, gave him the name of Athelſtan, and admitted him as his adopted ſon.

A. D. 879. This change of religion produced the effect which had been conceived by Alfred. No ſooner were the Danes placed in the different parts aſſigned them, than they began to direct their thoughts to induſtry and agriculture inſtead of plunder and rapine. Houſes were built; the land cultivated; private property defended; virtue and induſtry encouraged; and every precaution taken to defend themſelves againſt the encroachments of their countrymen, or the invaſions of foreigners. To encourage them to perſevere in this conduct, Alfred made them denizens, and preſented Guthrun with a ſhort code of laws for the good government of his ſubjects. This, and other ſalutary meaſures taken by Alfred produced the deſired effect, and the conquered Danes, inſtead of a barbarous, became a civilized people.

A. D. 880. Alfred, having thus eſtabliſhed his power, and again firmly fixed himſelf on the throne of his anceſtors, employed his time in cultivating the arts of peace, and repairing the miſchiefs that had been occaſioned by the war. He rebuilt the towns and cities that had been deſtroyed, particularly London, which he embelliſhed with many ſtately edifices, appointed it as the place where the aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould annually meet, and declared it the metropolis of the kingdom. He eſtabliſhed civil and military inſtitutions, encouraged induſtry by every means in his power, and executed juſtice with the ſtricteſt impartiality. He formed a regular and formidable militia for the defence of the nation, ſo that ſtrong bodies of forces were always in readineſs to act againſt the common enemy. He alſo ordered a great number of ſhips to be built on an improved plan, one hundred and thirty of which he ſtationed at proper diſtances along the coaſt. He likewiſe inſtructed his ſubjects in the art of navigation, and invited the moſt expert ſeamen from different nations to ſerve in his marine. He built caſtles and fortreſſes in thoſe parts of the kingdom which were moſt expoſed to the attempts of any enemy, all of which were well garriſoned, and furniſhed with every requiſite for making a noble defence. In ſhort, Alfred carried into execution every method he could project for preſerving the internal ſtrength of his kingdom; and took all poſſible meaſures for fixing his people in a laſting ſtate of happineſs and tranquillity.

A. D. 892. From the precautions taken by Alfred, peace and harmony prevailed for ſome years throughout the iſland. But this tranquillity was at length interrupted by the piratical Danes. A prodigious body of them, under the command of an enterprizing leader named Haſtings, had committed great ravages in different parts of France, but at length meeting with ſome repulſe, they reſolved to leave the continent, and try their fortunes in England.

Haſtings accordingly fitted out three hundred ſail of ſhips, and embarking all his forces, ſtood over to the Engliſh coaſt. This powerful fleet was divided into two ſquadrons, one of which conſiſting of two hundred and twenty ſail, entered the harbour of Rye in Suſſex, where they landed their forces, and ſeized the caſtle of Appledore. The other, commanded by Haſtings himſelf, entered the mouth of the Thames, and landed at Milton, where they threw up entrenchments, and built a ſtrong fortreſs for their future ſecurity. Both parties diſperſed themſelves into the neighbouring counties, and the dreadful ravages, which had ceaſed for ſeveral years, were now again reſumed, an emulation ſeeming to ſubſiſt between the two chiefs who ſhould moſt excel in acts of outrage and cruelty.

Alfred was no ſooner acquainted with theſe horrid tranſactions, than he immediately flew to the relief of his people. Placing himſelf at the head of a ſelect body of ſoldiers (whom he always kept about his own perſon) he marched againſt the enemy, and being joined by the armed militia from all quarters through which he paſſed, appeared in the field with a very powerful army. All the ſtraggling parties of the Danes, whom neceſſity, or the love of plunder, had driven to a diſtance from their chief encampment, were deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and the communication between their two bodies entirely cut off. Thoſe who firſt encamped at Apple-

Appledore had made an incurſion to a conſiderable diſtance; but on hearing that the Engliſh were marching againſt them, they retreated towards their camp. Alfred, however, continuing his route with the greateſt expedition, came up with them at Farnham, where a deſperate battle enſued, which, for ſome time, was ſupported with great obſtinacy on both ſides. At length victory declared in favour of Alfred, who not only made a dreadful carnage among the pirates, but likewiſe took their baggage, and recovered all the plunder they had taken in their reſpective incurſions. Thoſe who eſcaped fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and getting on board their ſhips, ſailed up the Coln, and fortified themſelves at Brickelſey in Eſſex. Haſtings, hearing of this defeat, immediately abandoned Milton, and took poſſeſſion of Beamfleet, near the Iſle of Canvey, where he haſtily threw up fortifications for his future defence.

A. D. 894. Alfred was now convinced that he had been long protecting a people, who, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn ties, had continued in their hearts his inflexible and inveterate enemies. While he was engaged in oppoſing the new invaders, the Danes of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland perfidiouſly took up arms in favour of their countrymen. Regardleſs of oaths, and ſtrangers to gratitude, they renounced their allegiance, fitted out a numerous fleet, and landing in Devonſhire, laid ſiege to the city of Exeter. As ſoon as Alfred was informed of theſe proceedings he immediately marched, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to the relief of the inhabitants, leaving a proper number of troops in London to act againſt the power of Haſtings. On his arrival at Exeter, he found that the Danes had poſſeſſed themſelves of that city, in conſequence of which he made immediate preparations for inveſting the place; but the enemy, not chuſing to make any reſiſtance, fled with the utmoſt precipitation to their ſhips, having embarked on board of which they ſet ſail for Beamfleet, in order to join their countrymen under the command of Haſtings.

In the mean time the forces left behind in London, hearing that Haſtings had marched, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, to pillage the adjacent country, took the advantage of his abſence to attack his fortifications at Beamfleet, which they carried by ſtorm, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a prodigious quantity of rich plunder, which the enemy had, for ſecurity, depoſited in that fortreſs. Great numbers of the Danes were made priſoners, among whom were the wife and two ſons of Haſtings. Theſe were ſent to Alfred, who generouſly returned them to the pirate with this remarkable meſſage: "I am determined, at the "hazard of my life, to oppoſe the foreign and do-"meſtic enemies of my country; but women and "children ſhould be ſacred from the horrors of "war. I therefore return your wife and children, "as none ought to be detained in captivity, but "ſuch as are capable of committing hoſtilities."

Struck with the noble generoſity of the Engliſh monarch, and terrified at the power of his arms, Haſtings ſent meſſengers to Alfred (who was then on his return from the weſt of England) to ſue for peace, and ſolicit his clemency. Alfred's humanity always ſuperſeded his reſentment. He therefore readily granted the requeſt of Haſtings, and that on no other condition than his immediately departing the kingdom.

Theſe conditions were readily accepted by Haſtings; but he obſerved them no longer than ſuited his intereſt. He, indeed, embarked his forces under pretence of ſailing to the continent, but, inſtead thereof, he landed them on the oppoſite ſide of the Thames, and joining his countrymen, reſolved, if poſſible, to reimburſe himſelf for the loſſes he had ſuſtained at Beamfleet. As a neceſſary ſtep towards his future deſigns, he ſtrongly fortified Shoebury in Eſſex, where he received conſiderable reinforcements by the gradual influx of the fugitive Danes from other parts of the kingdom. Thus ſtrengthened, he reſolved immediately to throw off the maſk, and begin his depredations. Accordingly, proceeding at the head of his forces towards the north, he made a junction with the Northumbrian Danes, and then, turning weſtward, penetrated as far as the Severn, and ſtrongly intrenched himſelf at a place called Badington in Montgomeryſhire.

As ſoon as Alfred was informed of the perfidious proceedings of Haſtings, he immediately ſent an army againſt him under the command of three experienced generals, who being joined by a body of Welch, blocked up the Danes in their camp. In this ſtate they continued ſome time, till at length, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity by famine, they ſallied out of their lines in a fit of deſperation, with a deſign of cutting their way through the beſiegers; but this attempt was far from ſucceeding to their wiſhes: the greater part were cut to pieces, many killed in the purſuit, and the reſt eſcaped by taking ſhelter under the covert of the adjoining woods. Theſe roved about the country for ſome time, till at length, being reinforced by a body of their countrymen from Northumberland, under the command of one Laf, a Daniſh chief, they reſolved to make another attempt to penetrate into Wales. They accordingly marched with all expedition to Cheſter, where they entrenched themſelves before the king's forces could come up with them; and as the ſeaſon was too far advanced for the Engliſh to undertake a ſiege, the Danes therefore took up their winter quarters in that city.

A. D. 896. In the ſpring of this year the Danes quitted Cheſter, but inſtead of penetrating into Wales as they had intended, they took their route acroſs the country into Eaſt-Anglia, from whence they proceeded to Eſſex, and ſeized on a ſmall iſland called Merſey. Being here joined by great numbers of their countrymen, they repaired on board their ſhips, ſailed up the Thames to the mouth of the Lee, and towing their veſſels up that river, fixed their ſtation at Hertford.

The proximity of the Danes to London greatly alarmed the inhabitants of that city. It was then the time of harveſt, and they were apprehenſive of being deprived of the fine crops that adorned the country for many miles round. But Alfred, in order to calm the fears of his ſubjects, marched with a conſiderable army towards Hertford, and encamped in ſuch a ſituation, as not only to protect the reapers, but to have the opportunity of minutely obſerving the motions of the enemy.

In this ſituation the two armies continued for ſome time, when the great Alfred conceived a deſign of deſtroying the Daniſh fleet by the following ſtratagem. He ordered ſeveral large trenches to be cut from the river to the low grounds, then drawing off the main ſtream, he turned it into the leſſer channels, and, by this ingenious device, the ſhips of the enemy were left aground. Aſtoniſhed at ſuch an expedient, and dreading the enterprizing genius of Alfred, the Danes fled with the utmoſt

Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England



Wale delin.

Orgnon sculp.

KING ALFRED *the Great forming a* CODE *of* LAWS,
and DIVIDING *the* KINGDOM *into Counties, Tythings, Hundreds, &c.*

precipitation, and the Engliſh, after getting off what ſhips they could, deſtroyed the reſt.

Alfred being determined, if poſſible, totally to extirminate the inhuman ravagers of his country, purſued them to the Severn, from whence they continued their retreat to Northumberland. But reflecting on the military talents of Alfred, and deſpairing of ſucceſs while a man of his abilities poſſeſſed the throne, they determined to quit the kingdom, and endeavour to make up for their loſſes in England by plundering ſome other nation. Accordingly, being ſupplied with ſhips by their friends in Northumberland, they all embarked and ſailed for Normandy, after having been greatly diminiſhed in their numbers, diſappointed in their proſpects of plunder, and obliged to carry away with them leſs property than they brought.

Alfred now determined to ſecure himſelf from any future moleſtation of the piratical Danes, by endeavouring to acquire a ſuperiority of power on the ocean. He had attentively conſidered the conſtruction of the Daniſh veſſels, and invented others formed in a more advantageous manner. They were built in the ſhape of gallies, and were both longer and higher than thoſe of the Danes, but at the ſame time they were ſo contrived, that the bulk did not impede their ſwiftneſs of ſailing.

A. D. 897. Alfred had ſcarce finiſhed theſe veſſels before he had occaſion to uſe them. A ſquadron of Daniſh ſhips appeared hovering off the coaſt of Dorſetſhire, upon which Alfred ordered out nine of his new-conſtructed gallies againſt them. In conſequence of this a ſharp engagement enſued, in which the Danes were totally defeated, and great numbers of them taken priſoners. Theſe were conducted to the king at Wincheſter, who, in order to deter the Danes from making any future invaſions, ſentenced them to be hanged as piratical murderers, and enemies to mankind.

Being now freed from foreign enemies, Alfred directed his attention towards reſtoring good order in his kingdom, and purſuing ſuch other meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the future happineſs of his ſubjects. From the laſt ravages of the Danes the kingdom was reduced to the moſt dreadful ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. The whole country was infeſted with bands of robbers, whoſe dreadful outrages rendered all property precarious. Senſible that the execution of very ſevere juſtice could be the only means of putting an end to theſe alarming enormities, and eſtabliſhing order in the ſtate, Alfred ſet about means to obtain this deſirable end, and the meaſures he purſued were ſuch as evinced the diſtinguiſhed abilities of which he was poſſeſſed.

He began his reform with dividing the kingdom into counties, which were ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. Each houſholder was anſwerable to the king for the good behaviour of his family, his ſervants, and even of his gueſts, provided they continued with him above three days. Every youth, at the age of fourteen, was obliged to regiſter himſelf in ſome tything, when all the houſholders immediately became anſwerable for his conduct, nor could any perſon change his habitation without a certificate from the head of the tything to which he belonged. As the tything was anſwerable for the conduct of each individual, ſo the hundred was anſwerable for its different tythings, and the county for its different hundreds. The county, hundred and tything had each its particular court, the firſt of which was held twice a year, and the two laſt once a month for the deciding of cauſes. The biſhop, and eoldermen preſided in the firſt, the conſtable in the ſecond, and the tything-man in the third. By theſe admirable inſtitutions every houſholder was obliged to watch the conduct of his neighbour; nor could any crime be long concealed, or go long unpuniſhed. Small offences were tried in the tything-court, but the larger were heard in thoſe of the hundred and county. Their method of deciſion deſerves to be particularly remembered, becauſe it was the origin of that great privilege peculiar to Engliſhmen, namely, of being tried by juries. Twelve freeholders were choſen, who being ſworn, together with the preſiding magiſtrate, to adminiſter impartial juſtice, proceeded to examine the perſon accuſed, who was either condemned or acquitted, as they thought him guilty or innocent.

From theſe courts there lay an appeal to the king himſelf in council; and as the people had the greateſt confidence in the impartiality and integrity of Alfred, appeals were frequently made to him from all parts of the kingdom. Alfred was indefatigable in the diſpatch of theſe cauſes; but ſuſpecting that the great number of apppeals made to him aroſe from the want of abilities in his magiſtrates, he was determined to remove that inconvenience. To effect this he took particular care that they ſhould be well acquainted with the laws of their country, and, that none might have the opportunity of pleading ignorance, he formed a new code, which he collected from the ſcripture, and from the laws of his predeceſſors Ina, Offa and Ethelbert. This body of laws (though now loſt) ſerved long as the baſis of Engliſh juriſ-prudence, and is generally eſteemed the origin of what is denominated the *common law*.

Alfred was particularly diligent in ſeeing the excellent laws he had made ſtrictly executed. He minutely examined the conduct of all his nobles and judges, reviſed their deciſions, and ſeverely puniſhed all who were guilty of partiality. By purſuing theſe prudent meaſures, all violences and oppreſſions were removed. Robberies were no longer feared, and a breach of the peace, a public offence, or a private injury, were almoſt unknown.

The care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning among his ſubjects was another very uſeful branch of his legiſlation, and tended to reform the Engliſh from their former diſſolute and barbarous manners. He erected ſchools in various parts of the kingdom, and obliged all freeholders, who poſſeſſed two hides of land, to ſend their ſons to theſe ſeminaries till they were ſixteen years of age.

He invited over learned men from various parts of the continent, and founded, or at leaſt rebuilt, the univerſity of Oxford. Perſons of merit and learning only were appointed to offices of truſt: the ignorant and indolent gained not the favour of Alfred. His own example was a powerful incentive to the induſtry of his ſubjects, and a noble emulation was excited among all ranks of people throughout his kingdom. He divided the natural day into three equal parts, one of which was devoted to ſtudy and acts of piety; the ſecond to the diſpatch of buſineſs; and the third to the relaxation and refreſhment of his body. And that he might properly know how the hours paſſed, he made uſe of burning tapers of equal length, which were marked with lines, and fixed in lanthorns; an expedient

invented

invented by himself, the principles of dialling, and the mechanism of clocks and watches being then unknown. By thus husbanding every moment of his time, he became one of the most learned persons of his age; and as he perfectly understood the Latin language, he translated the fables of Æsop, the History of Bede, and several other works, for the use of his subjects.

The conduct of Alfred in the disposition of his own revenues was equally consistent with the manner in which he employed his time. He divided them into two parts, one of which he consigned to pious, and the other to civil uses. The former he subdivided into four parts, the first of which was dispensed to the poor in general; the second to the support of religious houses founded by himself; the third to the public schools; and the fourth to the building and repairing churches, monasteries, and other public foundations. The moiety devoted to civil uses was subdivided into three parts: the first was destined to the support of his household; the second to the payment of his workmen; and the third to the entertainment and relief of strangers who resorted to his court.

As Alfred was fond of learning, his court was the resort of all who were eminent in their several professions, and he particularly familiarized himself with such as he thought most capable of giving him information in any beneficial branch of knowledge. By these means he acquired no less skill in the mechanical than he had done in the liberal arts, several of which he caused to be practised with great advantage throughout his dominions. In short, the attention of Alfred was particularly engaged in concerting measures for promoting the happiness and prosperity of his subjects; and in this he was assiduously employed from the time of his having conquered the piratical Danes to that of his death, which happened on the 26th of October, A. D. 900, in the 52d year of his age, after reigning upwards of twenty-eight years. His remains were interred at Winchester, and his grave bedewed with the tears of an affectionate and grateful people.

From the concurrent testimonies of the most eminent writers, and Alfred's great actions, it is evident that he was the able general, the profound scholar, the eloquent speaker, the sage politician, the polite gentleman, and the worthy man upon all occasions. He had a fine person, a calm but lively aspect, a graceful mien, and a genteel address. He was naturally of a quiet and chearful temper, agreeable in conversation, and affable to all. He knew how to condescend without sinking below his dignity, and how to endear himself to his subjects, without lessening their veneration. He never mentioned his enemies but in terms which expressed great tenderness, nor his friends without a proper regard to their merit. He was temperate in his diet, moderate in all his desires, charitable, benevolent and generous; at once the father and king of his people. In short, he was possessed of every talent, and of every acquisition that can adorn the human mind; without one vice to sully the lustre of his virtues. If the reader desires a further elucidation of his character, let him now look on his country, which has so much flourished in arts, in arms, in commerce, and in freedom: these are the monuments of Alfred's glory: these the effects of his unwearied attention.

Alfred left behind him five children, namely, two sons and three daughters; all of whom inherited a considerable share of the talents and virtues of their father.

Remarkable occurrences during the reign of ALFRED.

885 The honour of knighthood first instituted by Alfred, who conferred it on his grandson Athelstan.
886 Fairs and markets appointed to be kept at most of the the principal places throughout England.
Bricks first made and used for building of houses.
892 Lanthorns of scraped horn invented, by Alfred.
895 The river Humber overflowed its banks, by which a great number of cattle and sheep were drowned.
896 Spreaders of false news punished with the loss of their tongues
897 A dreadful plague happened in England, which raged with great violence for three years, during which time it carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants.

CHAP. VI.

EDWARD THE ELDER,

Edward succeeds his father Alfred on the throne of England. Is opposed by his cousin Ethelwald, in conjunction with the Danes. Edward marches against them, and Ethelwald, being deserted by the Danes, is obliged to quit the kingdom. He returns with a body of foreign troops, and is again joined by the Danes. Engages a party of the king's forces and is slain. Edward continues to be harassed by the Danes, whom, with the assistance of his sister Elfleda, he repeatedly defeats. Engages Leofrid, a Danish chief, in single combat. Quells a general insurrection of the Danes, and restores tranquillity to the kingdom. His death and character.

A. D. 900. ON the death of Alfred, his second son Edward (surnamed the Elder from his being the first English monarch of that name) succeeded to the throne, and was crowned winh great ceremony at Kingston upon Thames, by Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury.

At the time Edward ascended the throne, the nation was in a perfect state of tranquillity; but this was soon interrupted by means of his cousin Ethelwald, who laid claim to the crown as the son of Ethelbert, elder brother to the late king. Accordingly having got together some adherents, and a small body of forces, he made himself master of Winburn in Dorsetshire, which he fortified, and seemed determined to support his claim at the hazard of his life.

A. D. 901. As soon as Edward was informed of his cousin's rebellion, he immediately marched at the head of a body of forces against him; but on his approach Ethelwald, being fearful of the consequences, deserted his friends, and even his wife, and fled to the Danes in Northumberland, who received him with open arms, and acknowledged him for their king.

Edward, hearing of the retreat of his rival, and the revolt of the Danes, resolved to march against them, before they could be joined by any of their countrymen from the continent, or strengthen themselves



KING ATHELSTAN *saving the Life of his* FATHER, *Edward the Elder at the Battle of Shenwood, by taking* LEOFRID *the Dane* PRISONER.

ſelves by an union with any other parties in the iſland. Accordingly, having reduced Winburn, he marched with ſuch expedition into Northumberland, that the Danes were aſtoniſhed, and being fearful of the conſequences, agreed to baniſh from their country the prince they had undertaken to protect. But this pretended loyalty, the effect of fear, did not ſatisfy Edward, who ſeized upon their principal fortreſſes as the moſt eligible method of ſecuring their allegiance.

Ethelwald being compelled to quit the kingdom, repaired to Normandy, from whence, having obtained the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable body of forces, he returned in the year 904, and landed in Eaſt-Anglia. The appearance of a Norman army gave great encouragement to the Danes, who, laying aſide their fears, declared openly for Ethelwald. But the abilities and alacrity of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive. Ethelwald marched, indeed, at the head of his forces into Glouceſterſhire, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages on the peaceable inhabitants; but on the approach of the Engliſh army he was obliged to deſiſt, and returned, for ſafety, into Eaſt-Anglia. Edward led his forces into the enemy's country, and laid the frontiers waſte; but not thinking it prudent to penetrate into the heart of Eaſt-Anglia, he retreated from their territories, at the head of the greater part of his army. The whole of his forces were ordered to follow; but the Kentiſh men, either to revenge themſelves on the perfidious Danes, or from expectations of acquiring a larger ſhare of plunder, ſtaid behind, and took up their quarters at Bury. But this diſobedience proved in the end fortunate to Edward. The Danes, taking advantage of the king's abſence, aſſaulted the Kentiſh forces with great reſolution; but met with ſo ſtrong a reſiſtance, that though they gained the advantage, it was dearly purchaſed, their braveſt leaders, among whom was Ethelwald himſelf, being ſlain in the action. In conſequence of this the Danes immediately ſued for peace, which Edward concluded with them at a place called Ickford in Buckinghamſhire.

A. D. 911. Ever reſtleſs, and ever perfidious, the Danes broke the treaty they had made with Edward, and committed the moſt horrid ravages in various parts of the country. Exaſperated at their perfidy and cruelty, Edward led his forces againſt the inſurgents, and coming up with a large body of them at a place called Tetnal in Staffordſhire, defeated them with great ſlaughter, and deprived them of all their plunder.

A. D. 912. About this time Edward loſt his brother-in-law Etheldred prince of Mercia, on whoſe death Elfleda, his widow, a worthy daughter of the great Alfred, took upon her the reins of government, and nobly aſſiſted her brother in his wars with the Danes. Being a woman of exceeding great courage, ſhe threw off the weakneſs peculiar to her ſex, and took upon herſelf the command of a body of troops in perſon, at the head of whom ſhe ſignalized herſelf on various occaſions, and was at once admired by the ſoldiers, and reſpected by the officers.

A. D. 913. Edward having, by the aſſiſtance of his heroic ſiſter, procured an interval of eaſe, applied himſelf to works of public utility, and the encouragement of learning. He rebuilt the city of Hereford, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes, fortified Witham, repaired ſeveral churches and monaſteries, and erected the ſeminary of Cambridge into an univerſity.

A. D. 917. The tranquillity which the nation had enjoyed for about four years was again diſturbed by the reſtleſs and ferocious Danes, who made ſeveral incurſions, with detached parties, and committed the moſt horrid ravages. Edward and his ſiſter marched againſt them, and were ſo ſucceſsful that defeat ſucceeded defeat, they being in one part of the kingdom cut to pieces by Elfleda, and routed by Edward in another.

A. D. 918. But theſe ſmall incurſions were only the prelude to a more formidable invaſion. A numerous body of Danes, under the command of Otar and Rohault, embarked from the ſouthern coaſt of Britany, and entering the Severn, committed many ravages on the adjacent coaſts, till at length they were defeated by the militia of Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire. Rohault and Otar's brother were ſlain in the battle, and thoſe who eſcaped fled into a wood, which was immediately inveſted by the conquerors. In this emergency the Danes, as uſual, ſued for peace, promiſed to depart the kingdom, and give hoſtages for the performance of the treaty. They accordingly embarked, and ſailed from the mouth of the Severn in the night, but landed on the coaſt of Somerſetſhire, where being met by the militia of that county, the greater part of them were cut to pieces, and the few that eſcaped fled to Ireland. This ſucceſs was highly pleaſing to Edward, but his ſatisfaction was greatly checked by the loſs of his ſiſter Elfleda, who died ſoon after at Tamworth in Staffordſhire, to the unſpeakable regret of the whole nation.

A. D. 920. In the beginning of this year one Leofrid, a Daniſh chief, who was ſettled in Ireland, accompanied by Griffith ap Madoc, brother-in-law to the prince of Weſt Wales, landed at the head of a conſiderable army, with a deſign of making a conqueſt of the Welch dominions. They penetrated as far as Cheſter without meeting with any oppoſition. But Edward, having aſſembled his forces, marched with all expedition to the defence of his people, and meeting the invaders at Sherwood, a deſperate battle enſued. During the action Leofrid encountered hand to hand with Edward, and the conteſt continued equal for ſome time, till Edward, in giving the Dane a violent blow, broke his ſword at the hilt, and he muſt have fallen a victim to Leofrid, had not his ſon Athelſtan flown to his aſſiſtance. This prince was more fortunate than his father; for he wounded Leofrid ſo deſperately in the arm, that he dropped his ſpear, and ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner. The forces of the enemy were totally defeated, great numbers being ſlain, and the reſt immediately obliged to quit the kingdom. The two chiefs, Leofrid the Dane, and Griffith ap Madoc, the Welch prince, were both beheaded, and their heads placed on the tower of Cheſter.

A. D. 921. This conqueſt, and the ſevere puniſhment inflicted on the two leaders, ſo irritated the Danes, that a general inſurrection enſued, and the Engliſh were threatened with all the horrors of ſavage barbarity. But the vigilance and intrepidity of Edward baffled all their deſigns: they were driven from one part of the country to another: their caſtles were taken, and their towns laid in aſhes; ſo that they felt the ſame kind of diſtreſs they had ſo often inflicted on the Engliſh. Submiſſion now became their only reſource: they accordingly laid down their arms, ſued for peace, and readily embraced the terms offered by the victor. This was followed by the ſubmiſſion of all

the Welſh princes; and even the king of Scotland conſented to hold his crown as a vaſſal to Edward.

A. D. 925. Thus did Edward once more reſtore tranquillity to the nation, to ſecure which, knowing the natural perfidy of the Danes, he directed his attention towards fortifying towns, and erecting caſtles in various parts of the kingdom. But while he was employed in this buſineſs he paid the debt of nature, to the great grief of all his ſubjects. He died at Farringdon in Berkſhire, and was buried by his father at Wincheſter.

Though Edward was inferior to Alfred with reſpect to genius and learning, yet he was equal to him in virtue and courage. He cloſely followed the ſteps of his father, and, like him, was reſpected by his neighbours, and univerſally beloved by his ſubjects, who, as the laſt teſtimony of their reſpect for him, watered his grave with the tears of affection.

CHAP. VII.

ATHELSTAN.

Athelſtan ſucceeds his father on the throne of England. A conſpiracy is formed againſt him. Marches againſt the Danes of Northumberland, and obliges them to ſue for peace. Reduces the kingdom of Scotland. Conſtantine, the Scottiſh monarch, Anlaff, a Daniſh prince, and Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons, join in a confederacy againſt Athelſtan, who marches againſt them, and obtains a compleat victory. His death and character.

A. D. 925. ON the death of Edward, his ſon Athelſtan ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned at Kingſton by Anthelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

Athelſtan was hardly fixed in the ſeat of power when a conſpiracy was formed to arreſt the ſcepter from his hand; but before the deſign was ripe for execution, the plot was diſcovered, and Alfred (a nobleman of conſiderable authority who headed the faction) was apprehended, and committed to priſon. Alfred reſolutely denied the charge, and offered to prove his innocence by an oath before the pope. The king accepting the conditions, Alfred was conducted to Rome, where he took the oath preſcribed before pope John X. who then filled the papal chair; but he had no ſooner pronounced the words than he fell into convulſions, and three days after expired. This being conſidered as a ſufficient proof of his guilt, the king confiſcated his eſtate, and gave it to the monaſtery of Malmſbury.

The Danes of Northumberland, knowing of the conſpiracy formed againſt Athelſtan, and hoping to be joined by a powerful faction, revolted, and penetrated as far as the city of York. But Athelſtan marched againſt them with ſuch expedition, that the inſurgents were ſurprized, and Sithric, their leader, was obliged to ſue for peace. This requeſt was readily granted by Athelſtan, who, in order to attach Sithric more firmly to his intereſts, not only made him king of Northumberland, but likewiſe gave him his ſiſter Edgitha in marriage.

A. D. 926. The political ſtep taken by Athelſtan for obtaining a laſting peace with the Danes was rendered abortive by the death of Sithric, which happened a few months after his promotion. In conſequence of this his two ſons, Anlaff and Godfrid (by a former wife) aſſumed the ſovereignty, without waiting for the conſent of Athelſtan, who was ſo enraged at their preſumption that he drove them from the kingdom. Anlaff fled to Ireland, and Godfrid to Scotland, where he took refuge in the court of Conſtantine, who then filled the Scottiſh throne. Athelſtan ſent a meſſage to Conſtantine, requeſting him to deliver up the fugitive; which being refuſed, he marched a ſtrong army into Scotland, reduced the whole kingdom, and obliged Conſtantine to do him homage for the preſervation of his crown.

Though Conſtantine had been compelled to ſubmit to the ſuperior power of Athelſtan, yet he reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of endeavouring to recover the honour he had loſt by his ſubmiſſion. To effect this, in the beginning of the year 934, he formed a confederacy with Anlaff the brother of Godfrid, (who had collected a large body of forces in Ireland) and Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons, in order to attack Athelſtan, and reduce his power to narrower bounds. Owen accordingly marched at the head of his Britons into Scotland, ſoon after which Anlaff landed his forces on the north ſide of the Humber, and marched immediately to join the allies.

Athelſtan, being informed of this confederacy, proceeded with all expedition to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. The two armies came within ſight of each other at a place called Bromſbury in Northumberland, but kept from an engagement for ſeveral days, each watching the opportunity of gaining ſome peculiar advantage. During this interval Anlaff laid a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating Athelſtan, to effect which he put in practice a ſimilar ſtratagem to that uſed by Alfred the Great. Diſguiſed like a muſician he entered the Engliſh camp, and was even introduced to play before the king, who handſomely rewarded him for the amuſement he had received. A ſoldier in Athelſtan's army happened to recognize the features of Anlaff, and after his departure informed the king who he was. Athelſtan blamed him for not having given more timely notice, that he might have been apprehended in the camp; when the ſoldier nobly replied, "My "liege, I firſt gave my military oath to Anlaff; "if, therefore, I had betrayed him, your majeſty "might juſtly have ſuſpected the like treachery to "yourſelf. But to evince my loyalty, I entreat "your majeſty to remove your tent, as I have no "doubt but a deſign upon your perſon will be the "conſequence of Anlaff's obſervations." The "king, after rewarding the ſoldier for his fidelity, ordered his tent to be removed; and the ſpot where it ſtood was ſoon after occupied by a biſhop who had that evening joined Athelſtan with a reinforcement of troops. Every thing continued quiet till midnight, when Anlaff at the head of a choſen body of forces, broke into the Engliſh camp, repaired immediately to the ſpot where the king's tent ſtood, and ſlew the biſhop, with all his followers. This incident occaſioned a general alarm, and Anlaff narrowly eſcaped with his life.

Early the next morning Athelſtan led his forces againſt



King EDMUND *the first* ASSASSINATED *by* LEOLF *the* ROBBER, *while celebrating the Feast of St Augustine, in the Church of Puckle in Gloucestershire.*

Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England

EDMUND I.



EDRED.





EDWY.



EDGAR.

Metz delin.

Grignion sculp.

Four Portraits of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND *in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned, from* EGBERT *the* Great, *Father of the English Monarchy to the* NORMAN CONQUEST.

Plate III.

againſt the allied army, and the action ſoon became general. The conteſt was very ſevere for ſome time, till at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh. The allies were driven from the field of battle with great ſlaughter, and the few that eſcaped ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight, among whom were the two leaders Anlaff and Owen. Conſtantine, chagrined at his defeat, reſigned his crown, retired to a convent, and died in obſcurity.

A. D. 941. Having thus ſubdued his enemies, Athelſtan reſted from the toils of war, and applied himſelf, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, in purſuing ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to promote the happineſs and proſperity of his people. But while he was labouring for the good of his country, he paid the debt of nature, in the 46th year of his age, and 16th of his reign. He died at Glouceſter, and was buried in his favourite church at Malmſbury.

With reſpect to the character of Athelſtan, it is acknowledged by all hiſtorians, that he was learned without being pedantic, generous without oſtentation, and pious without ſuperſtition. He was an able general, a conſummate politician, a ſincere friend, and an indulgent maſter. He was particularly deſirous of ſpreading the knowledge of the Goſpel among his ſubjects; for which purpoſe he cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated into the Saxon language, that every perſon might enjoy the advantage of being acquainted with the ſacred writings. In ſhort, his whole attention was directed to the welfare of his people, ſo that it is no wonder he ſhould live beloved, and die univerſally lamented.

CHAP. VIII.

EDMUND I.

Edmund ſucceeds his brother Athelſtan. Is greatly diſturbed by the Danes. Marches againſt them, and comes to an accommodation. Quells a diſturbance in Northumberland, and reduces the Cumbrian Britons. Is baſely aſſaſſinated by Leolf the Robber.

A. D. 941. ON the death of Athelſtan, his brother Edmund ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned with great ſolemnity at Kingſton, in the 18th year of his age.

Edmund was no ſooner ſeated on the throne than he met with diſturbances from the Danes under Anlaff, who conſidering the youth of the king as a fair opportunity, reſolved to renew his claim to the crown of Northumberland. He was at this time in Ireland, where he had a conſiderable body of forces; but not thinking theſe ſufficient for his intended enterprize, he formed an alliance with Olaus king of Norway, from whom he received a ſtrong reinforcement of ſhips and men. Having acquired this aſſiſtance, he immediately invaded Northumberland, and being joined by the Danes, over-ran the country, after which he purſued his rout into Yorkſhire, took the city of York, and then penetrated into Mercia.

In the mean time young Edmund, being informed of the rapid progreſs of the enemy, aſſembled what forces he could, and marched with all expedition againſt them. The two armies met at Cheſter, where an obſtinate battle enſued, which continued till night put an end to the conteſt. Both armies remained in the field, in order to renew the fight as ſoon as the morning appeared; but at the inſtigation of the archbiſhops of York and Canterbury, an accommodation was formed, and a ſtop put to the farther effuſion of human blood. Peace was concluded between the contending parties, and Anlaff was ſhamefully permitted to enjoy the throne of Northumberland.

A. D. 943. But though Anlaff had thus obtained the regal dignity, yet he did not hold it long without diſturbance. Having contracted large debts with the king of Norway for his aſſiſtance, he laid a very heavy tax on his ſubjects to fulfil his engagements, and being inexorable to their complaints, totally loſt their affections. The inhabitants of Deira, wearied with the burden, revolted, and ſending for Reinald, the nephew of Anlaff, from Ireland, crowned him king at York. Anarchy and confuſion now ſucceeded: the kingdom was divided into parties, and each endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own power on the ruin of others.

A. D. 944. Edmund, thinking this a favourable opportunity of recovering the countries he had loſt, marched with all expedition, at the head of his forces towards Northumberland, and arrived on the frontiers before the Danes had the leaſt notion of his deſign. Being thus ſuddenly ſurprized, the two kings thought proper to ſeek their ſafety by flight, and the Danes not chuſing to make any oppoſition without their leader, ſubmitted to Edmund, who, in conſequence thereof, became maſter of the whole kingdom.

A. D. 945. Edmund now reſolved to turn his arms againſt the Cumbrian Britons, for having aſſiſted the Northumberland Danes in their late revolt. He accordingly marched into their country at the head of his forces, drove their prince from the throne, and beſtowed his dominions on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition of his doing homage, and defending the northern countries from the future invaſions of the Danes.

Edmund made ſeveral excellent laws for the good government of his ſubjects. Among others he paſſed a law for preventing robberies, in which it was enacted, that in gangs of robbers the oldeſt ſhould be put to death.

A. D. 948. A ſhort time after this an incident happened, which proved fatal to Edmund. On the 6th of May the king and his nobility repaired to Puckle church in Glouceſterſhire, in order to celebrate the feaſt of St. Auguſtine. During the entertainment Edmund obſerved at one of the tables, a notorious robber named Leolf, whom he himſelf had baniſhed for his crimes. Enraged at his inſolence, he ordered him immediately to quit the room; but, on his refuſing to obey, Edmund was ſo incenſed, that he leaped from his ſeat, ſeized him by the hair, and threw him on the floor. On this Leolf, thinking his death inevitable, drew out a ſhort dagger, and gave the king a mortal wound, of which he inſtantly expired. The nobles, who were witneſſes of this act of regicide, immediately fell upon the murderer, and put him to death.—Thus, by an ignoble hand, fell Edmund, in the ſeventh year of his reign, and twenty-fifth of his age.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

EDRED.

Edred succeeds his brother on the throne. Marches againſt the Danes of Northumberland, and reduces them to obedience. Suffers himſelf to be duped by Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury. Dies of a quinſey.

A. D. 948. THE late Edmund left two ſons, namely, Edwy and Edgar, but being both infants, their uncle Edred was unanimouſly choſen ſucceſſor to the throne, and crowned at Kingſton by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The reign of this prince, like that of his predeceſſor, commenced with diſturbances from the Danes of Northumberland, who no ſooner heard of the death of Edmund, than they renounced their allegiance, and flew to arms. Edward immediately marched againſt them, and having laid waſte their country with fire and ſword, as a puniſhment for their rebellion, obliged them to renew their oaths of allegiance, and then returned with his forces.

A. D. 949. Provoked at the devaſtations made by Edred, the Danes of Northumberland broke into a new rebellion, and were again ſubdued; and in order to prevent any future inſurrections, Edred placed garriſons in the principal fortreſſes under an able governor. He likewiſe obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands which he held in England.

A. D. 950. The Northumbrian Danes being thus ſubdued, and tranquillity reſtored, Edred ſpent his time in religious exerciſes, and from his diſtinguiſhed zeal became the dupe of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, who directed both the ſpiritual concerns of the king, and the temporal concerns of the kingdom. Nothing either in church or ſtate was executed without his advice and concurrence. He was ſole treaſurer, and by his counſel moſt of the benefices in the kingdom were beſtowed upon monks, while the ſecular clergy were totally neglected and ſet aſide. This partiality excited very alarming commotions among the people, and, for ſome time, greatly diſturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom.

A. D. 955. But while the nation was thus threatened with the moſt imminent danger, the career of the imperious Dunſtan was checked by the death of the king, who, being ſeized with a quinſey, expired on the 23d of November, in the ſeventh year of his reign. He left two ſons; but as they were infants, his nephew Edwy, ſon to Edmund, was placed on the throne.

CHAP. X.

EDWY.

Edwy, on the day of his coronation, is groſly inſulted by Dunſtan, whom he baniſhes the kingdom. Ethelgiva, his queen, is barbarouſly treated by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and afterwards put to death. A rebellion is formed againſt Edwy, who is dethroned, and dies with grief.

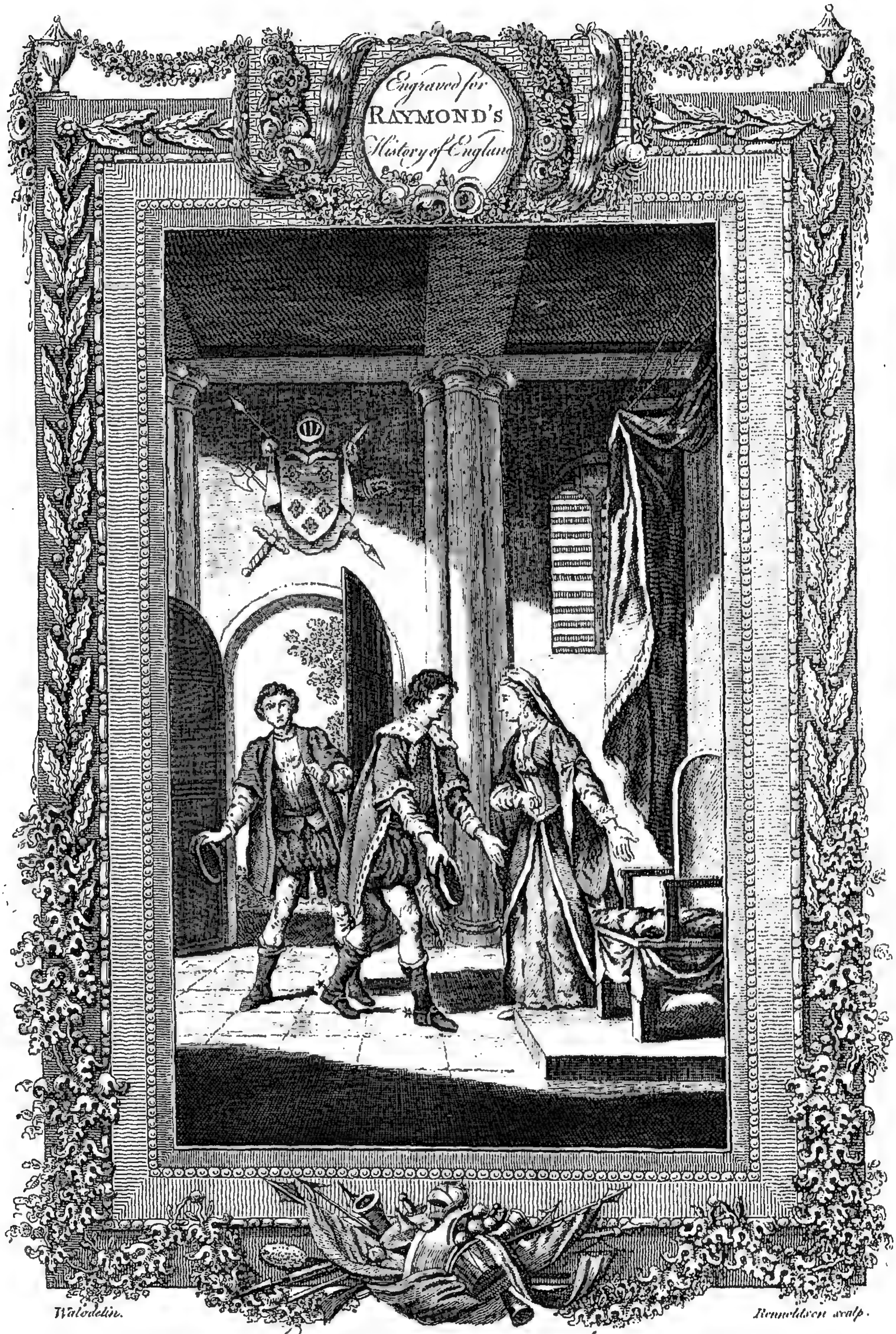
A. D. 955. EDWY was only ſixteen years of age when he aſcended the throne, and ſo remarkable for his perſonal accompliſhments, that he obtained the ſurname of *The Fair*. A ſhort time before his acceſſion he married Ethelgiva, a beautiful princeſs of the blood royal; but this alliance being within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law, Dunſtan violently declaimed againſt the king's conduct, (in which he was joined by the whole fraternity of monks) and thinking his influence leſſened by Edwy's fondneſs for his wife, determined, if poſſible, to break off the connection. It was not long before he gave a proof of his intentions. On the day of Edwy's coronation, being fatigued with the tedious ceremony, and willing to avoid the exceſſive drinking then univerſally practiſed, the king left his nobles, and retired to enjoy the converſation of his wife and mother, who were in an adjacent apartment. The nobles, looking upon the abſence of the king as an affront offered to themſelves, complained of the inſult. Dunſtan ſaw their diſguſt with a ſecret ſatisfaction, and, ſtarting from his ſeat, ruſhed into the apartment, reproached the king for his behaviour in the harſheſt terms, and forcibly dragged him back to the hall where the gueſts were aſſembled.

This violent outrage could not but excite the indignation of Edwy, who, by the advice of his friends, reſolved to be revenged on the inſolent Dunſtan. He accordingly ordered him to give an account of the ſums of money with which he had been entruſted during the late reign; but the haughty abbot refuſed to comply, in conſequence of which he was declared guilty of malverſation in his office, and baniſhed the kingdom.

This exertion of the royal authority raiſed the attention of the whole clergy, but none more than Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, ſuſpecting that Dunſtan's baniſhment aroſe from the reſentment of Ethelgiva, determined to take a ſevere revenge on that innocent princeſs. He accordingly ſent a party of ſoldiers to the palace, with orders to ſeize her and bring her before him; which being done, he firſt cauſed her beautiful face to be branded with an hot iron, and then ſent her, under a proper guard, to Ireland.

The cruel Odo was too powerful for Edwy to make any attempt to puniſh him for his audacity; but to give ſome vent to his reſentment, he baniſhed the whole order of monks from his kingdom, and gave the monaſteries of Glaſtonbury and Abingdon to the ſecular clergy. Thus the inconſiderate monarch and haughty prelate continued to mortify each other, till the latter ſpirited up prince Edgar to an open rebellion againſt his brother.

Edgar was a prince of an enterprizing genius, and an ambitious ſpirit. The archbiſhop, therefore, found but little difficulty in perſuading him to revolt. His own aggrandizement, and the approbation



Walodelin. *Bennoldsen sculp.*

KING EDGAR's *first* INTERVIEW *with* QUEEN ELFRIDA.

probation of the clergy overbalanced fraternal bonds and natural allegiance; and the ſanction of the Northumbrian and Mercian forces urged him on to proſecute the deſign of dethroning his brother.

A. D. 957. The rebellion excited by Odo now became too powerful to be eaſily ſuppreſſed, and the timid Edwy, inſtead of exerting a proper ſpirit, fled to Glouceſter, and in a fit of deſpair, immerſed himſelf within the walls of that city. In conſequence of this Edgar ſummoned together the principal nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, who unanimouſly elected him to the ſovereign authority, and declared his brother incapable of any longer holding the reins of government.

The unfortunate Edwy ſurvived this popular injuſtice about two years, when he died of abſolute grief, leaving his brother Edgar in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne.

CHAP. XI.

EDGAR.

Edgar recalls Dunſtan and loads him with favours. Increaſes his navy, and ſecures his dominions from foreign invaſions. Marries Elfrida, daughter of the earl of Devon. Is rowed down the river Dee by eight tributary kings. His death and character.

A. D. 959. THE firſt conſideration of Edgar, after his acceſſion to throne was, to conciliate the affections of the clergy, knowing it to be the only ſtep he could take to avoid that rock which had proved ſo fatal to his brother. He accordingly recalled Dunſtan, and loaded him with favours; firſt making him biſhop of Wincheſter, then advancing him to the ſee of London, and afterwards promoting him to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury.

A. D. 960. Edgar now directed his attention towards cultivating the arts of peace, and eſtabliſhing tranquillity throughout his kingdom. To ſecure himſelf from foreign invaſions, he greatly increaſed his navy, which he divided into three ſquadrons. The firſt was ſtationed on the eaſtern, the ſecond on the weſtern, and the third on the northern coaſts of the kingdom. Theſe ſquadrons kept cruiſing during the ſummer months, and were always in readineſs to attack an enemy on their firſt appearance. He likewiſe maintained a body of diſciplined troops, which he quartered in the north, in order to keep the Northumbrians in ſubjection, and to repel the inroads of the Scots.

A. D. 961. The meaſures purſued by Edgar evinced his abilities for holding the ſcepter with credit to himſelf and happineſs to his people; but theſe abilities were greatly ſullied by his private conduct as a man. He was naturally of a very laſcivious diſpoſition, and particularly remarkable for the diſſoluteneſs of his manners. The virtue of no lady was ſafe, if celebrated for her beauty. He carried off and raviſhed a nun, though oppoſed by the whole convent. Dunſtan, indeed, reproached him for this atrocious crime, but no other puniſhment was inflicted on him than a prohibition from wearing his crown during ſeven years.

A ſhort time after this Edgar's amorous diſpoſition led him to commit an act of the moſt horrid nature. Elfrida, the daughter of the earl of Devon, one of the richeſt noblemen in the kingdom, had ſuch perſonal charms, as to become the univerſal object of converſation. Edgar often heard of the praiſes of this lady, and conceived a deſign of making her his partner in the throne; but doubting whether ſhe poſſeſſed thoſe charms diſplayed by common report, he diſpatched Athelwold his favourite and firſt miniſter, into Devonſhire, with directions to pay a viſit to her father, in order to obtain a ſight of her, and bring him a certain account of her beauty. Athelwold himſelf was young, and very ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions; ſo that the charms of Elfrida ſtifled in his breaſt every ſentiment of duty, and animated him with a reſolution of attempting to gain her for himſelf. He accordingly returned to Edgar and made a falſe report of the charms of Elfrida: he repreſented her as very plain in her perſon, and far from being an object proper for his affections. At the ſame time he artfully inſinuated, that though ſhe was unworthy to be the conſort of a king, ſhe would be an advantageous match for a ſubject, and the great riches ſhe poſſeſſed would be to him a ſufficient compenſation for the want of beauty in her perſon. Edgar readily gave his conſent, and Athelwold, ſoon after married Elfrida. Conſcious of the danger that muſt attend him, ſhould Edgar diſcover the treacherous part he had acted, Athelwold took every precaution to conceal the beautiful Elfrida from public obſervation. But his perfidy was not long unknown. Edgar, either by chance, or the information of ſome enemy to Athelwold, was informed of the whole tranſaction. Exaſperated at the treachery of his favourite, Edgar determined to take a ſevere revenge; but, for the preſent, he thought proper to diſſemble his rage, and told Athelwold, in a very careleſs manner, that he intended to hunt in the neighbourhood of his ſeat, and propoſed paying him a viſit. Alarmed at the king's deſign, and being incapable of making any plauſible excuſe to elude the royal viſit, Athelwold ſet out a few hours before the king, under pretence of making the neceſſary preparations. On his arrival he diſcovered the whole to Elfrida, conjuring her to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to conceal from the amorous monarch, thoſe charms which nature had ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon her, leſt they ſhould be the deſtruction of their domeſtic peace. But this requeſt was made to a woman conſcious of the power of beauty, and enflamed with the ambition of ſeing a monarch at her feet. Inſtead, therefore, of purſuing the advice of her huſband, when the king arrived ſhe took particular pains to employ all the graces of her perſon; in conſequence of which love and fury took poſſeſſion of the inſulted monarch's breaſt, though he had prudence enough to conceal it from

the eyes of his perfidious favourite. It was not long, however, before he took a moſt ſevere revenge, for going with Athelwold to hunt in the foreſt of Harewood, he there ſtabbed him with his own hand. Elfrida, to expiate the guilt of being thought acceſſary to the murder of her huſband, erected a monaſtery on the ſpot where he was ſlain, and ſoon after was married to Edgar.

This incident terminated the vices and follies of Edgar, who ſpent the remainder of his reign in purſuing ſuch meaſures as did him honour both as a ſovereign and a man, and from which he was feared by his enemies, and univerſally beloved by his ſubjects.

A. D. 974. At this time the whole kingdom was infeſted with wolves, and Edgar exerted his utmoſt endeavours to extirpate them; but on being cloſely purſued they took ſhelter in the mountains and foreſts of Wales. Edgar, therefore, changed the tribute, which had been impoſed upon the Welch princes, into an annual tax of three hundred wolves. This ſcheme produced the deſired effect; and in a few years thoſe animals were no longer to be found in the iſland.

Edgar had now arrived to the higheſt ſummit of power, and to ſhew his authority he ſummoned his vaſſal princes to attend him at Cheſter. Theſe were eight in number, namely, Kennith king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Maccuſe king of the Iſles, and five petty kings of Wales. After paying the uſual homage, Edgar went into his royal barge, and was rowed down the river Dee by theſe eight tributary kings, another barge contained the principal nobility. In this manner they proceeded to the monaſtery of St. John the Baptiſt, where, having heard a complimentary oration, he returned to his palace.

A. D. 975. The peaceable reign of Edgar now drew towards a cloſe. He was ſeized with a violent fever, which, notwithſtanding all the art of medicine, took him off, in the 33d year of his age, and 16th of his reign.

Edgar had iſſue by his firſt wife Elfleda, Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and by his ſecond wife Elfrida he had two ſons, viz. Ethelred (who was afterwards king of England) and Edmund, who died when he was only four years of age.

With reſpect to the character of Edgar, it muſt be acknowledged that he was a conſummate politician and a wiſe legiſlator. He made ſeveral excellent laws for the good order and government of his people. He regulated the coin of the kingdom, and reduced the weights and meaſures to one ſtandard. In ſhort, he exerted himſelf ſo much in promoting the happineſs of his people, and maintaining the honour of his crown, that it is to be wiſhed his failings as a man had been leſs, or that they had been for ever buried in the gulph of forgetfulneſs.

CHAP. XII.

EDWARD, ſurnamed the MARTYR.

Edward aſcends the throne, and is crowned at Kingſton; but after a ſhort reign, is treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by order of his ſtep-mother Elfrida.

A. D. 975. NO ſooner had Edgar paid the debt of nature than two powerful parties were formed, the one in favour of Edward, and the other of Ethelred. Dunſtan was at the head of the former, and the Queen Dowager Elfrida of the latter; but the archbiſhop and his party prevailed, in conſequence of which Edward was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, being then little more than fourteen years of age.

A ſhort time after Edward's acceſſion to the throne Elfrida retired with her ſon Ethelred to Corfe Caſtle in Dorſetſhire. All animoſities between her and Edward ſeemed to be entirely forgot, and that peace and harmony, which had ſubſiſted between them before the death of Edgar, reſtored. This apparent reconciliation was real on the part of Edward; but much otherwiſe on that of Elfrida, who long nurſed in ſecret the fury of revenge, which ſhe at length gratified by cauſing the innocent Edward to be baſely aſſaſſinated.

A. D. 979. The young king, returning one day from the chaſe in Dorſetſhire, left his attendants, and rode up to Corfe Caſtle, to pay his reſpects to his ſtep-mother. Elfrida received him with all the external marks of affection, and deſired him to alight, in order to take ſome refreſhment. This, however, Edward refuſed, but requeſted that a cup of wine might be brought him as he was exceeding thirſty. The wine was accordingly brought, but while he held the cup to his head he was ſtabbed in the back by one of Elfrida's ſervants, whom ſhe had baſely prevailed upon to execute her horrid purpoſe. Edward, on receiving the wound, immediately clapped ſpurs to his horſe, to eſcape a ſecond blow, and reach his companions; but fainting with the loſs of blood, he fell from his horſe, and his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, he was dragged a conſiderable diſtance along the road, and then expired. The ſervants of Elfrida followed Edward, took up the body, and threw it into a well, in order, if poſſible, to conceal the horrid murder. But their attempts were fruitleſs the body was found in the courſe of a few days, and privately interred at Wareham, from whence it was afterwards removed to the monaſtery at Shafteſbury.—Thus fell the unfortunate Edward, in the fourth year of his reign, during which nothing material occurred except violent feuds between the monks and ſecular clergy.

Elfrida, ſtung with remorſe at the horrid crime ſhe had committed, endeavoured to atone for her guilt by erecting two monaſteries, one at Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire, and the other at Wherwell in Hampſhire, to the latter of which ſhe retired, and ſpent the remainder of her days in penitence and obſcurity.



KING EDWARD *the* MARTYR *treacherously* ASSASSINATED
at the Gate of Corfe Castle, by order of his Step-Mother ELFRIDA.

Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England

ETHELRED II.



EDWARD the Martyr







EDMUND II.

CANUTE the Great

Metz delin.

Brignion sculp.

Four Portraits of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND *in the Habits of the Times, in which they reigned, from* EGBERT *the* Great *Father of the English Monarchy, to the* NORMAN-CONQUEST

Plate IV.

CHAP. XIII.

ETHELRED II.

Ethelred aſcends the throne on the death of his brother Edward. The Danes repeatedly invade England, and Ethelred repeatedly purchaſes a peace with them. Marries Emma, ſiſter to the duke of Normandy. Orders a general maſſacre of the Danes throughout his kingdom. Sweyn, king of Denmark, arrives with a large body of forces, and exerciſes the moſt horrid barbarities on the Engliſh. Makes a deſcent into Eaſt-Anglia, but is nobly oppoſed by Ulfketel the governor. The Danes again arrive, and the Engliſh purchaſe a peace. The Engliſh fleet is betrayed into the hands of the Danes, who again land, and commit the moſt horrid barbarities. Ethelred abdicates his throne, which is filled by Sweyn, king of Denmark, who ſoon after dies, and his ſon Canute declared king of England. Ethelred is recalled, and again aſſumes the ſovereignty. Is oppoſed by Canute, who, not chuſing to hazard a battle, retreats to his fleet. Canute returns with his army, and the Engliſh forces march againſt him, but by the treachery of Edric, one of their commanders, the latter are obliged to retreat, and Canute commits the moſt horrid barbarities. Death and character of Ethelred.

A. D. 979. ON the death of Edward, his brother Ethelred became lawful heir to the throne of England, and was crowned with great ceremony at Kingſton, by Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Ethelred, at the time of his acceſſion, was only in the twelfth year of his age, and conſequently wanted that experience which is neceſſary to govern a kingdom. Add to this, he had neither capacity, genius, or courage, and therefore was little able to rule in the midſt of a profound peace, much leſs in times of danger and diſtreſs. The nation was then divided into two factions, both of whom courted the favour of the king, and both endeavoured to blacken the character of each other. Ethelred wanted penetration to diſtinguiſh the careſſes of fidelity from thoſe of adulation, and became fluctuating and irreſolute: hence his whole conduct was a ſeries of timidity, indolence, perplexity and diſtruſt. The nobles had taken advantage of his brother's weakneſs, to render their power almoſt independent of the crown. The royal authority had, in a great meaſure, loſt its force, and the ſafety of the nation, which depended on the union of the nobility, was in the moſt imminent danger.

A. D. 982. The Danes were no ſtrangers to the imperfections of the king, and the weakened ſtate of the nation; and therefore thought it a proper opportunity of renewing their depredations. Accordingly, a large body of them, in ſeven ſhips, entered the channel, and made a deſcent on the iſle of Thanet, which having ravaged, they proceeded to Southampton, and then, re-re-imbarking, ſailed to the coaſt of Cornwall, where they committed they moſt horrid depredations.

In the mean time there happened ſome misfortunes of a domeſtic nature; in particular, the city of London was almoſt deſtroyed by an accidental fire: and the king, having a difference with the biſhop of Rocheſter, inſtead of turning his arms againſt the Danes, laid ſiege to the prelate in his own city; but, at the inſtigation of Dunſtan, he thought proper to withdraw his forces, though not till he had received an hundred pounds to reimburſe him for his trouble and expences. Some time after this Dunſtan paid the debt of nature, which greatly leſſened the conteſts that had been long held between the monks and ſecular clergy.

The Danes continued their ravages in different parts of the kingdom for ſome years without interruption, which gave ſuch encouragement to their countrymen, that, in 991, Guthmond and Juſtin, too Daniſh generals, landed with a powerful army at Ipſwich in Suffolk. Brithnoth, duke of Eaſt-Anglia marched againſt them with what forces he could collect, but being defeated and ſlain, the country lay open to the mercileſs invaders, who marked their route with blood and devaſtation. But neither the calamities of his country, nor the danger of loſing his crown, could rouſe Ethelred from the couch of indolence. He ſupinely neglected every means of defence, and, inſtead of oppoſing the enemy by the ſword, indiſcreetly paid them ten thouſand pounds to quit the kingdom.

A. D. 993. The puſillanimous conduct of Ethelred was productive of thoſe conſequences that might naturally have been expected. The Danes employed the money they received in fitting out a more powerful fleet, not to ravage, but to conquer the iſland. This formidable armament was commanded by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaus, king of Norway. They ravaged Durham and Yorkſhire without oppoſition; but at length the Engliſh army appeared, and the Danes would probably have paid dear for their conduct had not three of the Engliſh commanders, all of Daniſh extraction, betrayed the cauſe they had undertaken to defend. They baſely went over to the enemy, and left their troops to be cut to pieces by the ſwords of the barbarians.

Fluſhed with ſucceſs the Danes next made an attack on London; but the citizens oppoſed them with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution, that, after loſing a great number of men, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and make a precipitate retreat. This diſappointment ſo enraged the Danes, that they laid waſte great part of Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire, and committed the moſt horrid cruelties on the innocent inhabitants. In this diſtreſs recourſe was again had to negotiation, and the Danes agreed to quit the country on receiving the ſum of ſixteen thouſand pounds. The treaty was accordingly concluded, and the money being paid, the enemy returned to their own countries.

A. D. 999. But the interval of peace thus infamouſly purchaſed by Ethelred was of ſhort duration. New armies of barbarians, under different leaders, invaded the kingdom in various parts, and ſpread the horrors of war and devaſtation wherever they went. The cowardly indolence of the king, and the treacherous behaviour of his principal commanders, increaſed the dreadful calamities, and the kingdom muſt have fallen a prey to the barbarians, had it not

been for a very unexpected incident. Robert, king of France, had defeated the army of Richard II. duke of Normandy, and threatened to drive him from his dominions. In conſequence of this Richard applied for aſſiſtance to the Danes in England, who immediately complied with his requeſt, and, reimbarking their forces, ſailed for the continent.

A. D. 1000. The Danes, having given the wanted aſſiſtance to the duke of Normandy, returned to England, and again commenced their ravages in various parts of the kingdom. The puſillanimous Ethelred, inſtead of taking any meaſures to oppoſe them, had recourſe to his uſual expedients, and agreed to pay them twenty-four thouſand pounds*, on condition of their immediately departing the kingdom.

A. D. 1002. After the departure of the Danes, Ethelred began to conſider what meaſures were moſt proper to purſue in order to prevent their future invaſions. He knew the duke of Normandy was capable of ſending him what ſuccours he might want to repel them, and that the Danes themſelves muſt deſiſt from committing farther ravages in England if deprived of his protection. He therefore diſpatched ambaſſadors to Richard, demanding his ſiſter Emma in marriage. This requeſt being accepted, that princeſs was conducted to the court of Ethelred, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence.

This alliance might have anſwered the moſt ſanguine expectations of Ethelred, had he not been prevailed upon to engage in a project that overwhelmed his people with miſery, and entailed a laſting infamy on his memory. Though the greater part of the Danes had, in conſequence of the laſt treaty, retired to their own country, yet a very conſiderable number ſettled in England, and treated the inhabitants with ſuch inſolence, that, by way of reproach, they were called Lordains, or Lord Danes. Their haughtineſs and perfidy excited the general hatred of the Engliſh, and the weak Ethelred, at the inſtigation of ſome of his baſe and treacherous courtiers, embraced a propoſal of maſſacring all the Danes throughout his kingdom. He accordingly diſpatched circular letters for this purpoſe to every part, Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia excepted, the Danes in thoſe places being too numerous to be overcome by the Engliſh. The day fixed on for the execution of this horrid deſign was the 13th of November, and the bloody mandate was obeyed with the moſt rigorous punctuality. Neither age nor ſex were ſpared: the chriſtian and the pagan ſuffered the ſame fate. To implore mercy was in vain: to ſeek for ſafety by flying to the churches as ſanctuaries was equally fruitleſs, the devoted objects being either dragged from thence, and murdered, or ſlain at the altar. Even Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, fell a victim to barbarous brutality. She had long lived in England, had embraced the Chriſtian religion, and was married to an Engliſh nobleman. She had always behaved with the greateſt prudence; but the goodneſs of her heart could not ſave her: ſhe was devoted to periſh with her friends by the barbarous orders of a weak and timorous monarch. Nor was her death ſufficient to ſatisfy the vengeance of barbarity. Cruelty was added to increaſe the horrors of her execution. Her huſband and children were firſt murdered before her face, and then ſhe herſelf ſuffered the ſame fate. But the fortitude with which ſhe underwent this horrid maſſacre does honour to her memory. She betrayed neither fear nor timidity; not a feature in her countenance was changed: ſhe was calm amidſt this ſcene of horror; and with her laſt breath told her inhuman murderers, that her death would not be long unrevenged.

A. D. 1003. It was not long before Gunilda's prediction was moſt amply verified. Her brother Sweyn no ſooner heard of the baſe tranſaction than, exaſperated to a degree of phrenſy, he bound himſelf by a moſt ſolemn oath to wreak his vengeance on the Engliſh. Accordingly, having embarked a very powerful army he landed in Cornwall, and ravaged the country with ſuch a degree of ferocity as clearly proved his deſign tended rather to revenge than conqueſt. The city of Exeter next became the victim of his vengeance. The whole place was laid in aſhes, and the wretched inhabitants put to death in the moſt cruel manner.

The alarming progreſs of Sweyn rouſed Ethelred from his indolence. He aſſembled an army to oppoſe him, and ſeemed determined to march in perſon againſt the enemy. But he was intimidated at the approach of danger, and therefore entruſted the command of his forces to Edric, duke of Mercia, a man of all others whom he had the leaſt reaſon to confide in, having given ſeveral inſtances of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perfidy. The injudicious conduct of the king was attended with conſequences which might naturally be expected. The traitor Edric no ſooner came within ſight of the enemy than he pretended to be taken ſuddenly ill, and ordered a retreat, which was purpoſely conducted in ſo careleſs a manner, that the Danes fell upon the rear of the Engliſh, many of whom were killed, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. From this diſaſter, occaſioned by the treachery of Edric, Sweyn was left to purſue his ravages without oppoſition. He accordingly deſtroyed the towns of Wilton and Old Sarum, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; after which, the winter coming on, he embarked his forces, and returned to his own country.

A. D. 1004. In the following ſpring Sweyn returned with his army, and making a deſcent in the country of the Eaſt-Angles, laid the city of Norwich in aſhes. But he met with a noble oppoſition from Ulfketel, the governor of Eaſt-Anglia, who, raiſing a body of forces with the utmoſt expedition, marched againſt him. In conſequence of this a deſperate battle enſued, which, from the great ſuperiority of numbers, terminated in favour of Sweyn. But the attacks of Ulfketel were ſo well conducted, and made with ſuch fury, that many of the Danes were ſlain in the action; and Sweyn, not chuſing to hazard a ſecond battle, embarked his forces, and returned to Denmark.

A. D. 1005. But the miſeries of war were not the only calamity ſuffered by the Engliſh at this fatal period. A dreadful famine raged throughout the whole kingdom, occaſioned principally by the horrid ravages of the Danes, and many who had eſcaped the ſwords of the barbarians now periſhed

* This enormous ſum (for ſuch it muſt be deemed, conſidering the value of money at that period) was levied by means of a tax called Dane-gelt, or Dane's money, and was the firſt land-tax known in England. It was raiſed by the owners of land being obliged to pay twelve-pence per hide, the hide being as much as could annually occupy one plough and maintain one family.

riſhed for want. The Engliſh never experienced more dreadful calamities: they were driven to the brink of deſtruction, and ſunk under the weight of complicated misfortunes.

A. D. 1006. The dire effects of this calamity were hardly removed when the Danes again appeared, and renewed their ravages with their uſual barbarity. They waſted the country through which they paſſed, laid the towns and villages in aſhes, and murdered the innocent inhabitants. Every attempt to oppoſe them was rendered abortive by the treachery of the Engliſh officers, and the want of unanimity among the nobles. In this extremity recourſe was again had to the only expedient that ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, namely, that of purchaſing a peace from the enemy. But the Danes, grown inſolent by ſucceſs, refuſed to abandon the iſland till they had received the enormous ſum of 30,000l.

A. D. 1007. The next year Sweyn ſent a fleet of ſhips to make a demand of the like ſum, on pretence that the Engliſh had bound themſelves to pay it annually. In conſequence of this Ethelred, convinced that nothing could ſatiate the demands of the avaritious Danes, reſolved to put his kingdom in a proper ſtate of defence. To effect this a large fleet was immediately fitted out, towards the expence of which perſons of property were taxed in proportion to the value of their eſtates. But this powerful armament was rendered unſerviceable by the diſſentions that prevailed among the officers; they were ſtrangers to the virtue of forgiveneſs; and ſo far ſacrificed the ſafety of the nation to their private animoſities, as even to betray the greateſt part of the Engliſh navy into the hands of the enemy.

A. D. 1009. This diſaſter gave farther encouragement to the Danes, who returned in greater numbers, and committed the moſt horrid ravages wherever they went. No oppoſition could now be made againſt them, and the puſillanimous Ethelred procured their abſence by paying them the enormous ſum of 48,000l.

A. D. 1013. But no treaties whatever were binding to theſe rapacious invaders. They again returned this year, and renewed their ravages, if poſſible, with more brutality than before. Canterbury experienced the utmoſt rage of brutal ferocity. The city had held out nineteen days againſt all the aſſaults of the enemy, when it was baſely given up by the treachery of one of its inhabitants, named Elmar, and all the citizens, among whom was Alphage the archpiſhop, put to death by the moſt excruciating tortures.

A. D. 1014. The ſtrength and power of Sweyn had now arrived at ſuch a height, that the Engliſh gave up all as loſt; and the nobles, to ſecure themſelves from that fate which had befallen thouſands of their unhappy countrymen, ſubmitted to the tyrant, ſwore allegiance to him, and delivered hoſtages for their future behaviour. The wretched Ethelred fled with his family into Normandy, and was received by Richard II. with all the marks of kindneſs and affection.

The king having thus abdicated his throne, the inhabitants of London thought themſelves abſolved from their allegiance, and ſubmitted without heſitation to Sweyn, who, in conſequence thereof, was proclaimed king of England.

Sweyn began his reign of uſurpation with laying heavy taxes on his ſubjects. This increaſed their misfortunes, but it was uſeleſs to complain. The Dane was a ſtranger to compaſſion: the ſoft whiſpers of humanity pleaded in vain the cauſe of a people ſinking under the burthen of diſtreſs. They brooded in ſilence over their misfortunes, and gave themſelves up a prey to dejection. But fortunately for them and their country, this ſeaſon of calamity was of ſhort duration, Sweyn dying ſuddenly in leſs than ſix weeks after his uſurpation.

On the demiſe of Sweyn the Danes proclaimed his ſon Canute king of England; but the Engliſh, ſtill prejudiced in favour of Ethelred, determined to replace him on that throne to which he was juſtly entitled. In conſequence of this Canute was declared an outlaw, and a deputation diſpatched to Ethelred, requeſting his immediate return. Pleaſed with this teſtimony of the affection of his people, Ethelred readily complied with their requeſt, promiſing, at the ſame time, to govern them in future with juſtice, equity and moderation, and to exert his whole power in defence of his country.

A. D. 1015. Ethelred was received by the Engliſh with every demonſtration of joy, and a numerous army being immediately raiſed, he put himſelf at the head of it, and marched with all expedition againſt Canute, who, being determined to oppoſe him, had made preparations for ſeizing by conqueſt the crown he could not obtain by the ſuffrages of the people. Surprized at the expeditious march of the Engliſh monarch, Canute thought proper to decline an engagement, and retreated precipitately to his fleet; ſoon after which he ſailed for Denmark, in order to aſſert his right to the crown of that kingdom, which had been uſurped by his brother Harold.

The departure of Canute removed the fears of Ethelred, who now forgot all the promiſes he had made to his people. He diſcovered the ſame incapacity for government; and blindly gave himſelf over to the counſels and directions of the traitor Edric, who had ſo often overwhelmed him and his people with miſery and diſgrace. He even liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of that perfidious incendiary againſt two of his faithful adherents, and the firſt noblemen of his court. Edric pretended that they held a correſpondence with the Danes, and had even formed a deſign againſt his life. The weak Ethelred believed the traitor; in conſequence of which the noblemen were aſſaſſinated, and their eſtates confiſcated to the crown.

A ſhort time after this inhuman act, Canute, having terminated the troubles in Denmark, embarked his army, and landed without oppoſition on the coaſt of Weſſex. In conſequence of this Edmund, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, raiſed a conſiderable body of troops in the north, while Edric levied a number of forces in Mercia. The junction of theſe troops formed a conſiderable army, and the two generals led them directly againſt the enemy. The ſoldiers placed the greateſt confidence in Edmund, and marched under his banners with the greateſt intrepidity againſt the invaders of their country. Had Edric been faithful, in all probability Canute would have been totally defeated. But ſincerity was not to be found in Edric. He formed the baſe deſign of either taking away the life of Edmund, or delivering him into the hands of the enemy. But fortunately for himſelf and army, the prince diſcovered the infernal contrivance juſt as the troops were making preparations to engage. A retreat now became abſolutely neceſſary; and Edric, finding his perfidy diſcovered, went over to the enemy.

A. D. 1016. The defection of the traitor Edric greatly increaſed the ſtrength of Canute, who now

ravaged the country without oppoſition. The diſtreſs of the people was augmented by inſolence, and barbarity was added to deſtruction. The heart, of Edmund was pierced as the miſeries of his country, but treachery prevented his affording them any relief. After making ſome fruitleſs expeditions into the north he repaired to London, in hopes of prevailing on his father to purſue more vigorous meaſures againſt the invaders of his country; but on his arrival he found the city in the utmoſt confuſion, occaſioned by the death of Ethelred, who expired a few days before in the 50th year of his age, and 37th of his reign.

Ethelred, in his perſon, was comely, fair, and of a genteel addreſs: in his diſpoſition he was timid, irreſolute, inconſiſtent and indolent. His attachment to the traitor Edric marks his character with weakneſs and folly; and the maſſacre of the Danes ſtains it with wickedneſs and cruelty. He was not, however, deſtitute of virtues. He enacted ſeveral excellent laws, ſome of which are extant; and it is upon record that he once diſmiſſed a judge, who had been guilty of a perverſion of juſtice. Theſe are circumſtances neceſſary to mention, becauſe the light as well as the ſhade ſhould be expoſed in every picture.

CHAP. XV.

EDMUND II. furnamed IRONSIDE.

Edmund on the death of his father is crowned king of England. Marches againſt the Danes, and ſeveral battles take place with various ſucceſs. Engages Canute in ſingle combat, the iſſue of which is to divide the kingdom betweeen them. Edmund, at the inſtigation of the traitor Edric, is aſſaſſinated

A. D. 1016. ON the death of Ethelred the ſovereign power devolved on his ſon Edmund, who, from his diſtinguiſhed valour, obtained the ſurname of Ironſide. He was proclaimed king at London amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the principal citizens, and inveſted with the regal dignity by Livignus archbiſhop of Canterbury.

But Edmund had little reaſon to expect any quietude in the ſeat of royalty. He had to contend with a moſt formidable rival in the perſon of Canute, who was then at the head of the Daniſh troops at Southampton, to which place many of the nobility and clergy had repaired, and not only choſe him king, but alſo ſolemnly renounced the race of Ethelred.

In the mean time Edmund, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in London, proceeded into Weſſex, the patrimonial kingdom of his family, where the inhabitants proclaimed him their legal ſovereign; and ſo attached were they to his intereſt that he ſoon raiſed a very powerful army, with which he determined to march immediately againſt the invader of his country.

While Edmund was in Weſſex, Canute reſolved to lay ſiege to London, and having ſailed up the river, landed his troops at Greenwich, and marched directly to inveſt the city. But he found much greater oppoſition than he expected, and was convinced that unleſs ſome expedient could be projected for preventing relief being brought to the beſieged, all his efforts would prove in vain. To effect this he had recourſe to the ſtratagem of altering the current of the river by cutting a new channel on the Surry ſide, having done which, he drew up ſome of his ſhips above the bridge, and thereby cut off all communication with the citizens from the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the capital. He now preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour; but the Londoners defended the place with ſuch obſtinacy, and made ſo many ſucceſsful ſallies, that Canute gave up all hopes of ſucceſs, and, withdrawing his forces, marched into Weſſex.

At the time Canute abandoned this enterprize, Edmund was advancing with all expedition to the relief of his capital; and the two armies meeting at Penne in Somerſetſhire, a deſperate battle enſued, in which Edmund proved victorious, and Canute was obliged to retire with great loſs.

Canute having recruited his forces, again advanced againſt Edmund, and the two armies met at a place called Sceorſtan, on the borders of Glouceſterſhire. The battle was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides till night put an end to the conteſt. But as ſoon as morning appeared it was renewed with double fury, and victory hovered over the ſtandard of Edmund, when the traitor Edric, (who commanded a large body of Canute's forces) by a ſtratagem, changed the fortune of the day. He cut off the head of one Oſmar, whoſe countenance greatly reſembled that of Edmund, and fixing it on the point of a ſpear carried it through the ranks in triumph, calling out to the Engliſh, "Behold the head of your king! Edmund is no more!" This ſtratagem had ſo far the intended effect as to throw the Engliſh into the utmoſt confuſion, and Edmund was obliged to raiſe his helmet before he could convince them of the deception; but he could not, with all his efforts, regain the advantage he had loſt. The victory was again doubtful, and ſo continued till night put an end to the conteſt.

Edmund, far from being diſcouraged, determined to renew the fight the enſuing morning; but the firſt bluſhes of the dawn convinced him that no enemy was near, Canute having in the night retreated with his army from the field of battle.

The traitor Edric, having failed in his late ſtratagem, now hit upon another for ruining Edmund. He went to the king's camp, and, with all the marks of ſincere contrition, implored his pardon, promiſing in future to ſerve his country with as much zeal and vigilance as he had hitherto ſerved its enemies. Edmund was too ſuſceptible of compaſſion: he believed the traitor's repentance to be real, again admitted him into favour, and gave him a principal command in his army.

Succeſs, for ſome time, attended the ſtandards of Edmund: ſeveral parties of the Danes were defeated, till at length Canute determined to riſk his fortune on one deciſive battle. In conſequence of this the two armies met, and Edmund attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuous fury, that they muſt have



SINGLE COMBAT *between* KING EDMUND II. *and* CANUTE *the Great,*
on the Isle of Alney, in the presence of both their Armies.

have been totally defeated, had it not been for the treachery of Edric, who, inſtead of charging the Daniſh army, fled with the forces under his command from the field of battle. This incident threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt confuſion; and Edmund, after loſing great numbers of his men, was compelled to retreat.

But this misfortune did not damp the ſpirits of the intrepid Edmund. He applied himſelf, with the utmoſt alacrity, to recruit his forces, and ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army ſufficient to diſpute the palm of victory with the enemy. Canute was aſtoniſhed to ſee Edmund again approaching, and was alarmed for the conſequences. He had purchaſed the laſt victory with the blood of many of his beſt officers, and even owed his ſucceſs to treachery. He, however, led his forces againſt the Engliſh, and both armies drew up in order of battle, in which ſtate they continued for ſome time without either one or other giving the ſignal to engage. During this interval of inaction, an officer in the Engliſh army advanced, and, in a florid ſpeech, diſplayed the great diſtreſs which the war had brought upon the innocent inhabitants; and at the ſame time obſerved, that as the two kings were equal in regard to perſonal courage, it would be an act of humanity for the two leaders to put a final period to their quarrel by ſingle combat, adding, that the victor ſhould be acknowledged ſovereign by both armies.

This propoſal met with univerſal approbation, in conſequence of which the two leaders retired to the iſle of Alney formed by the Severn, their troops lining the banks of the ſtream, and impatiently waiting the event of a combat, which was to decide the fate of the kingdom. The conteſt laſted for ſome time with equal courage on both ſides, when Canute, finding himſelf likely to be overpowered by the ſuperior ſtrength and agility of Edmund, propoſed making a diviſion of the kingdom, and terminating their quarrel by an act of mutual friendſhip. The generous Edmund (who was more deſirous of healing the wounds of his bleeding country than of being placed in the ſeat of power) readily liſtened to the propoſal, in conſequence of which the two princes threw away their ſwords, and cordially embraced each other, to the great ſatisfaction of both armies, who gave a general ſhout of undiſſembled joy. Having made a mutual interchange of armour, in token of amity, the treaty was formally concluded, by which it was ſtipulated, that all the northern parts of the kingdom ſhould be ceded to Canute, and that Edmund ſhould preſerve the reſt, with the title of ſupreme king of England.

In conſequence of this treaty both armies were immediately diſbanded, and the Engliſh now flattered themſelves that a final period was put to their diſtreſs: that diſcord would be ſucceeded by harmony, and the noiſy terrors of war give place to the calm pleaſures of domeſtic peace. But all their hopes were blaſted by means of the treacherous Edric, who, fearful that Edmund would call him to an account for his perfidy, hired two ruffians to aſſaſſinate him, which horrid deed was committed at Oxford, after he had held the ſceptre little more than nine months. And thus did the brave Edmund fall a victim to the treachery of one of the moſt execrable villains that ever diſgraced human nature.

From the ſhort reign of this prince, and the number of events that took place during the time, his virtues could not be ſufficiently diſplayed to form a proper idea of his character. It may, however, be ſaid with juſtice, that he was courageous and benevolent; intrepid in danger, and patient in adverſity. He was a friend to the brave, a friend to the virtuous and a friend to his country.

Edmund left two ſons, namely, Edmund and Edward, neither of whom ſucceeded to the throne.

CHAP. XVI.

CANUTE THE GREAT.

Canute is crowned king of England. Baniſhes the two ſons of Edmund: Puts to death the traitor Edric. Marries Emma, ſiſter to the duke of Normandy. Goes over to Denmark: Reduces Norway. Makes a pilgrimage to Rome. Returns, and obliges Duncan, grandſon to the king of Scotland to pay him homage. His death and character.

A. D. 1017. AS ſoon as Canute was informed of the death of Edmund (which information he received from the mouth of the treacherous Edric) he immediately repaired to London, and convening an aſſembly of the nobles and repreſentatives of the people, produced witneſſes, ſuborned for the purpoſe, to declare, that, in the late treaty between the two kings it was ſtipulated, that, in caſe of the demiſe of either party, the ſurvivor ſhould inherit his poſſeſſions, to the total excluſion of his iſſue, and other heirs. The members were aſtoniſhed at this unexpected claim, but not being able to diſpute the matter with a prince, who had a numerous and well-diſciplined army ready to obey his nod, they unanimouſly ſwore allegiance to Canute, who was immediately proclaimed king of England, and ſhortly after crowned with great pomp and magnificence.

But though Canute had thus obtained the Engliſh crown, to which he had neither lineal nor equitable right, yet he was exceeding uneaſy concerning Edward and Edmund, the ſons of the late king. To remove his fears on this head, he ſent the young princes to the king of Sweden his ally, whom he entreated to put them to death. But the Swediſh monarch, ſhocked at this inhuman requeſt, and at the ſame time afraid of the reſentment of Canute, ſent them to Solomon, king of Hungary, who, to his honour, cordially received the unfortunate exiles, and gave them an education ſuitable to their birth. Edmund, the eldeſt, died ſoon after, but his brother Edward married Agatha, daughter of Henry II. emperor of Germany, by whom he had Edgar Atheling, and Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland.

The removal of the two princes was far from ſatisfying Canute, who next proceeded to put to death ſome noblemen, whom he knew to be ſtill attached to the race of their antient kings. The traitor Edric was likewiſe put to death. He had the

the aſſurance to reproach Canute with ingratitude, and complained that the rewards he had received were inadequate to his paſt ſervices. Provoked at his inſolence, and deteſting his character, Canute immediately ordered him to be beheaded, and his body thrown into the Thames.

But there were ſtill other objects who diſturbed the repoſe of Canute. Theſe were Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, who were now grown up to mens eſtate, and remained in the court of Richard II. duke of Normandy, who might, as Canute juſtly feared, endeavour to place one of them on the Engliſh throne. To avert this ſurmiſed evil, Canute determined to ſecure the alliance of Richard. He accordingly ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to him, requeſting his ſiſter in marriage, and offering his own ſiſter Helſritha to the Norman prince. Theſe propoſals were readily accepted by Richard, the double nuptials celebrated with great pomp, and a ſolid friendſhip formed between the two princes.

A. D. 1018. The wars of Canute had exhauſted his treaſury, and in order to pay off the arrears of his army, he laid a tax of 82,000l. upon the nation, 15,000l. of which was paid by the citizens of London. The chearfulneſs with which the Engliſh raiſed this money ſo pleaſed Canute, that he convened an aſſembly of the ſtates at Oxford, where he paſſed an act to incorporate the Engliſh and Danes as one people, and re-eſtabliſhed ſeveral of the moſt popular laws of Edgar and Edward the Elder. He likewiſe enacted, That no market, fairs or aſſemblies ſhould be held on Sundays; and that all Chriſtians ſhould receive the ſacrament at leaſt three times in the year.

A. D. 1019. Canute, being now fully ſecured on the Engliſh throne, turned his attention to the affairs of his own country, which was then in great danger from the Vandals, who had defeated the Danes in ſeveral engagements. He therefore went over to Denmark with a conſiderable army, one half of which was compriſed of Engliſh under the command of Godwin, earl of Kent. Having landed his forces he marched with all expedition towards the enemy, with whom, in the courſe of ſeveral days, he came up towards ſunſet. The day being ſo far declined he thought proper to encamp his army, deſigning to engage the enemy early the enſuing morning. But in this he was diſappointed by means of earl Godwin, who, being determined to ſignalize himſelf, ſecretly drew off his Engliſh forces in the night, and marching as privately as poſſible to the enemy's camp, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity that they were totally routed, and the greater part cut to pieces. This gallant action ſo pleaſed Canute, that he gave Godwin his ſiſter Thyrſa in marriage, and ever after diſtinguiſhed him with peculiar marks of affection.

A. D. 1020. The war being terminated in Denmark, Canute returned to England, whither he had no ſooner arrived than he removed every officer who had been guilty of oppreſſion during his abſence, particularly the dukes of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, whom he baniſhed the kingdom. Theſe acts of juſtice greatly increaſed the eſteem the Engliſh had already conceived for him, and to win their affections ſtill farther, he appeared to be deeply penetrated with grief on account of the great multitudes of people, who had fallen victims to his ambition. To make ſome atonement he built a church at Aſhdown, on the ſpot where he fought a bloody battle with Edmund; and founded chauntries in thoſe places where any ſlaughter had been made of the Engliſh.

In this manner Canute ſpent his time for about eight years, when he formed the deſign of making himſelf maſter of Norway. Olave, the king of that country had long laboured to reſtrain the ferocity of his ſubjects, and render their lives conformable to the precepts of religion. But theſe reſtraints were odious to the Norwegians, and they determined to dethrone him. Canute, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, landed in Norway at the head of a powerful army, drove Olave from the throne, and was crowned king; ſo that being now poſſeſſed of three great kingdoms, he became the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

A. D. 1029. Canute, on his return to England, dedicated his whole time to what was then conſidered as the nobleſt acts of piety, namely, the founding of churches and monaſteries. He granted a charter to the celebrated monaſtery of St. Edmundſbury, by which all lands and privileges were confirmed. He likewiſe gave the profits of the port of Sandwich to Chriſt-church in Canterbury, and founded a monaſtery of Benedictine monks in Norfolk.

A. D. 1032. In the beginning of this year, Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he preſented large donations to the churches, and confirmed whatever his predeceſſors had done in favour of the Engliſh college in that city. He likewiſe procured various privileges for the churches in England, and engaged all the princes through whoſe dominions he paſſed, to exempt the Engliſh pilgrims and merchants from all tolls and duties which had been before exacted from them.

Canute, on his return to England, was received by his ſubjects with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy; and indeed he juſtly deſerved this teſtimony of their affection. He enforced all the laws which had been made by his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of Ethelred; added ſeveral new ones adapted to the times, and took every method he could project for promoting the welfare and happineſs of his people.

A. D. 1033. But while Canute was employed in cultivating the arts of peace among his ſubjects, his attention was called off to ſupport the dignity of his crown. Duncan, grandſon to Malcolm king of Scotland, being in poſſeſſion of Cumberland, refuſed to do homage to Canute for that fief, ſaying, it was due only to ſuch kings as were natives of England. Provoked at this inſolence of a Scottiſh prince, Canute marched at the head of a powerful army to reduce him to obedience; but by the interpoſition of the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms, a peace was concluded, Duncan agreeing to pay homage to Canute, as alſo to the future kings of England.

A. D. 1034. Canute, from his conduct, and the great power of which he was poſſeſſed, became the adulation of his ſubjects, and his courtiers would frequently flatter him in ſuch a manner as if they had thought him more than mortal. This was highly diſpleaſing to Canute, who reſolved to check them for ſuch abſurd conduct, and to point out to them the limited authority of earthly monarchs. Accordingly, one day when his courtiers were carrying their flatteries to an unbounded height, Canute, who then kept his court at Southampton, led them to the ſea-ſide, and ordering a chair to be placed on the beach near the ſurface of the tide, which was then flowing,

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RAYMOND's
History of England.

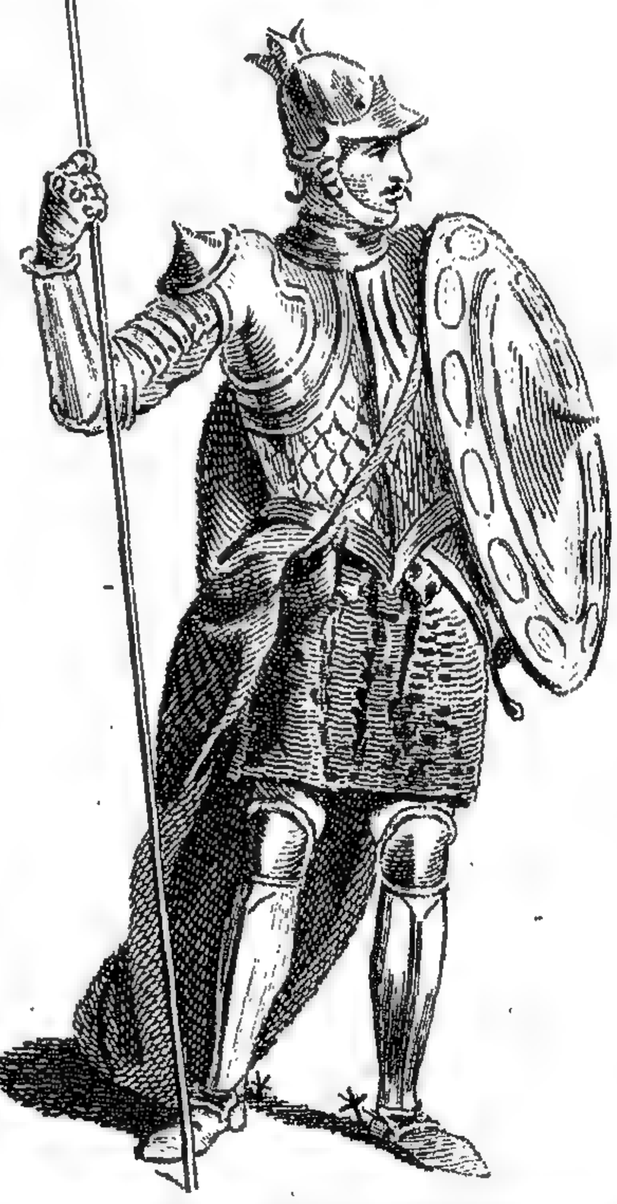
HAROLD I.



CANUTE II.







EDWARD the Confessor

HAROLD II.

Metz delin.

Grignion sculp.

Four Portraits of the KINGS of ENGLAND in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned, from EGBERT the Great, Father of the English Monarchy, to the NORMAN CONQUEST. — Plate V.

ing, he ſat himſelf down, and, with a majeſtic tone of voice, thus addreſſed himſelf to the water: "Thou, O ſea, art a part of my dominions, and "the land whereon I ſit is mine. I therefore "charge thee not to encroach any farther on my "land, nor preſume to wet the feet of thy ſove-"reign." But the ſea continued its uſual courſe, and waſhed him with its billows: upon which Canute, riſing from his ſeat, and turning to his courtiers, ſaid, "Behold the narrow limits of mortal "power! the ſceptered hand of human greatneſs "exerts its force in vain. The ſea rolls on in con-"tempt of its authority: the operations of nature "make no diſtinction between the monarch and the "ſlave. Learn then, from this example, to ſet "proper bounds to flattery; and remember, that "He only deſerves unlimited praiſes who holds "in his hands the powers of nature, and whoſe "voice both the winds and the ſea obey." It is ſaid, that Canute would never after wear his crown, but ordered it to be placed on the head of the crucifix in the cathedral of Wincheſter.

A. D. 1036. Canute ſpent the remainder of his days in acts of piety and devotion, and at length paid the debt of nature at Shafteſbury, on the 12th of November, and was interred in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter. He left by his firſt wife two ſons, namely, Sweyn and Harold; and by Emma, his ſecond wife, another ſon called Hardicanute, and a daughter named Gunilda, who was married to Henry III. emperor of Germany.

With reſpect to the character of Canute, it is ſo inconſiſtent with itſelf that it is impoſſible to draw it in general terms. We muſt therefore, to do him juſtice, trace his actions, and characterize him differently at different periods. His youth was marked with blood and cruelty: his age with piety and devotion. He ſacrificed every thing in the morning of his reign to ambition; in the evening, to acts of benevolence and piety. The ſcepter was at firſt the rod of tyranny: at laſt the index of mercy. No monarch ever raiſed popular odium ſo high, or allayed it ſo effectually. He was a great general, a conſummate ſtateſman, and a wiſe legiſlator. When age had ſoftened the paſſions of youth, and the precepts of religion had eraſed the impreſſions of a ferocious education, Canute became a moſt excellent prince; and the virtues he practiſed during the peaceable time of his adminiſtration, gave him a much better claim to the title of Great than all his victories. In ſhort, his conduct during the latter part of his reign, totally obliterated his vices at the beginning, and he lived beloved, and died lamented.

CHAP. XVII.

HAROLD I. ſurnamed HAREFOOT.

Harold, after ſome diſturbances relative to the ſucceſſion, is crowned king of England. Forms a conſpiracy, in conjunction with Godwin, earl of Kent, for deſtroying the two ſons of Ethelred. Incurs the hatred of his ſubjects. His death and character.

A. D. 1036. CANUTE, ſome time before his death, made a will, by which he appointed his ſon Hardicanute to the throne of Denmark, and Sweyn to that of Norway, leaving the crown of England to Harold. But this was contrary to the treaty made between him and Richard duke of Normandy at the time of his marriage with Emma, in which it was ſtipulated that the crown ſhould be ſettled on the iſſue of ſuch marriage. In conſequence of this a great diſſention took place among the people, the Engliſh declaring for Hardicanute, and the Danes for Harold. At length, however, the diſpute was terminated by a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in which it was agreed that the kingdom ſhould be divided between them. Accordingly, all the country on the north ſide of the Thames was allotted to Harold, and the reſt of the kingdom to Hardicanute. But as the latter was then in Denmark, it was ſtipulated, that Emma, the queen-mother, aſſiſted by earl Godwin, ſhould govern his part of the kingdom during his abſence.

But this diviſion of the kingdom was far from being agreeable to Harold, who reſolved, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of the whole. He knew that Godwin was the only perſon capable of fruſtrating his deſigns, and took an effectual method to gain him over to his intereſt. Avarice was the ruling paſſion of that powerful nobleman, and Harold determined to gratify it. He accordingly ſeized the treaſures of his father Canute, and giving the greater part to Godwin, he abandoned the intereſt of Hardicanute, and embracing that of his rival, Harold was declared king of England.

This was a mortifying ſtroke to Emma, who now formed a ſcheme for obtaining the throne for one of her two ſons by Ethelred, namely, Alfred or Edward, who were then at the court of Normandy. But to prevent any ſuſpicion of her deſigns, ſhe appeared perfectly ſatisfied with her ſituation, and dedicated her time to acts of piety and devotion.

The firſt ſtep Emma took towards facilitating her intentions was, to requeſt of Harold that her ſons might be permitted to viſit her, which being readily granted, ſhe wrote a letter to Normandy, and they immediately embarked, with proper retinues, for England. But they had no ſooner arrived than Godwin, judging the true intent of their viſit, hinted his ſuſpicions to Harold, who ſeemed greatly alarmed, and readily complied with a propoſal made by Godwin, to get them into their hands, and put them to death.

Emma, being apprehenſive leſt ſome evil deſign might be formed againſt her ſons, never permitted them to be both abſent at the ſame time; for while one was paying his viſits to the nobility, ſhe carefully kept the other at home. At length Harold took the opportunity of inviting both princes to ſpend ſome days at his court. This was a very diſagreeable circumſtance to Emma, who, however, made an excuſe for keeping Edward with her, and ſending Alfred only. Godwin went to meet the young prince and his train on the road to London, and paid him ſuch an apparent reſpect that his Norman attendants were highly delighted; but on a ſudden they were ſtopped at Guildford-caſtle, and compelled to enter, under pretence of taking ſome refreſhment. Their fears did but anticipate their fate; for the eyes of young Alfred were put out, and all his attendants cruelly murdered. The unhappy prince was ſent to the monaſtery of Ely,

where he ſoon after died; but whether of grief or ſome farther violence is unknown. In conſequence of this treacherous act, Edward haſtily quitted the kingdom, and fled to Normandy; and Emma, being ordered to leave the country, retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who received her with great cordiality, and aſſigned Bruges for the place of her reſidence.

A. D. 1038. Harold was now fully eſtabliſhed on the throne of England, and to prevent any attempts that might be made to his prejudice in future, he fitted out a powerful fleet for the protection of his coaſts, to ſupport which he laid a heavy tax on his ſubjects. But the people paid this tax with great regret, becauſe they conceived it was principally intended to oppoſe the attempts of Edward, whom they deemed the lawful heir to the throne.

A. D. 1040. The natural tyranny of Harold, and his frequent acts of cruelty, procured him the hatred of his ſubjects; and he would certainly have been dethroned had not death ſuddenly taken him off on the 18th of May, to the great ſatisfaction of the principal part of his ſubjects.

Harold had not the leaſt pretenſions to any of the good qualities of his father. He was headſtrong, brutal and cruel, paying no regard to morality or the principles of piety. His vices have been handed down to us in the moſt odious colours; but his virtues, if he had any, are buried in oblivion. He was ſurnamed *Hareſoot*, from the amazing rapidity with which he walked, and in which he is ſaid not to have had any equal.

CHAP. XVIII.

HARDICANUTE, or CANUTE II.

Hardicanute aſcends the throne of England. Orders the body of his brother to be taken up, and thrown into the Thames. Acts with great cruelty to his ſubjects. Is guilty of intemperance, which occaſions his death.

A. D. 1040. AS ſoon as Hardicanute heard of the death of Harold he immediately embarked for England, and landed at Sandwich on the 13th of June, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. The Engliſh and Danes vied with each other who ſhould evince the moſt profound reſpect for their new ſovereign, whoſe proper name was Canute; but he acquired the appellation of *Hardy* from the uncommon ſtrength of his conſtitution.

The Engliſh promiſed themſelves great happineſs under the reign of this prince; but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, for no ſooner was he placed on the throne, than he committed an act ſhocking to humanity. He ordered the dead body of his brother Harold to be dug up, the head cut off, and the carcaſe thrown into the Thames. Theſe orders were ſtrictly obeyed, but the body, being afterwards found by ſome fiſhermen, was delivered to the Danes, who buried it in the church of St. Clement Danes in the Strand. The king, being informed of this, ordered it to be a ſecond time dug up, and caſt again into the river; but being afterwards found once more, it was carried privately to Weſtminſter, and there interred.

The next act that marked the character of this prince was, the impoſition of a heavy tax on his ſubjects, for defraying the expence of the navy that had brought him to England; a circumſtance the more cruel, as the kingdom was at that time threatened with a famine. So untimed a tax produced univerſal diſcontent throughout the nation; and at Worceſter two perſons were killed who were employed to collect it. This circumſtance ſo enraged the king, that he ſent Godwin, and two other noblemen, with a body of forces, againſt Worceſter, who firſt plundered, and then reduced the city to aſhes.

A. D. 1041. In the beginning of this year Edward, the ſon of Emma, left Normandy, and came to England, in order to learn the manners of a people whom he hoped, ſome time or other, to preſide over. Edward met with a very welcome reception, and it was not long before he demanded juſtice againſt Godwin, (as ſuppoſed at the inſtigation of his mother) for being concerned in the murder of his brother Alfred. The accuſer was the archbiſhop of York, and the king did not ſeem to have any objection to bringing the offender to trial; but Godwin, who well knew the diſpoſition of the king, made a well-timed appeal to his avarice; for ſoon after he was cited to anſwer the charge, he ſent the king a magnificent preſent of a ſuperb galley, carved and gilt in a very curious manner, and rowed by eighty men, each of whom wore a golden bracelet on his arm of the weight of ſixteen ounces. This ſplendid bribe anſwered the propoſed end: the earl was permitted to exculpate himſelf upon oath, nor did he make any ſcruple to ſwear, that he had no concern in the death of Alfred.

A. D. 1042. The great partiality* ſhewn by Hardicanute to the Danes rendered him univerſally hated by the Engliſh, whom he ſo oppreſſed that they had reaſon to conſider him more as an enemy than a king. But fortunately for them he did not long wield the ſcepter. He fell a martyr to the vices of his countrymen, namely, drunkenneſs and gluttony; for being at Lambeth celebrating the nuptials of a Daniſh nobleman, he drank to ſuch exceſs that it terminated his life on the 18th of June, after an inglorious reign of only two years. The Engliſh, in deriſion to his memory, uſed to commemorate the day of his death as an holiday, and to diſtinguiſh it by the name of Hog-Wedneſday, in alluſion to the immoderate luxury of this prince, whoſe palace was one continued ſcene of gluttony and drunkenneſs.

CHAP.

* It is ſaid, that in conſequence of the king's great partiality to the Danes, they became ſo inſolent during his reign, that if an Engliſhman met a Dane on a bridge, he was obliged to wait in a ſubmiſſive poſture till the other had paſſed him. And we are farther told, that the cuſtom of pledging each other when we drink had its riſe at this period; becauſe the Danes would frequently ſtab Engliſhmen while drinking, ſo that no one choſe to drink in the preſence of a Dane, without another perſon pledging himſelf for his perſonal ſecurity.

CHAP. XIX.

EDWARD, furnamed the CONFESSOR.*

Edward, by the intereſt of earl Godwin, is elected king, and crowned at Wincheſter. Begins his reign with acts of cruelty to his mother. Shews a partial attachment to the Normans, Quarrels with earl Godwin, and baniſhes him the kingdom. Aboliſhes the tax called Dane-gelt. Receives a viſit from William duke of Normandy. Is reconciled to earl Godwin. Aſſiſts Malcolm king of Scotland in the recovery of his dominions. Quells a diſturbance among the Welſh. Privately appoints William duke of Normandy his ſucceſſor. Rebuilds the abbey at Weſtminſter. His death and character.

A. D. 1042. AT the time of Hardicanute's death, Edward, the ſon of Ethelred II. by Emma, was the only perſon in the kingdom who had any kind of pretenſion to the crown of England, and indeed the only one whom the Engliſh wiſhed to be their ſovereign. But Edward was fearful of meeting with ſome difficulties from Sweyn, the ſon of Canute, who was then in Norway. To avoid this he ſolicited the protection of earl Godwin, the moſt powerful man in the kingdom; and though it was but a few months before that Edward demanded legal juſtice againſt him, yet the earl promiſed to eſpouſe his cauſe, on condition of his ſwearing to marry his daughter Editha.

This being agreed to by Edward, the earl immediately ſummoned a convention of the nobles for the election of a king; who being met, he expatiated on the miſeries the kingdom had ſuffered from the Danes, and then, taking the prince by the hand, addreſſed them in words to this effect: "Behold your king! this is prince Edward, the ſon of king Ethelred and queen Emma, and to him I pay my allegiance." In conſequence of this Edward was unanimouſly elected king, though the ceremony of his coronation, on account of a dearth which then prevailed, was poſtponed till the enſuing year, when it was ſolemnized with great pomp at Wincheſter.

A. D. 1043. Edward began his reign with an act which was far from being to his credit either as a man or a king. He firſt ſeized all the lands held by his mother from the crown, after which he repaired to Wincheſter, and ſtripping her of all her treaſures and effects, left her only a very moderate penſion for her ſubſiſtence. Not ſatisfied with this, he ſoon after accuſed her of a criminal correſpondence with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter. Her oſtenſible impeacher was Robert the Norman, who was afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury; but he not having any evidence to make good his allegations, inſiſted upon her undergoing the fire ordeal, in order to purge herſelf from the imputation. This being accepted by Emma, ſhe walked blindfold over nine red-hot plough-ſhares without receiving the leaſt injury, to the great confuſion of her accuſers, and the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators.†

A. D. 1044. Edward was now alarmed at receiving intelligence that Sweyn, king of Denmark, the ſon of Canute the Great, was making preparations for invading England, in order to aſſert his right to the crown. On this important occaſion earl Godwin acted with great ſpirit and diligence: he put the Engliſh fleet upon a reſpectable footing, ordered thirty-five ſail of large ſhips to rendezvous at Sandwich, and even perſuaded Edward (who was one of the moſt unwarlike kings that ever ſat upon a throne) to repair on board, and take upon himſelf the command. It was Godwin's intent to prevent the Danes from landing by attacking their fleet at ſea; but the expedition was rendered abortive by an unexpected incident, Sweyn, inſtead of invading England, being obliged to ſtay at home, in order to defend his own territories from the invaſion of Magnus, king of Norway, who had entered his dominions with a formidable army.

All danger being now over, and England happily enjoying peace, Edward determined to fulfil his promiſe made to earl Godwin, and accordingly married his daughter Editha: but the marriage was never conſummated, though ſhe was equally diſtinguiſhed for the beauty of her perſon, and the graces of her mind.

A. D. 1045. At this time the Engliſh coaſts were greatly infeſted by Daniſh pirates, and twenty-five ſail of their veſſels arriving at Sandwich, the terrors of the Engliſh began afreſh; for the pirates not only plundered the country, but even ſeized on ſome of the inhabitants, whom they carried abroad, and ſold as ſlaves: but earl Godwin, with the dukes Leofric and Siward, ſoon took ſuch ſteps as ſecured the people on the coaſt from any farther danger.

After this a variety of incidents rapidly followed each other to produce a rupture between the king and Godwin. Sweyn, one of the earl's ſons, having carried off and debauched the abbeſs of Leominſter in Herefordſhire, was baniſhed the kingdom; on which he retired to Denmark, and fitting out a fleet of ſhips committed ſeveral outrages on the Engliſh coaſts. He afterwards murdered earl Bearn, who had kindly undertaken to procure his pardon from Edward. Theſe enormous crimes rendered him rather an object of deteſtation than of mercy; but the great power of his father, joined with the intereſt of ſeveral of the prelates and principal nobility, procured his pardon, and he returned to England.

A. D.

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* Edward is ſaid to have taken his ſurname from his great piety; but how far he merited that epithet will be found in the ſequel. His canonization as a ſaint did not take place till many years after his death, when pope Alexander III. gave him the diſtinguiſhed title of Confeſſor.

† Many modes of trial, equally ſingular with this, are, at this day, uſed in various countries, particularly in Africa, where perſons are tried by means of a liquor called Bonda, which the criminal is obliged to drink. If he is ſo far inebriated as to fall down in a ſtate of inſenſibility, he is pronounced guilty, and immediately dragged to execution; but if, after drinking, he is capable of ſtanding upright, he is declared innocent.

A. D. 1046. The people in general were highly pleaſed with the conduct of Edward on this occaſion; but he ſoon forfeited their eſteem by the great attention he paid to foreigners. Being educated at the court of Normandy, he had formed ſtrong attachments to the manners and cuſtoms peculiar to that country. In conſequence of this his court was filled with Normans, on whom were beſtowed the principal poſts of honour and profit both in church and ſtate; and their intereſt was ſoon ſo great that no favour was to be obtained from Edward but by their interceſſion. Godwin perceived their influence and was alarmed for the conſequence. He remonſtrated with the king on the impropriety of his conduct, but in vain; Edward continued firm to his attachments, which ſo irritated Godwin that he determined to take the firſt favourable opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment.

Nor was it long before an opportunity offered. Euſtace, count of Boulogne, having paid a viſit to the king, ſet out for Dover on his return to his own dominions. One of his ſervants, who was ſent before to provide lodgings in the town, behaving in a very inſolent manner, a fray enſued, in which the ſervant loſt his life. Exaſperated at this Euſtace and his attendants broke open the houſe where the fray happened, the maſter of which fell a victim to his reſentment. The town was now alarmed, and a general fray took place, in which twenty of the inhabitants were killed, and nineteen of the count's ſervants. After the fray was over Euſtace returned to Edward, and demanded juſtice; upon which the king, allowing the validity of his claim, ordered Godwin, who was then governor of Dover, to march immediately at the head of a body of troops, and chaſtiſe the inhabitants. But Godwin peremptorily refuſed to obey the king's orders. He boldly told him that, as earl of Kent, it was his duty to protect the very people he was ordered to puniſh: that the laws of England did not admit of ſubjects being condemned unheard; and that the only method of adjuſting the affair was by legal trial.

Edward conſidered the boldneſs of Godwin as an inſult on majeſty, and ſeverely reprimanded him for his diſobedience. But Godwin was not to be intimidated by the frowns of power: he refuſed to obey the king's orders, chuſing rather to hazard his own ſafety than inflict puniſhment on the innocent, or ſacrifice the liberties of his country at the ſhrine of foreign inſolence.

A. D. 1048. Though Edward did not think proper to inſiſt any farther on his orders being obeyed, yet he determined to puniſh Godwin for his behaviour. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered for executing his deſign. The Welſh had made inroads into the Engliſh territories, of which Sweyn, one of the earl's ſons, was governor, who, with his father Godwin, raiſed a powerful army to oppoſe them. Edward ſummoned a meeting of the nobility at Glouceſter to enquire into the cauſe of theſe diſorders, when it was repreſented by the enemies of Godwin, that he and his ſon had been the aggreſſors. In conſequence of this, Edward determined to wreak his vengeance not only on the earl but his his whole family; and accordingly, having cited them to appear before the council, and they refuſing to obey the ſummons, he baniſhed them the kingdom. Godwin himſelf retired to the court of Baldwin earl of Flanders, and his ſon Harold went to Ireland. But Edward's reſentment did not ſtop here: he ſhewed it in a conſpicuous manner to his amiable conſort, the daughter of Godwin, whom he ſtripped of every thing valuable, and then immured her within the walls of a monaſtery.

A. D. 1050. Edward having, by his ſtrong attachment to foreigners, incurred the general hatred of the Engliſh, determined now to do ſomething that might gain their affections. The tax, known by the name of Danegelt, had long been a very heavy burthen to them. The reaſons which originally rendered it neceſſary had ceaſed for many years, but the impoſt was ſtill continued. Edward, therefore, perſuaded that he could not perform an action more acceptable to his people, totally aboliſhed this tax, and diſtributed all the ſurplus of what had been collected, which then remained in the treaſury, among the different diſtricts from whence it had been gathered.

A. D. 1051. In the beginning of this year William, duke of Normandy, paid a viſit to Edward, and was received with the warmeſt marks of gratitude. He had protected and ſupported Edward in his exile, and merited a ſuitable return. The duke was highly ſatisfied with his reception, and returned to Normandy, loaded with preſents. Soon after William's departure Emma, the king's mother, paid the debt of nature, and her remains were interred at Wincheſter.

A. D. 1052. During theſe tranſactions Godwin had obtained from the earl of Flanders a powerful ſquadron, and being joined by his ſon Harold with another fleet from Ireland, they committed ſome depredations on the Engliſh coaſts, after which they ſailed up the river Thames, and advancing near London, threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt confuſion. The king ſeemed determined to oppoſe them with ſuch ſhips as could be haſtily got together; but his council objected againſt this proceeding as bordering on raſhneſs, and adviſed him to make uſe of more gentle methods to induce Godwin to return to his obedience. The earl, being informed of the ſentiments of the council, ſent a very humble meſſage to Edward, proteſting, in the ſtrongeſt manner, that he had no other intention than that of ſubmitting his actions to a fair trial, nor wiſhed for any thing more than that of being reſtored to his honours and eſtates. In conſequence of this, and the powerful interceſſion of the nobility, Edward agreed to pardon Godwin, who accordingly gave hoſtages for his future good behaviour; but Edward not thinking his own power ſufficient to ſecure them, they were ſent to the court of Normandy.

From this period the earl's power and influence became much more conſiderable than before; and thoſe foreigners, who had long baſked in the ſunſhine of royalty, were, by his means, baniſhed the kingdom. But Godwin did not long ſurvive his reſtoration. He was ſuddenly deprived of the faculty of ſpeech as he ſat at dinner with the king, in which ſtate he continued for three days, and then expired *.

On

* There are two accounts given of the immediate cauſe of Godwin's death. One is, that he died of an apoplectic fit; and the other, that while the king was ſpeaking of his brother Alfred, in terms reproachful to the earl, the latter wiſhed a piece of bread he was about to ſwallow might be his laſt if he was any way acceſſary to the death of that prince, and that he was

On the death of Godwin, his eldeſt ſon Harold, who far ſurpaſſed him in abilities, ſucceeded to all his authority, and proved an equal ſupport to the Engliſh againſt the Norman intereſt. By his great affability and addreſs, he gained the particular friendſhip of Edward, and both the nobility and people were firmly attached to his intereſt.

A. D. 1054. Peace and tranquillity now prevailed in England, but the kingdom of Scotland was involved in terror and confuſion, owing to the ambition of Macbeth, who had driven Malcolm from his dominions, and uſurped the ſovereignty. The unfortunate Malcolm applied to Edward for ſupport againſt the tyrant of his country; and that prince, thinking it a duty incumbent on kings to aſſiſt royalty in diſtreſs, ſent 10,000 men, under the command of Siward, earl of Northumberland, to drive the uſurper from the throne. Siward, who was one of the moſt intrepid generals of the age, immediately joined his forces to thoſe under the command of Macduff, the Scottiſh commander, and marched againſt the rebels. A deſperate battle enſued, in which Macbeth was totally defeated, and obliged to fly to the mountains for ſhelter; and Malcolm was re-placed on the Scottiſh throne. Siward, ſoon after, paid the debt of nature, and Tofti, by the intereſt of his brother Harold, was made earl of Northumberland.

A. D. 1056. The Welſh had, for ſome time, made frequent inroads into the Engliſh territories, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the inhabitants. Alfegar, ſon of the duke of Mercia, and brother-in-law to Harold, held a treaſonable correſpondence with the inſurgents, and being found guilty of the crime, was declared an out-law, and baniſhed the kingdom. In conſequence of this he immediately repaired to Ireland, where he ſoon raiſed a large body of forces, and landing in Wales, joined the army of Griffith, prince of that country. Theſe combined troops ſoon after defeated a body of Edward's forces, and then marching into Herefordſhire, entered the capital of that county, maſſacred the inhabitants, and reduced the whole city to aſhes. Exaſperated at theſe inhuman proceedings, Edward diſpatched Harold, at the head of a body of forces, to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. The abilities of the Engliſh general ſtruck the invaders with terror: they fled into South-Wales, and applied, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to Edward for peace. Their requeſt was accordingly granted, and the tranquillity of the country reſtored; ſoon after which, Alfegar, at the interceſſion of Harold, received a pardon, and was reſtored to his eſtates and honours.

A. D. 1057. The greatneſs of Harold's merit, and his diſtinguiſhed popularity among the people, excited the jealouſy of Edward, who, having no children of his own, was deſirous of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown, in order, if poſſible, to prevent the horrors of a civil war. To effect this he ſent to Hungary for his nephew Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, who accordingly arrived in England with his two daughters; but he did not long ſurvive his arrival; and Edgar Atheling, the ſon of that prince, was too young to ſucceed to the government.

Edward, being thus diſappointed in his deſign, turned his thoughts towards his kinſman William duke of Normandy, who had ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his reputation for prudence and intrepidity. Secrecy was abſolutely neceſſary to procure ſucceſs, and it was accordingly obſerved with the greateſt caution. Edward, in the moſt private manner, tranſmitted his deſign to William, who received the intelligence with pleaſure, and eagerly embraced the flattering hopes of adorning his brow with the Engliſh diadem.

A. D. 1058. Some time after this Harold requeſted permiſſion of Edward to make a voyage to Normandy, in order to obtain the enlargement of his brother Ulnoth and his nephew Hacun, who had been delivered among the hoſtages for the good behaviour of Godwin, but were ſtill in confinement at that court. This requeſt was exceeding diſagreeable to Edward, who, fearful that Harold might diſcover what had paſſed between him and the duke, refuſed to give his conſent. Harold, however, reſolved to take that liberty which Edward would not grant, and accordingly embarked for Normandy; but a violent ſtorm overtook him in his paſſage, and he was driven into one of the ports of Picardy, in the government of the count of Ponthieu, who detained him priſoner at his court, and demanded a very exorbitant ſum for his ranſom. In this ſituation he wrote a letter to William who ordered the count to ſet him at liberty; in conſequence of which he repaired immediately to Rouen, where he was received by the duke with the greateſt marks of eſteem.

William was charmed with the noble qualities of his illuſtrious gueſt; and Harold had the addreſs to perſuade him that he had undertaken the voyage merely from his great regard to the Norman court, and his ſtrong inclinations to enter into ſuch engagements with William, as might prove advantageous to their mutual intereſts. In conſequence of this William communicated to Harold his deſigns upon the crown of England, and the ſecret contract between him and Edward on that ſubject; at the ſame time, as he was not ignorant of Harold's views, gave him to underſtand that he expected he would reſign his pretenſions. The earl, who had never ſuſpected any ſuch colluſion between the king and the duke, now found himſelf on the brink of a precipice, and that the only method of preventing his deſtruction was, to diſſemble his ſentiments. He therefore, with the greateſt appearance of candour, acknowledged he had entertained thoughts of aſpiring to the crown before the arrival of prince Edward from Hungary, but would now readily promiſe to join his intereſt in behalf of William; and, to cement their friendſhip, propoſed marrying his daughter. The duke, being highly pleaſed with his frank manner of deportment, conſented to his propoſal, and after Harold had confirmed his promiſe by an oath before the ſtates of Normandy, he was betrothed to his daughter, who was then too young for the conſummation of the marriage.

Both parties now appearing perfectly ſatisfied, Harold returned with his hoſtages to England, whither he had no ſooner arrived than he took

was choaked by the bread ſticking in his throat. But it is the opinion of moſt hiſtorians, that he died of an apoplectic fit, and that this ſtory was made by the Norman writers in after-times to degrade the character of a man who had been ſuch an inveterate enemy to their countrymen.

every opportunity of encreasing the national prejudices against the Normans; and of strengthening his own party, among the nobles, as the surest methods of baffling the duke's designs. Edward perceived his intentions, but took no pains to counteract his projects, having no connexions that he valued above his own peace and tranquillity, which he determined, if possible, to preserve during the remainder of his days.

A. D. 1063. A circumstance now happened greatly in favour of Harold, as it recommended him still more to the affections of the people. The Welsh had again made inroads on the English territories, and committed the most horrid depredations on the inhabitants. Harold marched at the head of a body of forces to repel the insurgents, and such was his success that he obliged them to dethrone their king Griffith, and to become tributary to England. But the Welsh soon after restored their king; upon which Harold harrassed marched at the head of his forces, and terrified them in such a manner that they sent him the head of Griffith as a token of their submission.

During these transactions the Northumbrians, being greatly oppressed by earl (Tosti, the brother of Harold,) expelled him the county. In consequence of this Harold, by the king's command, marched to chastise them. The Northumbrians met Harold at Northampton, and convinced him that their behaviour had originated not from rebellious principles, but those of self-defence; for that the conduct of their governor had been so rapacious as not to be endured. Harold represented the matter to the king in its genuine light, and procured a pardon for the Northumbrians; after which Morcar, son of the duke of Mercia, was appointed their governor.* This circumstance procured Harold the entire confidence of the people in the north, and greatly contributed to his future advancement.

A. D. 1065. While Harold was pursuing every measure for ingratiating himself into the affections of the people, Edward, who now stooped under the weight of age and infirmities, was employing his time in acts of devotion. He had, for some years, vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome; but not being able to perform it, obtained the pope's dispensation, on condition of rebuilding the abbey of Westminster, which had been entirely destroyed by the Danes. † This work engaged his whole attention, and on its being finished, he summoned a general council of the nation to confirm the charter he had granted to that edifice. By this charter he exempted it from all episcopal jurisdiction, settled large revenues on it, and granted it the privileges of a sanctuary. He attended, with great devotion, the dedication of this religious structure, and seemed to be re-animated on that solemn occasion. But this was the last action of Edward's reign. He was soon after seized with a violent fever, which put an end to his life on the 5th of January, in the 24th year of his reign; and his remains, pursuant to his own request, were interred in the abbey he had so lately consecrated.

Though Edward had been married many years, yet he never cohabited with his queen, and this continence, from whatever cause it proceeded, occasioned him afterwards to be ranked among the saints.

With respect to the general character of Edward, it must be acknowledged that he had but few virtues, nor any very atrocious vices. The principal among the former was his strict attention to the administration of justice. He compiled a body of excellent laws, which he collected from those of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation, though now lost, was long the object of the peoples attention, and the various laws contained in it were strictly observed throughout the kingdom.

Edward the Confessor was the first monarch who touched for the King's Evil. The opinion of his sanctity procured belief to this cure among the people; and his successors regarded it as a part of their power and grandeur to support the same opinion. This practice however, has been long laid aside, as it was attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of understanding.

CHAP. XX.

HAROLD II.

Harold is crowned king of England. Acts with great prudence, and is beloved by his subjects. Is opposed by William duke of Normandy. Battle of Hastings. Death of Harold.

A. D. 1066. HAROLD, by his judicious conduct, had so effectually gained the affections of the people, that on the death of Edward he was immediately declared his successor. The title of Edgar Atheling, to whom the crown should have descended, was not even mentioned, much less the claim of the duke of Normandy, who had, indeed, no other title than the intentions of Edward in his favour. Harold, therefore, having assembled the council, was unanimously chosen to the sovereignty, and the day following Edward's death was crowned king by Aldred, archbishop of York.

The first steps taken by Harold after his accession was, to pursue such measures as were most likely to secure the affections of his people. He accordingly eased them of several oppressive taxes, listened to their complaints, and dispensed justice with an impartial hand. He knew that Edgar Atheling was beloved by his people, as the only remaining heir of their antient kings: he therefore took him under his immediate protection, created him earl of Oxford, and caused him to be educated in such a manner as if he had a serious intention of his succeeding to the crown when he should arrive at years of maturity. By these prudent

* From this time Tosti bore an implacable hatred to his brother Harold, and it is recorded that he took the following cruel method of shewing his resentment. Going to his brother's country-house with his attendants, he killed some of his domestics, cut their bodies into pieces, barrelled them up, and sent them as a present to Harold, immediately after which he fled, with the utmost expedition, to Flanders.

† This edifice was taken down by Henry III. who erected the present magnificent structure (which was fifty years in building) in its stead, except that part which was afterwards added to it by Henry VII. and called Henry the VIIth's chapel.

dent measures Harold secured the affections of the Engliſh, who conſidered him at once as their father and their king.

But while Harold was thus employed in ſettling the domeſtic tranquillity of the nation, he was interrupted by his brother Tofti, who having obtained ſome ſhips and troops from the earl of Flanders, made a deſcent on, and plundered the Iſle of Wight; after which he proceeded to Sandwich, but hearing that Harold was preparing to march againſt him, he ſailed northwards, and in his way pillaged the coaſt till he arrived in Lincolnſhire. Here he landed, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the inhabitants; but was met by the joint forces of the earls of Northumberland and Mercia, when a ſharp battle enſued, in which Tofti was defeated, and obliged to retire to his ſhips with conſiderable loſs.

After this defeat Tofti left the coaſt, and ſailed to Norway, where he found Harfagar, the king of that country, making preparations for invading England, to which he had been induced by William duke of Normandy, who thought it might facilitate his long intended project of attempting the conqueſt of Britain. Tofti and Harfagar having united their forces, which conſiſted of three hundred ſhips, ſet ſail for England, and entering the Humber, landed in Yorkſhire, where they committed the moſt violent depredations, and at length poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of York. Harold advanced, at the head of an army, againſt the enemy, whom he met at Stanford-bridge on the river Derwent. A deſperate battle enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Harold, and the two leaders, Harfagar and Tofti, fell among the ſlain. But this defeat, though glorious to Harold, was attended with fatal conſequences: he loſt many of his braveſt officers and ſoldiers in the action, and diſguſted the reſt by refuſing to divide among them the ſpoils taken from the enemy, which he reſerved to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate.

During theſe tranſactions William, duke of Normandy, ſent ambaſſadors to Harold, demanding that he ſhould reſign the crown in his favour, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, that he would declare war againſt him. Harold told the ambaſſadors that the duke had no right to the crown; that if he had engaged himſelf in his intereſt by an oath, it was extorted from him, and that he was determined to ſupport his right againſt all oppoſition. This anſwer ſo enraged the duke that he made immediate preparations for invading the kingdom, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the princes of the neighbouring ſtates, particularly the court of Bretagne, who ſent him a body of five thouſand men under the command of his eldeſt ſon. But what tended ſtill more to render his deſign ſucceſsful was, the pope's declaration in his favour. He ſent him a conſecrated banner, and publiſhed a bull, declaring the juſtice of his cauſe, and animating all the Chriſtian powers to aſſiſt him in his attempt on the Engliſh throne. In conſequence of this Harold was declared a perjured uſurper, and every perſon excommunicated who dared to oppoſe the armies of Normandy. But ſtill the great ſupport of war was wanted. William was poſſeſſed of very little treaſure, and the ſtates abſolutely refuſed to grant the prodigious ſums he required. The wealth of individuals, however ſupplied what the ſtates had refuſed, and William was ſoon enabled to collect a fleet of three thouſand ſail, and an army of forty thouſand men, a force which he imagined ſufficient to enable him to effect his intended purpoſes.

With this powerful armament William ſet ſail from Normandy, and on the 29th of September landed, without oppoſition, at Pevenſey in Suſſex. The duke himſelf, as he leaped on ſhore, happened to fall; upon which, fearful that his troops might think it a bad omen, he graſped a handful of the ſoil, and riſing with great agility, and extending his arm, called out; "Thus I take poſſeſſion of the country." Having refreſhed his troops, he ſent back his fleet to Normandy, to convince his followers that they had no hope but conqueſt, and then proceeded by the ſea ſide to Haſtings, where he erected a fort, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the motives by which he had been induced to engage in the expedition.

As ſoon as it was known that the Normans had landed, a general alarm took place throughout the kingdom. Forces were immediately raiſed to join the army of Harold, who was then at York, and who immediately haſtened with all expedition to London. Immediately on his arrival a council of war was called, when ſeveral of Harold's officers were for deferring a battle, alledging, that if he acted only on the defenſive, as the winter was approaching; the enemy would, in all probability, be ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of leaving the kingdom. But Harold was deaf to all advice, and a reſolution was taken to engage the Norman army. In conſequence of this Gyrth, the king's youngeſt brother, a nobleman poſſeſſed of great courage and wiſdom, endeavoured to diſſuade Harold from the reſolution of expoſing his perſon in battle. "Let us not, ſaid he, venture upon one chance of war the liberties of England, the properties of Engliſhmen, and the fortunes of our families. Reſerve yourſelf for better times. While you are ſafe, the enemy can never be ſaid to conquer; but on your perſon the fate of our country depends. Leave me to fight with the Norman; and I will take care to diſcharge the duty of a brother, a general, and a ſubject. If I ſucceed it is in a good cauſe: if I fall, it is with a quiet conſcience; while, in either caſe, you will ſurvive to reap the glory, or to repair the misfortune." But Harold was inflexible to this advice: he determined to give the enemy battle in perſon, and riſk his crown on the fortune of a ſingle day.

In conſequence of this reſolution Harold marched, at the head of his forces, within ſight of the Norman army, when William, having poſted himſelf on an advantageous ſpot, ſent a meſſenger to Harold, offering to decide the conteſt by ſingle combat, that it might ſpare the effuſion of much blood: but this challenge Harold refuſed, telling the meſſenger that he would leave the event to the God of armies.

All negotiations were now at an end; and the hour was approaching which was to put a final period to the diſpute between the two powerful armies. The night preceding the battle was ſpent in a very different manner by the contending parties. The Normans paſſed it in prayer; but the Engliſh in riot and diſſipation. The dawn, however, put a period to their reſpective exerciſes, and both armies prepared for battle.

The fight began with equal fury and bravery on each ſide; but the Engliſh ſoon obliged the enemy to retire. The Normans, however, returned to the charge, and were again driven back by the Engliſh. The battle continued the whole day, and victory, more than once, ſeemed to declare in favour of Harold.

Harold. The abilities of the two commanders, and the valour of their troops, were equal. Liberty animated the Engliſh; glory, blended with deſpair, the Normans. The former knew, that every thing they held dear depended on their valour: the latter, that a retreat was impoſſible. William flew from rank to rank, from ſquadron to ſquadron, animating his troops by his words, and encouraging them by his example. Harold, with equal ſpirit, and with ſuperior ſucceſs, oppoſed him. William, perceiving his danger, had recourſe to a ſtratagem which was attended with ſucceſs: he ordered his men to make a haſty retreat, which drawing the Engliſh from their ranks, he ſuddenly faced about, and returning to the charge with freſh fury, repulſed the purſuers, with great ſlaughter. The Engliſh, however, regained the advantageous ground they had quitted, and again bid defiance to the attacks of the enemy. At laſt Harold and his two brothers were ſlain at the head of their forces, and the ſoldiers having loſt their leaders, fled from the field of battle. Above ſixty thouſand of the Engliſh fell in this dreadful conteſt; and William purchaſed the victory with the loſs of fifteen thouſand of his beſt troops.

Thus was gained by William duke of Normandy the great and deciſive victory of Haſtings, after a battle which was fought from morning till ſunſet. The next day the Normans buried their dead on the field of battle, and permitted the Engliſh peaſants to do the like by their deceaſed countrymen. The bodies of Harold and his two brothers were found, and ſent to their mother, who cauſed them to be interred in the abbey at Waltham, which had been founded by Harold.

The Norman writers have traduced the character of Harold, in order to render that of the conqueror more ſplendid, a circumſtance which too often attends a change of fortune. But it muſt be acknowledged that he was a prince poſſeſſed of many virtues. He was humane, generous, affable and intrepid: he was a champion for freedom, and fell in its defence. In ſhort, if we except the injury he did to Edgar Atheling, in excluding that young prince from the throne of his anceſtors, his character is without blemiſh; and from his general conduct while he reigned he appears to have been in all reſpects well qualified to wield the ſcepter with reputation to himſelf, and happineſs to his people.

Harold, by his firſt wife had three ſons, namely, Edmund, Godwin and Magnus, who, on the death of their father, immediately fled to Ireland. By his ſecond wife he had a ſon named Wolf, whom William Rufus afterwards knighted.

The death of Harold put a period to the Anglo-Saxon government, after it had continued above ſix hundred years, from its commencement in the perſon of Hengiſt, the firſt king of Kent.

Remarkable occurrences between the death of ALFRED the Great, and that of Harold II.

907 A ſevere froſt in England, when moſt of the rivers were paſſable on the ice for two months.
918 Continual rain in Scotland for five months.
936 A great inundation of the river Thames.
943 A violent ſtorm happened in London, which deſtroyed upwards of 1500 houſes,
946 The firſt ſet of tuneable bells ſet up at Croyland Abbey in Lincolnſhire.
947 Theft made death by the laws of the land.
951 The town of Southampton nearly deſtroyed by a ſtorm.
953 A plague in Scotland, which carried off 40,000 perſons.
964 St. Paul's cathedral deſtroyed by fire.
973 An inundation of the Thames, which did conſiderable damage.
974 A great famine in England, and another three years after.
980 The city of London nearly deſtroyed by an accidental fire.
987 A ſharp froſt began Dec. 22, which laſted 120 days.
989 A bloody flux in England, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.
991 The firſt land-tax in England.
1005 A prodigious inundation of the ſea on the Engliſh coaſts, which demoliſhed many ſea-port towns.
1024 Muſical notes invented.
1050 The Great Seal firſt uſed in England.

CHAP. XXI.

Containing a conciſe View of the political government of the Saxons, their Manners, Cuſtoms, Laws, &c.

ON the death of Harold (the laſt of the Anglo-Saxon kings) the throne was filled by a ſtranger; and new laws, new cuſtoms, and even a new conſtitution, were introduced, inſtead of thoſe which had been obſerved by the Saxons. It will, therefore, be neceſſary, in this place, to give the reader ſome account of the government, manners, laws, &c. of thoſe people.

The Saxons had no idea of a deſpotic power: liberty was their darling object, and they conſidered a king only as a more diſtinguiſhed citizen, bound by the ſame laws, and ſubject to the ſame cuſtoms, as themſelves. They had no eſtabliſhed rule with regard to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown: the children, indeed, often ſucceeded their father in the ſeat of power; but a ſmall circumſtance was ſufficient to ſet it aſide. All affairs of moment, eccleſiaſtical or civil, were propoſed in the general aſſembly of the nation, called Wittenagemot; and without the conſent of the body, no laws were binding on the ſubject. The biſhops, abbots, and aldermen, or governors of provinces (called earls after the Daniſh invaſion) formed a part of this national council; but whether the repreſentatives of boroughs, or the more wealthy citizens, compoſed the other, cannot be aſcertained.

The Saxons were divided into three claſſes, viz. nobles, freemen and ſlaves. The nobles chiefly reſided on their own eſtates, and were at great expence in maintaining hoſpitality. The greater part of the freemen were their farmers, whoſe buſineſs was chiefly confined to agriculture; and the ſlaves were employed in domeſtic occupations.

With reſpect to the manners of the Saxons, they were, like thoſe of mankind in general, blended with virtue and vice. They were valiant and generous, but at the ſame time intemperate and riotous; nor did they deem drunkenneſs diſgraceful. Their attachment to gaming was ſo great, that many, after having gamed away their property, and even wives and children, would ſtake their own freedom, and run the chance of becoming the ſlave of their antagoniſt. They were addicted to ſudden ſtarts of paſſion, and as ſudden fits of generoſity, and from the ſallies of anger would make haſty tranſitions to the meltings of humanity. They were large in ſtature, robuſt in conſtitution, intrepid in danger, active in emergency, and inured to fatigue; but they were particularly

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England*

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR





Wale delin.

Grignion sculp.

Invaded England Sept.r 29. 1066.

Crowned at Westminster December 25. 1066.

Died in Normandy Sept.r 9. 1087.

ticularly cruel to thoſe whom they made captives by force of arms.

Before the reign of Edmund I. death was never inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon laws, crimes of every kind being compenſated with pecuniary fines. A price was fixed on the head of each perſon according to his rank, even that of the king not excepted. The price of wounds, and the loſs of members was fixed; and was always proportioned to the ſize and danger of the former, and the uſe of the latter.

The Anglo-Saxons had various methods of trial; but that by juries was the moſt prevalent. However, where the crime could not be proved by witneſſes, recourſe was had to the moſt ridiculous methods, equally calculated to puniſh the innocent or the guilty. Theſe were, ſingle combat, and the trial of fire or water, which were called ordeal. The celebrated Monteſquieu, in ſpeaking of theſe ſuperſtitious practices, very juſtly obſerves, that "our anceſtors reſted the honour, the fortune, and the lives of citizens, on circumſtances which depended leſs on reaſon than chance; and frequently made uſe of proofs that could not convict, and which had no manner of connection either with innocence or guilt. How many evils has the culture of reaſon removed, and how many benefits has it procured to mankind!"

The military ſtrength of the nation conſiſted in the militia. Every freeman was under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of arming in defence of the ſtate: he marched to battle under the ſtandard of his lord, and was not to leave the army till the time of his ſervice was expired.

With reſpect to learning it was at a very low ebb during the time of the Saxons. Alfred, indeed, exerted himſelf nobly in defence of literature, as did alſo his ſucceſſor Edward the Elder, the firſt of whom founded the univerſity at Oxford, and the latter that of Cambridge. But their labours were not ſufficient to complete their noble deſigns. The ravages of the Danes deſtroyed the lovely branch which Alfred and his ſon had planted, and ſpread over the whole kingdom a blacker cloud than before.

Before Alfred the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſon for learning was Bede, or Beda, an Engliſh monk. He wrote ſeveral books on theology; but his chief work is an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, which diſplays a genius and aſſiduity that might, in a more enlightened age, have led to diſcoveries of the moſt important nature.

The moſt learned man of his time after Bede was Aſſer Menevenſis, biſhop of St. David's in the reign of Alfred, whom he greatly aſſiſted in his ſtudies. He wrote ſeveral hiſtorical books, one of which is ſtill extant, and intituled, "Annales Rerum Geſtarum Alfredi Magni." Three editions of this work have been publiſhed; one by archbiſhop Parker, another by Camden, and a third by Wiſe.

St. Dunſtan is ſaid to have been a good muſician, painter and graver; but he has no title to be conſidered as a man of learning.

BOOK VI.

From the Norman Conqueſt, to the Death of King Stephen.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM, ſurnamed the CONQUEROR.

Conſequences of the battle of Haſtings. Submiſſion of the Engliſh. William is crowned king. Goes over to Normandy. Diſcontents of the Engliſh. Their inſurrections. Return of William. New inſurrections. Introduction of the feudal law. Innovation on eccleſiaſtical govcrnment. Inſurrection of the Norman barons. Revolt of prince Robert. Battle of Gerberoy. William and his ſon Robert are reconciled. Doomſday-book. William ſeizes his brother Odo, and puts him in confinement. Makes a new foreſt in Hampſhire. Engages in a war with France. His death and character.

A. D. 1066. THE fatal iſſue of the battle of Haſtings threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. Harold, with his two brothers, were ſlain, and his children had made their eſcape into Ireland. Edgar Atheling, though beloved by the people, as the deſcendant of their antient kings, had neither inclination to take, or capacity to guide, the helm of government. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, indeed, placed him on the throne, and nobly exerted himſelf to reſtore order and ſubordination among a terrified and divided people. But his attempts were fruitleſs: every ſalutary ſcheme was oppoſed; and every meaſure which tended to promote unanimity, and baffle the deſign of the Conqueror, was rendered abortive.

During this perplexed ſtate of affairs among the Engliſh, the victorious William was taking meaſures for renewing the advantage he had already gained, and obtaining that crown to which he had long aſpired. Having refreſhed his forces, he left Haſtings, and marched to Dover, the caſtle of which was full of ſoldiers, who had fled thither after the battle; but ſo great was their conſternation that they immediately delivered up the fortreſs on terms of capitulation.

Having left a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, William marched at the head of his victorious army towards London; and the nearer he approached, the greater was the confuſion of the Engliſh. No plan was formed for oppoſing his march, nor was any general choſen to head the troops againſt him. The clergy, inſtead of exerciſing their authority to heal the diviſions, and ſtimulate the people to courage and unanimity, laboured to increaſe the diſorder. Moſt of the dignified eccleſiaſtics were Normans, and therefore juſtified an enterprize which was undertaken by papal authority. The friends to the conſtitution of England perceived it was now too late to ſupport the falling ſtate of

their country; that oppoſition would only tend to exaſperate the conqueror, and forge heavier chains for a brave and warlike people. They therefore determined to ſubmit to William, and ſheath the ſword which threatened deſtruction to their country. Accordingly, the primate, the nobility, the principal citizens, and even Edgar Atheling himſelf, repaired to the Norman camp, and entreated him to accept a crown which his great ablities had rendered him worthy of enjoying. In conſequence of this, Chriſtmas-day was fixed for his coronation, which was accordingly performed at Weſtminſter-abbey by Aldred, archbiſhop of York, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people *.

A. D. 1017. The firſt ſtep taken by William after his coronation was, to poſſeſs himſelf of the treaſures which had been amaſſed by Harold, and were then depoſited at Wincheſter. With theſe he gave rewards to his followers, diſtributed charities to the monaſteries, ſent preſents to the churches of France, Aquitain and Burgundy, where maſſes had been ſaid for the ſucceſs of his expedition, and remitted large ſums to the pope, with coſtly preſents to the church of St. Peter at Rome. He likewiſe (in order to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh) erected a church and monaſtery in the field where Harold was ſlain. The church was dedicated to St. Martin, and the abbey, which was filled with Benedictine monks, and exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction, was called Battle-abbey. He granted the citizens of London a new charter, by which all the privileges and immunities that city enjoyed in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor were confirmed. He affected to treat the Engliſh nobility with diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and not only careſſed Edgar Atheling in a particular manner, but granted him large eſtates, and confirmed to him the title of earl of Oxford, which had been conferred on him by Edward the Confeſſor.

From theſe acts of kindneſs the Engliſh flattered themſelves with a long ſeries of domeſtic tranquillity under a wiſe and impartial ſovereign. But they were ſoon convinced of their miſtake. The king ſeized on all the eſtates of thoſe who had joined Harold againſt him, and gave them to the Norman officers. He erected fortreſſes in various parts of the kingdom, and filled them with foreign troops. He diſarmed the people and broke up the militia. Theſe meaſures were very diſagreeable to the Engliſh, who now perceived that William acted rather as a conqueror than a king; and that he appeared to wiſh that power, rather than the affections of his ſubjects, might be the ſupport of his crown.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions for the internal ſafety of the kingdom, William determined to gratify his love of ſtate and magnificence, by viſiting his native country, where he doubted not of being welcomed with ſignal marks of congratulation by the neighbouring princes. Accordingly, having appointed his brother Odo (biſhop of Bayeux) and his couſin William Fitz-oſborne (whom he had created earl of Arundel and Hertford) to the joint government of the kingdom, he ſet ſail for Normandy, accompanied by ſuch of the Engliſh nobles, as he ſuſpected might take advantage of his abſence, and foment his new ſubjects to rebellion. On his arrival in Normandy he took up his reſidence in the abbey of Feſcamp, where he was viſited by Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and a great number of the principal perſons in Normandy and the adjoining provinces, all of whom congratulated him on his acceſſion to the throne of England.

But while William was receiving theſe honours in Normandy, all the precautions he had taken to ſecure the tranquillity of England were fruſtrated. Odo and Fitzoſborne exerciſed the power inveſted in them with ſuch intolerable oppreſſion and rapacity as juſtly provoked the general indignation of the people, and urged them to take up arms in vindication of their violated rights. The people of Kent, after repeated remonſtrances to Odo, ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of Euſtace, count of Boulogne, who ſoon after landed a body of forces in the neighbourhood of Dover, which effecting a junction with the Kentiſhmen, they made an attack upon the garriſon of that place, during the abſence of the governor. But the Norman being timely apprized of the intended aſſault, had the fort put in a ſtate of defence, and the aſſailants were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Euſtace's nephew was taken priſoner, and the count himſelf, with a few of his followers, narrowly eſcaped.

Though the Engliſh failed in this attempt, yet it was far from diſpiriting their countrymen, who broke out into open rebellion in various parts of the kingdom. They even formed a ſcheme for maſſacreing all the Normans, which, in all probability, might have taken place, had it not been for the ſudden and unexpected arrival of William from Normandy, who had, no doubt, received private information of the intended conſpiracy.

But though William's return allayed the ſtorm that had been raiſed in his abſence, yet it gave ſuch a diſguſt to the Engliſh, that he determined to curb their turbulent ſpirit by oppreſſion, to cloſely rivet the chains of ſlavery, which before he had only an opportunity to fit on, and in future to rule them with a rod of iron.

A. D. 1068. The firſt inſtance William gave of his intention to rule by arbitrary power was manifeſted in his reviving the tax called Danegelt, which had been abrogated by Edward the Confeſſor. Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who had hitherto ſtrenuouſly ſupported all the meaſures of William, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs this reſolution. To effect this he had recourſe to perſuaſions and remonſtrances; but finding all endeavours fruitleſs, he not only abandoned the intereſt of William, but anathematized him and all his family. This, however, had no effect upon William: he defied the eccleſiaſtical as well as the temporal power, and levied the tax with the utmoſt rigor.

This violent and arbitrary proceeding occaſioned inſurrections in various parts of the kingdom. The people of Exeter refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, or to admit a Norman garriſon. In conſequence of this William marched with a body of

* During the ceremony a tumult enſued, which had liked to have produced very fatal conſequences. The abbey was ſurrounded with a body of Norman ſoldiers, who hearing a confuſed noiſe within, imagined it aroſe from tumult and diſorder, and that the life of their duke was in danger. Fired at what they conſidered as a perfidious ſtratagem of the Engliſh, without giving themſelves the leaſt time for examination, they ſet fire to the adjacent houſes, and aſſaulted the populace with the utmoſt fury. The alarm ſpread with amazing rapidity, and deſpair was viſible in every countenance; but as ſoon as the new king was able to paſs through the crowd, he appeared among his troops, and at length, with great difficulty, ſuppreſſed the outrage.

of forces to Exeter, and made the neceſſary preparations for reducing them to obedience by force of arms; but the inhabitants implored and received pardon; on which William built a caſtle in the city, and placed in it a large body of his Norman troops.

But this inſurrection was trifling compared with thoſe which took place in the north, where Edwin and Morcar (earls of Northumberland and Mercia) combined with Sweyn king of Denmark, Malcolm king of Scotland, and Blethwin prince of North Wales, to make one vigorous effort for the recovery of their antient liberty. William, however, marching againſt them with a numerous army, diſconcerted their ſcheme, but pardoned the inſurgents on their ſubmiſſion. He ſoon after concluded a peace with the king of Scotland, which deprived the other parties of any future aſſiſtance from that quarter. When we ſay the inſurgents were pardoned, it muſt be underſtood only the leaders of the different parties; for many who were leſs guilty were ſeverely puniſhed, and ſome, who had no concern in the inſurrection, were impriſoned.

Morcar, and ſome other noblemen, retired to Scotland, and perſuaded prince Edgar, with his mother and ſiſters to accompany them. They were all received with the greateſt reſpect by the Scottiſh king, who was ſoon after married to Margaret, the eldeſt ſiſter of Edgar.

A. D. 1070-2. Having reduced the inſurgents, and erected caſtles in different parts of the kingdom, William reſolved to introduce thoſe innovations he thought neceſſary to ſupport that deſpotic power by which he was determined to govern the kingdom. He confiſcated the eſtates of the Engliſh nobility, and gave them to the Normans and other foreigners, who had aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of the country; by which means the moſt antient and opulent families were reduced to indigence, and pined for want on the very eſtates which had deſcended to them through a long line of illuſtrious anceſtors. He likewiſe introduced the feudal polity, which had been long eſtabliſhed in France and Normandy. He divided the kingdom into ſeven hundred baronies, which he beſtowed on his particular friends, no Engliſhman being ſuffered to enjoy that honour. Nor were the clergy exempted from theſe arbitrary proceedings: he put the church lands on the ſame eſtabliſhment with others, and obliged the eccleſiaſtics to furniſh their proportion of men for the wars, though the Saxon churches had exempted them from all military ſervice. The Monks were compelled to ſupply his troops, which he quartered on the monaſteries, with proviſions. He depoſed many Engliſh abbots and biſhops, and appointed foreigners to ſupply their places: in particular, Lanfranc, an Italian, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, was created archbiſhop of York, and the ſee of Wincheſter was filled up by one of his own chaplains.

Nor did William ſhew a leſs deſire of accumulating riches than extending his power. Being informed that many perſons had lodged their plate, money, and other valuables, in the monaſteries, he gave orders that thoſe places ſhould be ſearched, when his emiſaries, being properly inſtructed, not only ſeized upon what had been concealed, but alſo took away the church plate, and even ſtripped the ſhrines of their offerings.

The Engliſh now felt the chains of ſlavery, which had, for ſome time, been forging for them. Some were frightened into paſſive obedience, while others formed the noble reſolution of ſhaking off their chains, or periſhing in the attempt. Accordingly many of the latter retired to the Iſle of Ely, and ſet at defiance all the power of William. Among theſe was the brave Hereward de Wake, reputed the greateſt warrior of his age. He was choſen captain of this reſolute band, and bravely exerted the great talents he poſſeſſed. As ſoon as William was informed of this oppoſition, he immediately marched at the head of a body of forces to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. But it was no eaſy taſk to drive them from their retreat. He attacked the iſland ſeveral times without ſucceſs, and was at length obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade. This, however, not anſwering his wiſhes, he had recourſe to ſtratagem, and effected by art what he found exceeded his abilities to perform by force. Knowing that the monaſtery of Ely had very large poſſeſſions that lay out of the bounds of the iſland, he ſeized them, and after poſſeſſing himſelf of their moſt valuable effects, gave the lands to his ſoldiers. Alarmed for their eſtates, the monks offered to betray the iſland, and pay him a thouſand marks provided he would reſtore to the convent the lands he had ſeized. William readily embraced the offer, and Thurſton the abbot opened a paſſage to the royal army. The gallant Hereward, finding himſelf betrayed, cut his way through the Norman troops ſword in hand; but the reſt were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and great numbers of them were made priſoners, among whom was Morcar, earl of Northumberland.

During theſe tranſactions Malcolm king of Scotland made an irruption into the northern provinces; in conſequence of which William, having quieted the diſturbances in the Iſle of Ely, marched with his forces into the north; but on his approach Malcolm retired, and William following him, he was glad to make peace, and to pay the uſual homage to the Engliſh crown. By one of the articles of the treaty Edgar Atheling was to return to England, and renounce all right to the crown, on receiving a ſufficient maintenance from the Conqueror.

A. D. 1073. William, having thus reduced the Engliſh to ſubjection, and concluded a peace with the Scottiſh monarch, it might have been expected that he would have enjoyed ſome reſpite from the toils of war. But the alarms of invaſion were not yet over. Philip, king of France, either jealous of William's growing power, or hoping that the unſettled ſtate of his affairs in England would prevent him aſſiſting his ſubjects on the continent, attacked the duchy of Normandy, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Mans, the capital of the province of Maine. Alarmed at this unexpected attack, William paſſed over to the continent at the head of an Engliſh army, who, on their arrival, were joined by ſome troops levied in Normandy. He immediately attacked the invaders, recovered the territories they had taken, and obliged Philip to make peace with him on his own terms.

A. D. 1074. But while William was endeavouring to eſtabliſh peace in his Norman dominions, he received advice that freſh troubles were excited in England by perſons whom he little ſuſpected of diſaffection. Several of the Norman barons, who had engaged with him in the conqueſt of England, and were enriched by the wealth he had beſtowed upon them, determined no longer to ſubmit to his imperious ſway. Robert, the youngeſt ſon of William Fitz-Oſborne, earl of Hereford, had, a little before the king's departure for Normandy, applied to William for permiſſion to marry his ſiſter to Ralph de Gauder earl of Norfolk, and received a peremptory denial. Enraged at this refuſal,

fusal, it was resolved to solemnize the marriage during the king's absence, and the ceremony was accordingly performed with the greatest magnificence. The imperious behaviour of William naturally became the subject of conversation, the most bitter reflections were made on his tyrannical government, and they unanimously came to the resolution of no longer submitting to his arbitrary administration. They accused him of using every species of tyranny over the English, who, they said, were unjustly subjected to the arbitrary nod of an usurper. Earl Waltheof, one of the greatest warriors of the age, was the only Englishman who retained any power. He had, some time before, married Judith, the king's niece, and was created earl of Northumberland for his valour. This brave soldier was one of the guests, and joined with the rest in the conspiracy to dethrone William; but fearful of their own power, it was agreed to solicit the assistance of Sweyn, king of Denmark, whom they knew to be a professed enemy to the imperious Norman.

This plan was laid, and agreed to by Waltheof, at the time the company were in their height of jollity, and when there was no time for reflecting on the consequences that were likely to attend so rash an action. But cool reflexion soon convinced Waltheof that the conspiracy was at once idle and unjust. Remorse succeeded, and he informed Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, of the whole design. The prelate persuaded him immediately to cross the seas, and reveal all he knew to William. Waltheof followed the advice of the archbishop; but unfortunately for him he had also revealed the secret to his wife, who (having previously placed her affections on another person) sent an express to William, and used all her art to incense him against her husband. Waltheof, however, met with a gracious reception from William, and flattered himself he had nothing to fear. The disappearance of Waltheof alarmed the conspirators, and some steps taken by the regency convinced them that the secret was discovered. In consequence of this they immediately flew to arms, without waiting the arrival of the Danes, on whose assistance they placed their chief confidence. But all their efforts were fruitless: they were defeated wherever they went; so that when William landed in England, he found the conspiracy entirely suppressed.

Immediately on the arrival of William, a parliament was summoned at Westminster, where the case of those concerned in the late rebellion came under consideration, and they were proceeded against with the utmost severity. Some of inferior rank were punished with the loss of their eyes, and others with that of their feet or hands. Earl Waltheof, notwithstanding the proof of fidelity which he had given in discovering the plot, was tried for being an accomplice, and, upon the information of his own wife, sentenced to lose his head. Lanfranc exerted all his interest to save him; but William was inflexible, he was determined to quench even the smallest ember of rebellion with blood, and accordingly Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester on the 29th of April 1075. Thus fell the last Englishman who had enjoyed any considerable degree of power in the nation after the conquest. His infamous wife did not long enjoy her inhuman triumph over her husband; for she was universally despised, and suffered that disgrace and contempt her perfidy so justly merited.

A. D. 1076. In the beginning of this year William received an embassy from pope Gregory VII. requiring him to do homage for the kingdom of England, and demanding the payment of Peter's-pence, which the liberality of the Saxon princes had constantly sent to Rome; but without ever intending to render the custom binding to their successors, or considering it as a mark of submission to the holy see. William, however, was not to be terrified at the unreasonable demands of the pontiff. He told the ambassadors that the money should be sent as soon as it could be collected; but, in the most peremptory terms, absolutely refused to pay him homage. And, to convince the pope that he was in earnest, and despised his power, he soon after published an edict, prohibiting his subjects from acknowledging his superior authority, or obeying any commands from Rome without his permission.

A. D. 1077. While the nation appeared to be in a tolerable state of tranquillity, William met with fresh disturbances from a quarter he little expected. His eldest son Robert, who was a prince of an enterprizing disposition, determined to obtain that power to which he thought himself justly entitled. William had promised, before the peers of France, that as soon as he was settled on the English throne, his eldest son Robert should be left in possession of Normandy. Philip, king of France, desirous of creating dissentions in the family of William, instigated Robert to demand the possession of his patrimony. Robert, fired with what he considered as an injury, laid his claim before his father, and urged it with some warmth; upon which William was highly offended, and sent him for answer, "that he was never accustomed to strip till he went to bed, and that therefore he ought to wait till his decease."

This peremptory answer so irritated Robert that he determined, if possible, to make himself master of Normandy by force of arms, and accordingly raised a powerful body of troops to effect his design. As soon as William was apprized of this he went over to Normandy with an English army, and compelled Robert and his followers to take refuge in the castle of Gerberoy, which the French monarch had provided for their reception in case of necessity. In this place William besieged them, and several skirmishes happened, but with very little advantage to either party. At length Robert, disdaining to be ingloriously shut up within the walls of a castle, drew out his forces, and gave his father battle. The contest was very sharp, and for some time, continued equal. At length an arrow, from an unknown hand, struck Williams's horse, which immediately fell, and the king was thrown, almost breathless, to the ground, where he was in the utmost danger of being trampled to death. In this deplorable situation he called for help; and Robert, hearing the well-known voice of his father, was struck with horror. All the sentiments of duty and filial reverence were awakened in his breast: he raised his father from the ground with the utmost tenderness, threw himself at his feet, implored his pardon, and offered to purchase his forgiveness by any atonement. But William, without complying with his request, immediately drew off his army, and repaired to Rouen; upon which Robert disbanded his forces, and followed him. The queen interposed in behalf of her son, and her influence, added to the submission of Robert, at length produced a reconciliation. Robert was again received into his father's favour; but William did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy, lest the same instigations should again

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

ODO *Bishop of Bayeaux and Earl of Kent,* TAKEN PRISONER *by his Brother* WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROR, *for illegally amassing immense Sums of the Publick Money.*

gain produce the ſame alarming events. He therefore brought his ſon with him to England, and ſent him at the head of an army to repel the Scots, who taking advantage of William's abſence, had made inroads in the northern parts of England. This ſervice Robert ſoon performed, and returning to London was received by his father with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. Some time after this William built the Tower of London, to keep in awe the citizens, of whom he entertained a conſtant jealouſy.

A. D. 1081. The nation being now in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity, William dedicated his thoughts to the purſuit of thoſe meaſures that were likely to preſerve his own power, and ſecure himſelf in that elevated ſtate which he had obtained by the force of arms. Among other things he determined to finiſh a ſurvey of the kingdom, which had been began by Edward the Confeſſor. In this ſurvey an account was taken of all the lands in England, their extent in each diſtrict, their value and quality, and the number of tenants, cottagers, freemen and ſlaves; together with black cattle, ſheep, hogs, cattle for draught, and other animals, with the names of thoſe to whom they belonged; and the number of mills and fiſheries. This work was ſix years in compiling, and was at firſt called "The Roll of Wincheſter, becauſe originally kept in that cathedral; but it was afterwards named Domboc, or Doomſday-book, becauſe its evidence was deciſive, and there was no appeal from its authority.

During the time the proper commiſſioners were employed in making the before-mentioned ſurvey, an event took place of a very ſingular nature, and which particularly attracted the attention of the public. Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, ſome time before created earl of Kent, and appointed chief juſticiary of the kingdom, had amaſſed immenſe ſums of money by the moſt illegal and oppreſſive methods. He was naturally turbulent and ambitious, and deeply tinctured with the folly of the times, by placing confidence in the idle predictions of aſtrologers. One of thoſe itinerant fortune-tellers, among other ridiculous aſſertions, foretold that Gregory, who then filled the papal chair, ſhould be ſucceeded by a prelate named Odo. Animated with the hopes of obtaining that ſeat of envied greatneſs, Odo, who placed the moſt implicit faith in what was then called the language of the ſtars, determined to employ the vaſt treaſures he had collected by the rapacious hand of injuſtice, in procuring the papacy. He therefore purchaſed a palace at Rome, furniſhed it in the moſt ſuperb manner, and employed a great number of agents to engage the voices of the cardinals in his favour. He endeavoured to keep his deſign a profound ſecret, and propoſed to withdraw privately out of the kingdom, and take up his reſidence at Rome, till the death of Gregory ſhould open a way to the ſucceſſion. But his intentions could not be concealed; and one of his pretended friends informed William of the chimerical projects formed by his brother. The loſs of ſuch enormous ſums, and the conſequences that might attend his endeavours to obtain the papacy, determined William not to ſuffer him to leave the kingdom. He therefore ordered him to be arreſted; but his officers being intimidated at the great power of the clergy, heſitated to execute his orders, being more fearful of eccleſiaſtical than civil puniſhment. William perceived their ſcruples, and ſeized the Biſhop with his own hands. It was in vain that Odo pleaded his exemption from temporal juriſdiction. William anſwered, that he did not arreſt him as biſhop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent. Pope Gregory had recourſe alternately to perſuaſions and menaces to obtain the releaſe of Odo; but in vain. William ſet all the thunders of the vatican at defiance, and Odo was kept cloſely confined in one of the caſtles of Normandy during the life of his brother.

A. D. 1082. William, like moſt of the Norman kings, was fond of hunting, and the methods he took to indulge himſelf in this diverſion have juſtly loaded his memory with reproach. Not contented with thoſe large foreſts poſſeſſed by former kings in different parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence, without diminiſhing his own revenue. He accordingly laid waſte the county of Hants for an extent of thirty miles, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, ſeizing their property, and even demoliſhing the churches and convents, without making the unhappy ſufferers the leaſt compenſation for the injury. Nor was he ſatisfied with this inhuman ſtretch of his tyrannical power. He enacted the moſt ſevere laws relative to the foreſts, by which thoſe who dared to kill a deer, or a hare, were condemned to loſe their eyes, while at the ſame time the moſt horrid crimes were only compenſated with a fine. But it was uſeleſs to complain. William laid every oppreſſion he could think of on the Engliſh. He not only robbed them of their wealth and eſtates, but even formed a project for depriving them of their language. He ordered the French to be taught in the ſchools throughout the kingdom. It was ſpoken at court, and therefore ſtudied by the polite part of the inhabitants. It was alſo uſed in the courts of juſtice, and all the public acts, and private contracts, were written in that language.

A. D. 1087. In the beginning of this year William went over to Normandy in order to queſl a rebellion which had broke out in that part of his dominions. But he had not been long in Normandy before a miſunderſtanding took place between him and Philip of France, which was attended with very fatal conſequences. It happened that William was taken ill, and for ſome time confined to his bed. He was always corpulent, which increaſing with his years, he was now become exceeding unweildy. Philip turned this natural infirmity into ridicule. Knowing of William's illneſs he jocoſely aſked one of his attendants, "Whether the king of England was delivered of his big belly." This being reported to William, he was ſo highly enraged, that he declared he would celebrate his recovery at Notre Dame with ten thouſand lances inſtead of lights; alluding to the practice of women, who then offered wax tapers at the altar after their recovery from child-birth.

As ſoon as William's health was reſtored he immediately proceeded to fulfil his promiſe. He entered France at the head of a very powerful army, and committed the moſt inhuman ravages that fury, blended with malice, could invent. Towns and villages, churches and chapels, palaces and huts, were alike deſtroyed: a ſmoaking deſert cloſed the rear of his army. The city of Mantes was one of the unfortunate places that fell into his hands, and felt the dreadful effects of his unbounded rage. He laid the whole in aſhes, and beheld with ſatisfaction this horrid ſacrifice to his revenge. But his triumph was of no long continuance: his

horſe, terrified at the ſmoking ruins, plunged violently, and throwing the rider forward bruiſed his belly againſt the pommel of the ſaddle. A rupture, attended by a fever, was the conſequence, and William was conveyed to Rouen. Senſible of his danger, he was ſtruck with remorſe for the many violences and cruelties he had committed to ſatisfy the cravings of an unbounded ambition. To make ſome atonement he gave money to rebuild the churches which he had deſtroyed at Mantes, and ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed to the poor. He likewiſe gave orders for the enlargement of a great number of priſoners; and then, commanding his principal officers to ſurround his bed, he ſpoke much of his military reputation; but acknowledged that he had not honeſtly obtained the crown of England, and that he thought himſelf anſwerable for the lives of thoſe who were loſt in that conqueſt. Soon after this he paid the debt of nature, on the 9th of September, 1087, in the 61ſt year of his age, the 52d of his reign over the Normans, and the 21ſt of his reign over the Engliſh.

As ſoon as William's attendants perceived he was dead, they immediately plundered his coffers, and ſeized his moſt valuable effects. They even ſtripped his corpſe of the rich mantle with which it was covered, and then left the remains of this mighty conqueror naked and expoſed. A country gentleman beheld this ſcene of rapacity, and was touched with compaſſion. He cauſed the body to be embalmed at his own expence, and made the neceſſary preparations for interring it in the abbey-church of Caen, which had been founded by William. The proceſſion was awfully ſolemn, and a funeral oration was pronounced by Gilbert, biſhop of Evreux, who, with ſix other prelates, attended the mournful ceremony. But juſt as they were going to depoſit the body in the earth, one Anſelm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, preſſed forward through the crowd, and, with an audible voice, forbad the prelates to inter the body. "On that ſpot, ſaid he, once ſtood my father's houſe, which was unjuſtly ſeized by William, who I now ſummon before the Moſt High to anſwer for that flagrant act of tyrannical oppreſſion." This occaſioned a general confuſion among the people, till at length it was agreed to give thirty ſols for permiſſion to inter the body; beſides which young Henry promiſed, if his claim ſhould appear to be well founded, he would make him a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the eſtates of which he had been deprived.

Such was the end of William I. the mighty Conqueror of England; a prince liberally endowed by nature with all the talents neceſſary for placing him on the pinnacle of human greatneſs. His genius was piercing, and improved by a noble education. He was intrepid in danger, and fruitful in reſources: a great general, and a valiant ſoldier. He was formed to ſhine both in the cabinet and the field. He was an excellent judge of men, and employed none but thoſe of the greateſt capacity either in church or ſtate. But his ambition carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He availed himſelf of the right of conqueſt (the only title by which he had acquired a great kingdom) to trample on the laws of juſtice, and erect the throne of deſpotiſm upon the ruins of the conſtitution of a free people. He ſacrificed to avarice every principle of juſtice, and to oppreſſion every dictate of humanity. He extended the iron rod of tyranny over a people his arms had conquered; and felt not for the miſeries of innocence in diſtreſs. William, however, was not wholly deſtitute of virtues. In private life he was a tender huſband, an indulgent parent, and, where political intereſt did not interpoſe, a generous maſter. He introduced the regulation of the *curfeu* into England, by which all the inhabitants were obliged to put out their fires, and extinguiſh their lights on the ſound of a bell, which was tolled at eight o'clock in the evening.

With reſpect to exterior qualifications, he was remarkably tall, finely proportioned, and had a great dignity of aſpect; but towards the latter part of his life, he grew corpulent, and had a protuberance of belly which appeared diſguſtful to beholders, and was diſagreeable to himſelf.

William left three ſons, namely, Robert, William and Henry. To his eldeſt ſon Robert he bequeathed Normandy; and wrote a letter to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring him to crown his ſecond ſon William king of England. He gave to Henry nothing more than the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda, who had been dead about four years; but foretold that he would one day ſurpaſs both his brothers in opulence and power.

Beſides theſe ſons, William left five daughters, one of whom died young, one was an abbeſs, and the other three married into very reſpectable, princely, and noble families.

Remarkable occurences during the reign of William the Conqueror.

A. D.

1076 A violent earthquake in England, which did conſiderable damage in various parts, and threw the people into a general conſternation.
In the ſame year there happened a great froſt, which continued from November to April.

1077 The greater part of the city of London was deſtroyed by an accidental fire.

1078 The Tower of London built by William.

1079 The Courts of Exchequer and Chancery eſtabliſhed.

1082 A dreadful famine in England, which reduced the inhabitants to the greateſt diſtreſs.

1087 London, and ſome other cities, nearly deſtroyed by fires.

CHAP. II.

WILLIAM II. ſurnamed RUFUS.

William Rufus is crowned king of England. A conſpiracy formed againſt him by the Norman barons. He treats his ſubjects with great tyranny. Invaſion of Normandy. The Cruſades. Acquiſition of Normandy. Death and character of William.

A. D. 1087. WILLIAM (ſurnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair) was appointed by the deceaſed king to ſucceed him on the Engliſh throne, though the right of primogeniture belonged to his brother Robert. William, fearful that this circumſtance might occaſion great diſturbances relative to the ſucceſſion, and knowing that his right to the crown was founded only on the letter which his father had ſent to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, haſtened with all expe-

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

WILLIAM II.

Surnamed Rufus



Waledelin.

Grignion sculp.

Born
in Normandy 1057.

Crowned
October 5. 1087.

Killed by Tyrrell
August 2. 1100.

Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England



Wale delin. Grignion sculp.

The Remains of WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROR
refused INTERMENT *by* Anselm Fitz Arthur.

expedition to England, before any intelligence of the death of the Conqueror could reach the kingdom. On his arrival he immediately applied to Lanfranc, who having been entrusted with the care of his education, looked upon him with the affection of a parent. But notwithstanding this, he refused to exert himself in his favour, unless he would promise, "To govern with equity and moderation, maintain the liberties of the people, and behave like a dutiful and obedient member of the church." Rufus made this promise in the most solemn manner, in consequence of which, as soon as the death of his father was publicly known in England, Lanfranc caused Rufus immediately to be proclaimed king; after which, having assembled the bishops, with a great number of the principal nobility, he proceeded to the ceremony of coronation, which was performed at Westminster on the 5th of October, A. D. 1087. Thus Rufus obtained that crown, which by right belonged to his elder brother Robert, who, in the mean time, contented himself with taking quiet possession of Normandy.

A short time after the coronation of Rufus, Odo, bishop of Bayeaux, the chief minister and favourite of Robert, arrived in England, under pretence of soliciting the restitution of an estate he had formerly possessed as earl of Kent, and which had been confiscated by William the Conqueror. The king received him with the most distinguished marks of respect, and immediately reinstated him in his former possessions. But the recovery of an estate was not the principal design of Odo's visit. His intentions were, to wrest the sceptre from the hands of Rufus, and give it to Robert, as the undoubted heir to the Conqueror. He accordingly applied to several of the principal barons, whom he found ready to support the pretensions of his patron, provided they could be assured of a sufficient force from Normandy to second their intended designs.

Having thus far succeeded, Odo sent a letter to Robert, assuring him that nothing but his presence, at the head of a body of Norman troops, was wanting to recover that throne from which he had been unjustly excluded by the caprice of his father. Though Robert was naturally exceeding indolent, yet he was not insensible to the calls of ambition. He received the news with great satisfaction, and returned for answer, that as soon as his friends were in a condition to declare in his favour, they might be assured of his arrival at the head of a powerful army.

Odo communicated this intelligence to the partisans of Robert, who were so elated that they immediately retired to their respective castles, and broke out into open rebellion. Several parts of the kingdom were at once thrown into the utmost confusion, and many of the counties again laid waste by the sword of desolation. William was alarmed at these proceedings; but instead of pursuing any violent measures, he followed the advice of Lanfranc, and endeavoured to suppress the rebellion by means the most gentle and conciliative. He chose rather to convince the insurgents of the folly of supporting a cause pregnant with destruction, than force them to submission by strength of arms. The success of these prudent measures was soon apparent: the chiefs of the conspirators abandoned the cause of Robert, and became the firm friends and adherents of Rufus. Odo, finding his scheme thus rendered abortive, fled to Normandy, and his possessions being seized by Rufus, he distributed them among those who had particularly engaged themselves in his interest.

A. D. 1088. While William was surrounded with enemies, and felt the crown, as it were, totter on his brow, he shewed every mark of favour and respect for his subjects. But no sooner did he find himself firmly fixed in the seat of power, than, forgetting the promises he had made to Lanfranc, he treated his subjects with the cruelties of a conqueror. Instead of mitigating, he greatly increased the severity of the forest laws, which had been enacted by his father. It was in vain for the English to complain: he was deaf to their petitions, and beheld their miseries without giving them the least redress. Lanfranc remonstrated with him, in the most forcible manner, on these despotic proceedings. He reminded him of the solemn promises he had made when a candidate for the crown, and urged the noble and generous conduct of the English in his favour. William's haughty soul was stung to the quick at this freedom taken by the primate; but not judging it politic to quarrel with a person of his great influence in the kingdom, he affected to turn it off in a jesting manner, saying, "Pish! man, dost think kings can keep all their promises." It was not long, however, before this check to William's tyranny was removed by the loss of Lanfranc, whose death was justly regretted both by Normans and English. He made no distinction between the two nations, every good man being sure of his favour and protection. He gained the love of all parties; and was justly considered as a faithful and vigilant pastor, and an able and upright statesman.

William, being now no longer under restraint by the administration of Lanfranc, determined to give a full career to his natural tyranny and avarice. The English were at once insulted and oppressed; and even the privileges of the church, so sacred in those early times, proved a feeble rampart against his usurpations. Ecclesiastical benefices were put up to sale, and the highest bidder was sure to be the purchaser. Nor were these illegal methods sufficient to satisfy his avarice: he delayed appointing successors to vacant benefices, that he might have the opportunity of seizing their revenues. These tyrannical proceedings spread an universal alarm throughout the kingdom; but the terror of his authority stifled the voice of complaint, so that the people seemed to be fixed in a state of the most absolute subjection.

A. D. 1090. Robert, duke of Normandy had, by his natural supineness and pusillanimity, lost the English crown; and was now in danger of being deprived of his Norman dominions. The restless and independent spirit of his vassals was greatly increased by his injudicious and negligent administration. The sword of civil discord was drawn, and Normandy felt all the horrors of an intestine war. Robert had mortgaged near one third part of his dominions to his brother Henry for three thousand pounds. In consequence of this Henry, fearful (from the great disturbances among the barons) that he might lose what he had obtained from his brother, applied to the English monarch for assistance, and advised him to attack the Norman dominions of his brother. Rufus, whose avarice was never satisfied, readily took this advice, and immediately went over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army. Robert was in no condition to oppose him. William, therefore, soon possessed himself of the principal towns in Normandy,

mandy, and even the capital itſelf was on the point of falling into the hands of the invader, owing to the treachery of Conan the governor. Robert applied to the king of France for aſſiſtance, but in vain, that monarch being ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of William. Henry now ſaw his error, and trembled for his own property. He therefore deſerted the party of Rufus, and joined Robert with an excellent body of forces. The two brothers arrived juſt time enough to ſave the capital; and Robert, exaſperated at the conduct of the governor, ordered him to be thrown headlong from the battlements of the caſtle, as a puniſhment for his perfidy.

William being thus diſappointed in poſſeſſing himſelf of the capital of Normandy, made preparations for proſecuting the war with redoubled vigour. But at the interceſſion of ſome powerful nobles, both of England and Normandy, a treaty of peace was concluded between him and Robert, in which it was ſtipulated, that on the death of either, without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to both dominions. In this treaty not the leaſt notice had been taken of the intereſts of Henry, which ſo much exaſperated that prince, that he retired, with his troops, to St. Michael's Mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, from whence he made conſiderable depredations on the adjoining parts of the country. Robert and William, with their joint forces, beſieged him in this place, and reduced him and his army to great diſtreſs for want of water. Robert, on hearing this, not only granted his brother Henry permiſſion to ſupply his garriſon with that neceſſary article, but alſo ſent him a large quantity of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for what he thought an ill-timed piece of generoſity, he replied, "What! ſhall I ſuffer my brother to periſh with thirſt? Where ſhall we find another when he is gone?

While William lay encamped before St. Michael's, an incident happened of a very ſingular nature, and which evinced that though he was of a moſt avaricious diſpoſition, yet he had ſome ſenſe of generoſity. One day, riding out to take a ſurvey of the fortreſs, he was attacked by two ſoldiers, and diſmounted. In conſequence of this one of them drew his ſword in order to diſpatch him, upon which William exclaimed, "Hold fellow, I am the king of England." The aſſailant immediately threw down his ſword, raiſed him from the ground with the greateſt marks of reſpect, and received a noble reward.

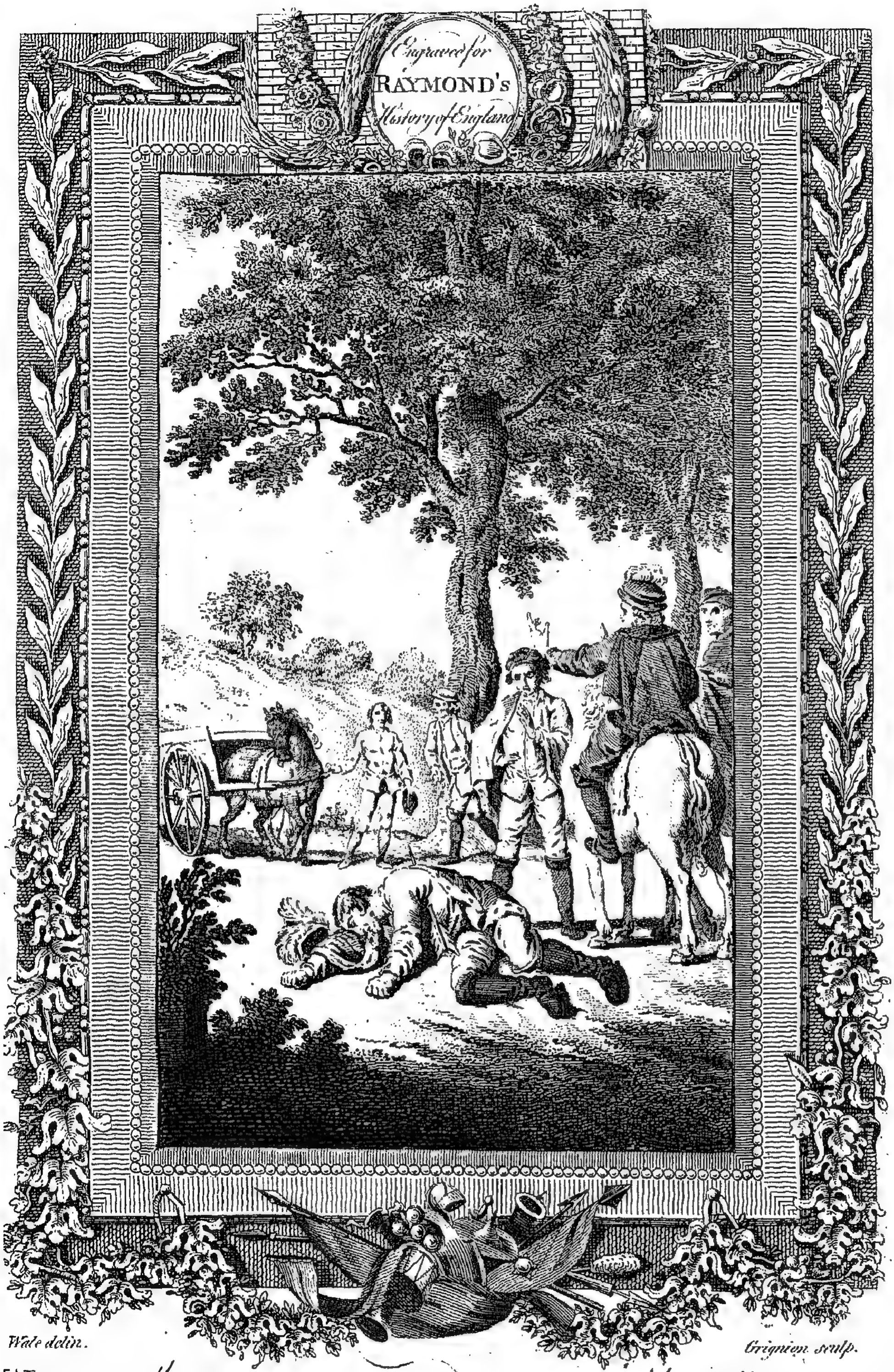
Henry maintained a brave defence for about ſeven weeks: but was at length compelled to decline the conteſt; and being deprived of all his poſſeſſions, wandered from place to place, accompanied only by a few of his faithful attendants, who ſhared with him the diſtreſſes of extreme poverty to which he was frequently reduced.

A. D. 1094. William after concluding a treaty of peace with his brother Robert, left Normandy, and returned to England. On his arrival he found the kingdom in the utmoſt confuſion, owing to the inroads of the Welſh, who, exaſperated at the tyranny of the Norman barons, entered the Engliſh territories, and committed the moſt cruel depredations on the inhabitants. Exaſperated at their cruelties, William marched againſt them at the head of a numerous army, and having repulſed and killed great numbers of the main body the reſt made a precipitate flight, and retired to the mountains, upon which William returned with his forces to the capital.

Some time after this a moſt dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt the life of William by ſome of the principal barons in the kingdom, at the head of whom was Robert Mowbray, then the moſt powerful ſubject in England. As ſoon as William was informed of this conſpiracy, he took the moſt prudent meaſures poſſible to render it abortive. He ſummoned Mowbray to appear before him at Wincheſter, to anſwer for his conduct in plundering four merchant ſhips, which had put into an Engliſh port under his juriſdiction. Mowbray, conſcious of his guilt, refuſed to obey the royal mandate; in conſequence of which William marched with an army againſt him, and Mowbray, not being in a condition to engage in battle, ſhut himſelf up in Bamborough Caſtle, which the king immediately inveſted. Mowbray, knowing that the fortreſs, though impregnable, muſt, for want of proviſions, be forced to ſurrender, found means to make his eſcape, and, repairing to Tinemouth endeavoured to corrupt the governor of that place; but before he could effect his purpoſe, he was taken priſoner by a detachment of William's army. After the departure of Mowbray the garriſon in Bamborough caſtle ſurrendered, and the governor impeached all the conſpirators. Mowbray was ſentenced to be confined for life, ſeveral others were put to death, and the eſtates of the greater part confiſcated. Count D'Eu was impeached of being engaged in this conſpiracy. He, however, denied the charge, and offered to vindicate himſelf by ſingle combat with his accuſer; but being defeated, he was ſentenced to be deprived of his ſight, and ſuffer caſtration. His couſin, William D'Alderi, was ſentenced to be publicly whipped, and afterwards hanged on a gallows thirty feet high. Thus was this dangerous conſpiracy ſuppreſſed, and peace and tranquillity once more reſtored to the nation.

A. D. 1095. In the beginning of this year a great difference took place between the king and Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the cauſe of which aroſe from a ſchiſm that happened in the church of Rome. Two prelates claimed the pontifical dignity. Odo, biſhop of Oſtia, under the name of Urban II. was acknowledged pope in Italy and France, while his competitor, Gilbert, archbiſhop of Ravenna, under the title of Clement III. was conſidered as the ſucceſſor of Peter, by ſeveral of the European powers, among whom was the king of England. Anſelm oppoſed his ſovereign, diſdaining to ſubmit to any temporal authority. He even determined to mortify William, and accordingly demanded leave to repair to Rome, and receive his archiepiſcopal pall from the hands of pope Urban II. adding, that he conſidered him as the true head of the church. Provoked at this inſolence, William was, with the utmoſt difficulty, reſtrained from laying violent hands on the primate, who, perceiving that he ſhould not be ſupported by the prelates and clergy, quitted the kingdom. In conſequence of this William immediately ſeized the temporalities of the archiepiſcopal ſee; nor could he be perſuaded to reſtore them during the remainder of his life.

A. D. 1096. This year produced one of the moſt extraordinary occurrences recorded in the annals of hiſtory, namely, the Cruſades, which was patronized by pope Urban, and in which many princes of Chriſtendom engaged. Peter the Hermit



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

WILLIAM *the* SECOND *surnamed* RUFUS, *accidentally* KILLED

by Sr Walter Tyrrell, in the New Forest, Hampshire.

mit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, having made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, was ſo affected at the ſufferings inflicted by the infidels on the Chriſtians of Paleſtine, that he formed the bold reſolution of attempting to relieve them from the oppreſſion of the Saracens, and make a conqueſt of that country in which Chriſtianity was firſt promulgated. His plan being approved by the pope, he began to preach the propriety of entering on the intended buſineſs, and urged all Chriſtian princes to contribute their aſſiſtance towards the recovery of the Holy Land. He travelled bare footed and bare headed from court to court, and preached, as he went from place to place, with a zeal that proved how much he was in earneſt. The princes, nobility and clergy, encouraged his deſign wherever he went; and a council being held at Clermont, the pope himſelf recommended the expedition, and the people univerſally called out, "It is the will of God."

A. D. 1097. The ſpirit of emigration now ſpread itſelf throughout Europe, and great numbers of the firſt rank ſold their poſſeſſions at much leſs than their value, in full confidence of obtaining a better ſettlement in Aſia: nor is it to be wondered at when we conſider the diſpoſition of the times, and that the pope gave ſuch countenance to the deſign as to promiſe great indulgencies to thoſe who ſhould engage in the enterprize.

Among the various princes who were deſirous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves on this memorable occaſion, was Robert duke of Normandy. But his finances not being adequate to the expence of ſuch an undertaking, he offered to mortgage his dukedom to his brother William for ten thouſand marks. Ruſus did not heſitate to conclude the bargain; and having raiſed the money by levies on his ſubjects, went over to Normandy, and paid it to his brother, who, after putting him in poſſeſſion of his dominions, ſet out, at the head of his vaſſals, to gather laurels on the plains of Paleſtine.

Thus was England and Normandy once more united, and the many contentions that had ſubſiſted between the barons of the two provinces, entirely laid aſide. Both were ſubjects to William, and both felt the weight of his power.

A. D. 1099. William had not long left Normandy before he had occaſion to re-viſit that part of his dominions, owing to the depredations of a powerful nobleman named Helie, who poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral towns in Normandy, and at length laid ſiege to the city of Mans. William was hunting in the New Foreſt when he received advice of this tranſaction, upon which, turning to his attendants, he aſked them in what direction the city of Mans lay. Being anſwered, he immediately turned his horſe's head towards the place, and rode full ſpeed to the ſea-ſide, calling to his attendants, "Let him that loves me follow me." Dartmouth was the firſt ſea-port town they came to, where finding a veſſel ready to ſail, they immediately went on board; but the maſter heſitating to put to ſea on account of the tempeſtuous weather, William aſked him if he ever heard of a king being drowned." Silenced by this reproof, the maſter ſailed immediately out of the harbour, and the next morning reached Barfleur in ſafety.

No ſooner did Helie hear of William's arrival in Normandy, and that he was marching towards him at the head of a powerful army, than he inſtantly raiſed the ſiege of Mans, and retreated with his forces. William followed the flying enemy, attacked their rear, and took Helie priſoner. The captive nobleman was treated with great indignity, at which he was ſo incenſed, that he told Ruſus, "he had little cauſe for triumph, as his ſucceſs was owing rather to ſurprize than valour." Adding, "that if he were again at liberty, he would not find it eaſy to defeat him in a fair engagement." The king, piqued at theſe bold words, immediately ordered Helie to be ſet at liberty. "Be gone, ſaid he fiercely, do "thy worſt; and, by the face of St. Luke, "if thou haſt the good fortune to conquer "me, I will not aſk the ſmalleſt return for "the freedom I now confer upon thee." But no action happened between them. Helie retired to his own territories, and William returned to England.

During theſe tranſactions Robert was diſplaying the greateſt courage againſt the infidels in Paleſtine. After the greateſt fatigues, and the loſs of multitudes of people, the famous city of Jeruſalem was taken, and the diadem of that celebrated capital offered to Robert. But the great reputation he had gained in the fields of Aſia, induced him to hope that it would now be eaſy for him to recover his duchy, and even get poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne. He therefore declined the offer, and the crown of Jeruſalem was placed on the head of Godfrey of Boulogne, a prince equally diſtinguiſhed for his virtues and military proweſs.

A. D. 1100. But though Jeruſalem was recovered from the infidels, numbers of warriors continued to flock from moſt parts to the plains of Aſia. William, earl of Poctiers, and duke of Guienna, reſolved to engage in this buſineſs, and for that purpoſe raiſed a very powerful army; but his finances being inſufficient to diſcharge the expence of the expedition, he applied to Ruſus, offering to mortgage his duchy for the ſum wanted. The king, with his uſual avidity, concluded the bargain, raiſed a large army, and fitted out a powerful fleet, with a view of taking perſonal poſſeſſion of the earl's territories.

But while theſe preparations were making, an accident intervened which at once put an end to the life and ambition of Ruſus. William frequently amuſed himſelf with hunting in the New Foreſt, in which excurſion he was always attended by Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, who was celebrated for his great ſkill in archery. In the courſe of the day the king and Tyrrel were ſeparated from the reſt of the company, upon which William alighted from his horſe to wait till they joined him. Juſt at this juncture a ſtag ruſhed from an adjacent thicket, and paſſed the king. William immediately let fly an arrow, which wounding the animal he followed it in expectation that it would ſoon fall. While William was engaged in watching the wounded ſtag, another iſſued from the ſame thicket, and croſſing the path between Tyrrel and the king, the knight ſhot an arrow, which, either by glancing againſt a tree, or the horns of the animal, changed its direction, ſtruck the monarch in the breaſt, and piercing his heart, he fell on the ground, and immediately expired. Tyrrel, who had been the innocent cauſe of this fatal cataſtrophe, fled immediately to the ſea ſide, and eſcaped to France. The royal corpſe was treated with the ſame indignity as that of his father. His attendants, who feared his power, and had followed his fortunes, paid no reſpect to his remains. The body was ſuffered to lie in the poſ-

ture it fell for ſome time, till at length a peaſant coming up with his cart, they threw it in, and in that ignominious manner conveyed it to Winchester, where it was interred without the leaſt ceremony.

Thus, by an accidental ſtroke * fell William Rufus, on the 2d of Auguſt, A. D. 1100, in the 44th year of his age, and 13th of his reign.

William was in perſon of a middle ſtature, but appeared ſhorter than he really was, owing to his great corpulency. His complexion was florid, his hair of a yellowiſh red, and one of his eyes ſpotted, which rendered it unlike the other. He had a ſtrong powerful voice, which he frequently exerted, in order to intimidate thoſe to whom he was ſpeaking; but the ſound of his voice was exceeding diſagreeable owing to a natural impediment he had in his ſpeech.

With reſpect to the character of William, it muſt be acknowledged, that he had ſome virtues, and many vices. He was intrepid and magnanimous, a lover and encourager of arts and learning, and a friend to real merit. But he was ungrateful, avaricious, tyrannical, perfidious, cruel and diſſolute. In ſhort, his few virtues were obſcured by his vices, which were ſo diſtinguiſhed as to fix a laſting ſtain on his memory.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Rufus.

A. D.

1088 A dreadful earthquake, which ſhook the whole kingdom. This was followed by a great ſcarcity of fruit, and ſo late a harveſt, that corn was not properly ripe at the end of November.

1091 A violent ſtorm happened, which did conſiderable damage in various parts of the kingdom, particularly at Winchelſcomb in Glouceſterſhire, where the ſteeple of the church was thrown down.

A few days after this there was another ſtorm, which threwn down upwards of 500 houſes in London only, and blew off the roof of Bow-church; and at Saliſbury it not only deſtroyed many houſes, but likewiſe threw down the ſteeple belonging to the cathedral.

1094 This year was remarkable for ſo great a mortality among men and beaſt, that the ground remained untilled, and what added to the calamity was, its being ſucceeded by a very ſevere dearth.

1096 This year was remarkable for the commencement of the Cruſades, or Holy War.

1098 A great ſcarcity in England.

London-bridge carried away by the floods, and a new one erected by Rufus, who alſo enlarged the Tower, and built Weſtminſter-hall.

1100 An inundation of the ſea overflowed the lands of Godwin earl of Kent, which, to this day, are called Godwin Sands.

CHAP. III.

HENRY I. ſurnamed BEAUCLERC.

Acceſſion of Henry I. His marriage with Matilda, daughter to the king of Scotland. Robert invades England, but by means of Anſelm the primate an accommodation is effected between him and his brother Henry. Diſpute between the king and Anſelm. Henry makes himſelf maſter of Normandy. Engages in foreign wars. Death of prince William. Second marriage of the king. His death and character.

A. D. 1100. AS the late king left no iſſue, the throne of England fell, by right, to his elder brother duke Robert; but that prince being then abroad, Henry, the younger brother, determined to ſeize the crown in his abſence. He, therefore, immediately on hearing of William's death, repaired with all expedition to Winchester, and made himſelf maſter of his brother's treaſures. This acquiſition inſured him ſucceſs. He eaſily gained over the nobility and prelates to his intereſt, and on the 5th of Auguſt, three days after his brother's death, was crowned with great ceremony by Maurice, biſhop of London.

In order to inſure the affections of his ſubjects, Henry, on the very day of his coronation, publiſhed a charter, confirming the privileges of his ſubjects, and redreſſing the grievances under which they laboured. By this charter (copies of which were diſperſed throughout the kingdom) the churches were reſtored to all their immunities, and exempted from thoſe impoſitions under which they had laboured during the late reign. He engaged to admit the heirs of barons to the enjoyment of their eſtates, without exacting thoſe enormous fees which had been required by the two preceding princes. He promiſed to remit the wardſhip of minors, by which the crown had received the profits of their poſſeſſions during their minority. He engaged not to oppoſe any marriages which the barons might contract for their daughters or other relations, unleſs the perſons propoſed were known to be his enemies. He promiſed to exerciſe with juſtice and moderation the right of levying impoſts, to pardon all paſt offences, to remit all debts due to the crown, and to maintain in full force the laws of Edward the Confeſſor.

This charter was ſoon followed by another, in which he granted many ample privileges to the citizens of London. In particular he aboliſhed the curfeu, which had been eſtabliſhed by William the Conqueror, and was always conſidered by the Engliſh as a badge of their ſlavery.

Theſe were not the only meaſures Henry took to gain the affections of his ſubjects. To ſhew the ſincerity of his intentions for their welfare, he committed Ralph Flambard, biſhop of Durham, the oppreſſive and deteſted miniſter of Rufus, to the Tower; but the artful prelate found means to make his eſcape, and fled to France, where he endeavoured to embroil that government he could no longer direct.

Henry was no ſtranger to the great reſpect which the Engliſh bore for Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been baniſhed in the former reign, on a quarrel with the king, and went to Lyons. He therefore recalled that prelate, reſtored him to his former dignity, and took him into his particular favour.

As a farther ſtep towards ſecuring himſelf on the

* Richard, the elder brother of William, loſt his life by an accident in the New Foreſt, as did alſo Richard his nephew, natural ſon of duke Robert; ſo that, on the king's fate, it was obſerved by many, that, as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence in expelling all the inhabitants of that large diſtrict, to make room for his game, the juſt vengeance of heaven was ſignalized in the ſame place by the ſlaughter of his poſterity.

Engraved for RAYMOND'S *History of England.*

HENRY I



Waledelin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Selby in Yorkshire 1068. | *Crowned August 5. 1100.* | *Died in Normandy December 1. 1135.*

the Engliſh throne, Henry now determined to enter into marriage with Matilda, daughter to Malcolm king of Scotland, by Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar Atheling. That princeſs had been brought up in the monaſtery at Wilton ever ſince the death of her father. She was not only a lady of moſt deſirable accompliſhments, mental and perſonal, but alſo an unexceptionable match in point of intereſt, her uncle Edgar having no children, and the old Engliſh party eſteeming her as the only ſurvivor of the Saxon race, from whom they might expect a continuance of that antient line. Nothing, therefore, could tend more to promote the deſigns of Henry, than his forming an union with this princeſs. But there was an impediment to be removed before he could accompliſh his wiſhes. She had worn the veil, but never taken the vows; and it was a matter of doubt whether or not it was lawful for her to marry. The king applied to Anſelm, who refuſed to decide the queſtion by his own authority. He therefore ſummoned a general council at Lambeth, where he ſo enforced his arguments for Matilda's being at liberty to marry, as to obviate every negative plea, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great magnificence, to the general ſatisfaction of the people of both kingdoms.

A. D. 1101. During theſe tranſactions duke Robert arrived in Normandy from his expedition into the Holy Land, and knowing he had been deprived of his right in not ſucceeding to the throne of England, determined to aſſert his claim. He accordingly raiſed a very powerful army, with which he landed at Portſmouth, where he was joined by ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons in the kingdom, who thought, as he was the elder brother, he ought to have had the preference in the ſucceſſion.

The crown of Henry now tottered on his brow: he knew his brother was advancing towards the capital, and feared the conſequences. He therefore applied to Anſelm, who effectually interpoſed his good offices in favour of Henry. He publickly repreſented to the people the fatal conſequences that muſt inevitably enſue from a civil war, and prevailed on them to think favourably of the mild and equitable government of their then ſovereign. He likewiſe declared that, if Robert perſiſted in his deſign of driving Henry from the throne, he would excommunicate him and all his adherents. This had the deſired effect. Eccleſiaſtical cenſures were at that time more dreaded by the common people than the moſt powerful armed force. Robert, therefore, found that inſtead of his troops increaſing, they daily decreaſed in numbers; and even thoſe that continued firm to his intereſt, advanced with timidity.

Henry, placing himſelf at the head of his forces, marched againſt his brother; and the two armies encamped within ſight of each other on a plain not far from Wincheſter. They remained in this ſituation for ſome time without coming to action, Henry being fearful his troops would deſert him on the day of battle, and Robert declining to engage in expectation of receiving freſh reinforcements.

During this interval of inaction, Anſelm exerted all his intereſt to ſheathe the ſword of war, by concluding a peace between the two brothers. After ſome difficulties he obtained his wiſhes, and a treaty of accommodation was effected on the following terms: 1. That the king ſhould reſign to Robert full poſſeſſion of Normandy. 2. That the friends of each party ſhould have full reſtoration of all their lands and eſtates, both in England and Normandy. 3. That Henry ſhould pay to Robert the yearly ſum of 3000 marks of ſilver; and that if either of the two died without lawful iſſue, his demeſnes ſhould be inherited by the ſurvivor as well in England as Normandy.

This treaty being ſigned by proper perſons on each ſide, as guarantees for its faithful execution, both armies were diſbanded, and Henry took his brother Robert with him to court, where they lived together in the greateſt apparent harmony for the ſpace of two months, at the expiration of which Robert took his leave, and embarked for Normandy.

Robert had no ſooner left England, than Henry violated the treaty which had been made between them. He commenced proſecutions againſt thoſe barons who had declared in favour of Robert; and they, thinking it would be imprudent to appear, were baniſhed the kingdom, and their eſtates confiſcated. As ſoon as Robert heard of theſe tranſactions he conſidered it his duty to intercede, and attempt the recovery of the poſſeſſions of thoſe noblemen who had ſuffered in violation of the treaty between him and his brother. He accordingly came over to England, for that purpoſe; but Henry, not being in any fear from the attempts of an enemy, paid no regard to his remonſtrances. Inſtead thereof he treated him with the utmoſt contempt, and even hinted that his own liberty was in danger. Robert clearly ſaw his ſituation and was glad to make his eſcape to his own dominions.

A. D. 1103. A moſt violent diſpute now took place between the king and Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, which had like to have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. The prelate determined, if poſſible, to curtail the royal prerogative in matters eccleſiaſtical, and to render the authority of the mitre little inferior to that of the crown. He had two grand points in view, one of which was, to oblige the clergy to celibacy, and the other to wreſt from the crown the right of giving inveſtiture to biſhops and abbots. A ſynod was accordingly convened, in which a ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt married prieſts. Having thus far ſucceeded, Anſelm determined to proceed, and accordingly propoſed, that all the biſhops who had received inveſtiture from the king ſhould reſign their ſees, or be immediately excommunicated. Henry, exaſperated at theſe inſolent proceedings, ſummoned Anſelm to appear before him in the king's court. The prelate accordingly obeyed, and was commanded inſtantly to do homage to the king and to conſecrate ſuch perſons as had been nominated to vacant ſees, or to depart the kingdom. Henry likewiſe declared, that no perſon ſhould reſide in any part of his dominions, who refuſed to pay the allegiance due to a ſovereign." But Anſelm deſpiſed the threats of royalty, and, with the reſolution of a man conſcious of his power, told the court, "that he was not to be intimidated from doing his duty: that he ſhould immediately retire to Canterbury, where he would continue to exerciſe his archiepiſcopal functions, and wait the iſſue with the utmoſt reſignation. As Henry was determined not to part with ſo valuable a branch of his prerogative, and the prelate not to recede from the cauſe he had undertaken, there remained no hopes of an accommodation. At length

was agreed by both parties to ſend a deputation to Rome, in order to lay the whole diſpute before his holineſs; and that, in the mean time, the biſhops and abbots ſhould continue to exerciſe the functions of their repective offices.

A. D. 1105. But this eccleſiaſtical diſpute did not divert Henry from attending to ſuch other matters as concerned his intereſt. An opportunity now ſeemed to offer for faciliating the deſign he had long entertained of poſſeſſing himſelf of Normandy, and annexing that duchy to his own dominions. His brother Robert, though a brave and generous prince, neglected the affairs of government, and wholly employed his time in diſſolute pleaſures, whereby his ſubjects became a prey to the avidity of his officers, and rapine and injuſtice ranged at large over the dominions of Normandy. The mildneſs of his diſpoſition gave a boldneſs to depredation, and his indolence a tacit ſanction to outrage. Thus neglected by their own prince, and ſubject to the continual inſults of rapine and violence, the Normans applied to Henry for redreſs. That prince liſtened with pleaſure to their complaints; but not having even a ſhadow of a pretence to juſtify a rupture with his brother, he did not think proper to comply immediately with their requeſt. He, however, wrote a letter to Robert, repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the enormity of his conduct in not redreſſing the grievances of his ſubjects, and ſecuring their properties from tyrannical invaders. He entreated him, in the moſt preſſing manner, to reſume the conduct of a prince, and to act in ſuch a manner as might procure him the glorious title of being father of his people. He farther told him, that he thought it his duty as a brother, and the reſpect he had for the inhabitants of Normandy, to uſe every means in his power to redreſs their grievances; and that, if he ſhould turn a deaf ear to theſe remonſtrances, he muſt not think it ſtrange if he exerted himſelf in favour of his diſtreſſed countrymen.

This artful letter, though varniſhed over with ſeeming love and kindneſs, was, in fact, intended only to farther his deſign, by inflaming the minds of the Normans to a greater pitch of diſcontent againſt Robert. Henry took particular care to have the letter made as public as poſſible, and the iſſue fully anſwered his expectations; for, in a very ſhort time after, he received a general application from the Norman nobility, beſeeching him to have compaſſion on the miſeries of their church and ſtate, and take them under his immediate care. This was what Henry aimed at. He accordingly no ſooner received the invitation, than he haſtened to comply with it; and, towards the cloſe of autumn, paſſed over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army.

Henry landed at Barfleur, and as ſoon as his arrival was known the Norman nobility immediately repaired to his camp; but the ſeaſon being too far advanced, he did not think it prudent to commence hoſtilities againſt Robert. Many of the Norman and Engliſh barons now feared the conſequences that might attend an open rupture between the two brothers, and laboured aſſiduouſly to bring about a reconciliation. Their endeavours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs that Robert paid a viſit to Henry, and, by the interpoſition of ſome of the moſt moderate noblemen on each ſide, their diſputes ſeemed to be amicably terminated. But this was far from being the caſe. Henry's deſign was to make a conqueſt of the country, and therefore, after taking leave of his brother, he ſeized the ſtrong towns of Bayeaux and Caen belonging to Robert, and having garriſoned them with Engliſh troops, returned to his dominions.

This was an act contrary to the laws both of nature and nations. Robert ſent a letter to his brother remonſtrating with him on his conduct; but Henry, inſtead of paying any attention to his complaints, treated them with contempt, and in the beginning of the following year went over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Tanchibray; and it became ſufficiently evident both from his preparations and progreſs that he intended to uſurp the entire poſſeſſion of Normandy. Robert was now rouſed from his accuſtomed indolence, and being joined by the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury (two inveterate enemies to Henry) he ſoon raiſed a conſiderable army, with which he marched towards his brother's camp, intending to finiſh, by one deciſive battle, the diſpute between them. He was now entered upon that ſcene of action, in which alone he was qualified to excel; and, accordingly, he ſo animated the Norman troops by his example, that they made great havock among the Engliſh, and had nearly obtained the victory, when Belleſme ſuddenly drawing off his forces, the reſt of the army was thrown into the utmoſt diſorder, and, in a ſhort time, totally defeated. Among the noble priſoners taken by Henry were the duke himſelf, and Edgar Atheling, the latter of whom had followed Robert in his expedition to Jeruſalem, and returning with him had taken up his reſidence in the court of Normandy.

This victory was followed by the entire reduction of the country. Rouen immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror. Falais, after ſome negotiation, opened its gates; and, by this acquiſition, beſides making himſelf maſter of an important fortreſs, Henry got into his hands the perſon of prince William, the only ſon and heir of Robert. In conſequence of this ſucceſs Henry called together an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy, and having received homage from all the heads of the duchy, and ſettled the government, he returned to England, bringing with him as priſoners his brother Robert and Edgar Atheling. The unfortunate Robert was detained in priſon during the remainder of his life, which was twenty-eight years when he died in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire. Henry gave Edgar Atheling his liberty, and ſettled on him a ſmall penſion, with which he retired, and continued in privacy during the remainder of his life. Prince William was left in Normandy under the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's daughter, and who, being a man of diſtinguiſhed probity and honour, diſcharged his truſt with the greateſt fidelity.

A. D. 1107. The famous controverſy between Henry and Anſelm the primate, was now drawing to a concluſion. The deputies returned from Rome, and brought with them an excommunicative letter from Paſchal the pope to the king, for his having aſſumed the right of inveſtitures. Henry concealed the contents of this letter, and prevailed on the biſhops who brought it to declare, that the pope did not diſapprove of his granting benefices, though he did not chuſe to declare his opinion in writing. Anſelm, who was well acquainted with every thing that had paſſed at Rome, ſupported the cauſe he had

had undertaken with firmneſs and reſolution. He not only refuſed to conſecrate ſome new biſhops, who had received inveſtiture from the king, but alſo to communicate with them. Henry was irritated to the higheſt degree; and the prelate, to avoid the ſtorm which he ſaw gathering, retired to Rome. The people were alarmed at the departure of the archbiſhop, and dreaded the conſequences of an excommunication. They beheld, in idea, the flames of diſſention and diſcord lighted up by the dreadful torch of religious fury. Henry himſelf was deſirous of avoiding the conſequences, and diſpatched an ambaſſador to Rome, who told the pope, that his maſter would ſooner loſe his crown than part with the right of granting inveſtitures. "And I, replied Paſchal, would rather loſe my head than allow him to retain it." Thus every thing indicated a rupture between Henry and the pope: but the former not chuſing to hazard the conſequences of the pontiff's great authority, wiſely gave up the claim of inveſtitures, on which Paſchal conſented to his exacting from the biſhops the homage they owed him as temporal peers. Thus was an accommodation at length happily effected; and Anſelm, returning to England, was reinſtated in his archiepiſcopal dignity.

A. D. 1108. In the beginning of this year, Henry convened a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in which, at the requeſt of his nobles, he removed ſeveral cuſtoms that had been long oppreſſive to his ſubjects, among which were the following: His court and attendants had, for ſome time, claimed the privilege of living upon free quarter, in all places through which their maſter paſſed. This occaſioned the land to be abandoned by the inhabitants, when they ſuſpected a royal progreſs; for the inſolent attendants ſpoiled and plundered all that came in their way, while the people retired, with all the proviſion they could carry off, into woods and receſſes. But an effectual ſtop was now put to this abuſe by the king's proclamation, which inflicted ſevere corporal puniſhments on all who, in future, ſhould be guilty of the like depredations.

Another grievance, which particularly called aloud for redreſs, was, defacing the current coin of the kingdom. Small money, ſuch as pence and half-pence, were often broken by the country people, for the convenience of change; by which means, when they were not divided into equal pieces, the ſmaller ones remained in the hands of the proprietor, to his great prejudice. This abuſe, which had come to a great height, was remedied by the coining of pence in one round piece, with two creaſes interſecting it into four equal parts, ſo that, by breaking it according to thoſe creaſes, it might fall into two half-pence, or four farthings.

A. D. 1109. In this year, the famous Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, univerſally regretted by the clergy. He was a prelate of great learning, conſidering the age in which he lived; but ſo ambitious and haughty, that he greatly hurt the peace of the church, which it was his duty to preſerve. Power, and not piety, was the end he wiſhed to attain. He ſacrificed internal purity to external magnificence, and preferred the ſhadow to the ſubſtance of religion.

About this time ambaſſadors arrived from Henry IV. emperor of Germany, to demand Matilda, Henry's daughter, in marriage; and the terms of the treaty were adjuſted in the preſence of the council. In conſequence of this treaty, Henry impoſed an extraordinary tax of three ſhillings upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom, by which he raiſed a noble portion for his daughter, who did not leave England till the following year.

A. D. 1110—1116. Though Henry had for ſome time, been maſter of his brother's territories, he found it very difficult to defend his uſurpation. He was frequently involved in wars; and for ſeveral years found it neceſſary at times to croſs the ſeas, in order to ſtop the inroads of the neighbouring princes and diſcontented barons. William, the ſon of duke Robert, who was left in the care of his brother-in-law, had taken up his reſidence in the court of Anjou, where he became ſo beloved that a reſolution was formed by the neighbouring princes, of obtaining for him the dominions of his father. Lewis king of France was at the head of this aſſociation, and accordingly joining the other princes, he marched a conſiderable body of forces into Normandy, with a reſolution of ſupporting William in his juſt rights againſt all the power of the uſurper. Henry was now ſufficiently alarmed, and accordingly went over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army. But he was too far advanced for any military operations of conſequence to take place; and the two armies, after a few ſkirmiſhes of no material conſequence, retired into winter quarters.

A. D. 1119. The two ſucceeding campaigns were ſpent to very little purpoſe. Henry was obliged to act on the defenſive, and the allied army made but a ſlow progreſs in reducing the fortified towns in Normandy. At length, Henry, having gained over the earl of Anjou to his intereſt, was able to meet the enemy in the open field. The two armies met in the plain of Brenneville, when a bloody battle enſued, which was continued with great fury for ſome time, when fortune ſeemed inclined to give the palm of victory to the French and Norman army. Henry himſelf began to tremble for the conſequences. In this alarming criſis the Engliſh, who formed the rear of Henry's army, advanced, and charged the enemy with ſuch fury, that, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, they gave way, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. All attempts to rally them proved fruitleſs. Lewis himſelf was hurried away with the torrent, thrown from his horſe, and eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of a peaſant, who conducted him from this dreadful ſcene of confuſion, through woods and bye-paths, to the caſtle of Andeli.

A. D. 1120. Lewis, after this defeat, thinking it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to obtain the duchy for the young prince by force of arms, applied to the council of Rheims, aſſembled by pope Calixtus II. flattering himſelf with being able to turn the indignation of the pontiff againſt the Engliſh monarch. Aware of the danger, Henry took the moſt prudent method to divert the ſtorm. He ſent large preſents to Calixtus, and brought him over to his intereſt; ſo that all the attempts of Lewis were rendered abortive. The pope declared himſelf ſatisfied with the reaſons Henry had given for his conduct, and diſſolved the aſſembly. A peace was ſoon after concluded between the contending monarchs, and Henry continued maſter of the dominions of Normandy.

Peace being thus reſtored on the continent, Henry flattered himſelf that his public proſperity would inſure to him an inexhauſtible ſource of private happi-

happineſs; but in this expectation he was diſappointed by a domeſtic calamity that embittered the remainder of his life. William, his own ſon, who had been recognized as his ſucceſſor in a general council of the nation, and attended him into Normandy, was now on his return with his father to England. The ſhip in which the prince embarked was, by ſome accident, detained ſeveral hours after the reſt of the fleet, and the interval being ſpent in drinking, neither the maſter, nor any of the ſeamen were capable of directing the ſhip, in conſequence of which ſhe ſtruck upon a rock and foundered. All was now a ſcene of hurry and confuſion: the boats were hoiſted out, and every one endeavoured to provide for his own ſafety. The prince, with a conſiderable number of his attendants, leaped into the long boat, and, with great difficulty, got clear of the ſhip. But hearing the loud ſhrieks of his natural ſiſter the counteſs of Perche, he inſiſted on the boat being rowed back, in hopes of ſaving her. The ſailors accordingly obeyed, but they no ſooner reached the ſide of the ſhip, than ſuch numbers jumped into the boat that ſhe overſet, immediately ſunk, and they all periſhed. A butcher of Rouen, by clinging to the maſt, was the only perſon ſaved, and by whoſe means the circumſtances of this tragical accident were made known. The king, on hearing the melancholy news, fainted away; and it is recorded he was never ſeen to laugh from that moment to the day of his death.

A. D. 1121. The late melancholy accident having deprived Henry of an heir to the throne, and his amiable queen Matilda being dead, he determined to engage in a ſecond marriage with Adelais, daughter of Geoffrey, earl of Louvain. He accordingly ſummoned a council at London, where the match being propoſed and approved, deputies were appointed to carry on the negotiation, and the whole was tranſacted with ſuch expedition, that the nuptials were ſolemnized at Windſor in the month of February following.

A. D. 1122. In the beginning of this year Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, which circumſtance occaſioned a very warm conteſt between the monaſtic and ſecular clergy concerning the ſucceſſion to the Metropolitan ſee; but at length the king decided it in favour of the former, by nominating William de Corboil, abbot of the monaſtery of St. Oſyth, to ſupply the vacancy, who, being approved by the council, was ſoon after conſecrated by William biſhop of London.

About this time Fulk earl of Anjou ſent an embaſſy to Henry, demanding his daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the late prince William. She had fortunately come over with the king, and by that means eſcaped the fate of her huſband. Henry complied with the demand, and the young lady was immediately ſent back to her father.

A. D. 1123. This year Henry received advice of a confederacy being formed againſt him in Normandy. It conſiſted of ſome of the firſt perſons among the Norman nobility, who, from Henry's having no children, revived the claim of William, ſon to duke Robert. Theſe noblemen were ſupported by the earl of Anjou, who now gave his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the prince of Normandy, and with her the duchy of Maine; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he would aſſiſt him with all his forces to recover his paternal inheritance. Henry, not being in a condition to go over to Normandy himſelf, diſpatched thither his natural ſon Robert, and Ranulph, earl of Cheſter, with what forces they could collect, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the inſurgents. On their arrival in Normandy they were joined by all the king's troops in that duchy; but the confederates not having committed any act of hoſtility, they employed their time in making the neceſſary preparations for oppoſition, by viſiting all the fortified places, and putting them in the beſt poſture of defence.

During theſe tranſactions Henry received a viſit from cardinal de Crema, who came over as the pope's legate. He was received in the moſt pompous manner, but at the ſame time given to underſtand, that he muſt not attempt to make innovations in the kingdom, or do any thing prejudicial to the royal prerogative. He, however, aſſembled a general council at London, in which he preſided, and enacted, among other rigorous laws, a ſevere canon againſt marriage among the clergy, which he affirmed to be a moſt notorious crime. This excited the general indignation of the people, and to prevent any bad conſequences that might enſue, Henry ſent William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Rome, in order to claim the independency of the metropolitan power. But the prelate, inſtead of ſupporting, betrayed the cauſe of the Engliſh prieſthood, and returned veſted with a legative power, by authority of which he called a ſynod at Weſtminſter, and confirmed the canon againſt marriage among the clergy.

While Robert and the earl of Cheſter were repairing and augmenting the fortifications in Normandy, Henry was providing both money and troops in England, and about the middle of the ſummer, A. D. 1124, he embarked, and landed his forces at Rouen, where he ordered a general rendezvous of his army. But no action of conſequence happened during the whole courſe of the campaign; both parties employing themſelves in ſtrengthening their reſpective intereſts with the people and nobles. In the mean time, the king of France ſupplied the conſpirators with all kinds of neceſſaries, though he had not yet declared himſelf in their favour. Henry, therefore, thinking it more ſafe to have an open than a ſecret enemy, declared war againſt France, and both parties made preparations for taking the field early in the ſpring.

A. D. 1125. In the beginning of the month of March the French king, at the head of his forces, entered Normandy, and being joined by the army of the inſurgents, proceeded with all expedition towards Rouen: they were met on theway by the royal army, which had been increaſed by draughts from all the neighbouring garriſons, in order to oppoſe their progreſs. Henry's army was commanded by William earl of Tankerville, who concealed the greater part of his men in a bottom, where they could not be ſeen by the enemy. Having formed this ſtratagem, he engaged the inſurgents, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, near the village of Teroud, about eight miles diſtant from Rouen. At firſt the French bore down all before them, upon which Tankerville retreated with very little loſs towards the place where his men were planted in ambuſh, who ſuddenly ruſhing out entirely ſurrounded the enemy. The battle now became general, and laſted for ſome time with great obſtinacy on both ſides, but at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, great numbers of the enemy being ſlain, many taken priſoners, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

After this victory Henry marched againſt all the caſtles and forts belonging to the conſpirators, moſt of which ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and

the reſt after a very feeble reſiſtance. Additional works were now raiſed round Rouen, and the fortifications of many other important places repaired and enlarged.

A. D. 1126. Having terminated the diſturbances on the continent, Henry returned to England, and on his arrival found the people in general very diſcontented, on account of the enormous taxes that had been impoſed upon them for ſupplying the exigencies of the campaign in Normandy, while the miſeries ſuffered by the lower ſort had almoſt driven them to deſpair. The perſons entruſted with the government during his abſence had almoſt totally neglected the executive part of juſtice, by which robberies, thefts and murders were become ſo frequent, and perpetrated in ſo open and daring a manner throughout the whole kingdom, that neither the life nor property of any perſon was ſecure. Henry, therefore, made it his firſt care to reform theſe abuſes, and enacted ſeveral ſevere laws againſt all diſturbers of the public peace: at the ſame time he ordered forty-four criminals, who had been convicted of enormous crimes, to be executed, and puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner.

Henry now began to deſpair of having any iſſue by his ſecond queen, ſhe having been married near five years without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of pregnancy. He therefore now directed his attention towards providing an heir to the crown, that his death might not occaſion the kingdom to be diſtracted by inteſtine wars. In order to this he determined, in his own mind, to ſettle the ſucceſſion on his daughter Matilda, who, on the demiſe of the emperor her huſband, had returned to England, and from her perſonal as well as mental qualifications, was univerſally beloved by the people. Having formed this reſolution, Henry ſummoned a convention of all the immediate dependents on the throne, at which were preſent David, king of Scotland, and Stephen, count of Boulogne, the king's nephew. Henry laid his intentions before them, which being approved of by the whole aſſembly, Matilda was declared preſumptive heir to all the poſſeſſions of her father.

A. D. 1127. Henry being deſirous of ſtrengthening his power by foreign alliance, now propoſed a marriage between his daughter and Geoffrey Plantagenet, ſon of the count of Anjou; and the overtures being accepted, the ceremony was no ſooner ſolemnized than the count relinquiſhed his territories in favour of his ſon, and ſet out for Jeruſalem to be inveſted with the ſovereignty of that kingdom, vacant by the death of Baldwin earl of Flanders. In promoting this marriage the king rather provided for his own intereſt, than conſulted the honour or inclination of his daughter, who certainly derogated from the royal dignity, by eſpouſing a ſubject, merely from the impulſe of obedience to the will of her father.

A. D. 1128. Henry having thus attached to his intereſt a very powerful nobleman, reſolved to go over to the continent, and chaſtize the French for having ſo ſtrongly eſpouſed the cauſe of his nephew. Accordingly having raiſed a powerful army he went over to France, and laid ſiege to Aloſt, which made ſuch a reſiſtance that William prince of Normandy had time to come to its relief. In conſequence of this a battle enſued, and Henry would, in all probability, have been conquered, had not William been mortally wounded with a lance, of which he languiſhed five days, and then expired. This accident, together with the great ſuperiority of Henry's army, induced Lewis to conclude a peace with the Engliſh monarch; and as Robert had now no legitimate iſſue, Henry was left the undoubted heir to the duchy of Normandy.

Having made peace with Lewis, the king entered into an alliance with Theodoric, who had married Sibilla, his daughter-in-law, while the Normans, now from compulſion, quietly acquieſced in his government. At the ſame time, to conciliate their affection, he extended his forgiveneſs to all who implored his mercy, and attached many perſons of property and influence to his intereſt, by acts of benevolence and generoſity. He likewiſe releaſed ſome of the principal people who had been concerned in the late conſpiracy, reinſtated them in their poſts, and reſtored to them all their lands and poſſeſſions.

Henry, having thus fully ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Normandy, returned with his army to England, which he found in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity; and he had now the greateſt reaſon to hope that his life, which had hitherto been tempeſtuous and cloudy, would be cloſed in ſerenity.

A. D. 1130. In the ſpring of this year Henry took the opportunity of viſiting Normandy, to which he was invited as well from his natural affection for that country, as his tenderneſs for his daughter Matilda. Some time after his arrival that princeſs was delivered of a ſon, who was named Henry, and afterwards ſucceeded to the throne of England.

The king continued in Normandy for three ſucceſſive years, and then returned to England; but it was only to take a view of the general ſtate of public affairs, which having done, he again went over to the continent with a reſolution of ſpending the remainder of his days in his native country.

A. D. 1134. While Henry was enjoying his eaſe in Normandy, his brother Robert, whom he had, for ſome years, treated with great cruelty, paid the debt of nature in the caſtle of Cardiff. He was a prince of great humanity, affability and generoſity, though, by his indolence and profuſion he loſt that crown to which he had ſuperior claim and which had been ſo unjuſtly uſurped by his brother. His remains were interred in the choir of the cathedral at Glouceſter.

A. D. 1135. The tranquillity of England was now in ſome meaſure diſturbed by the Welſh, who made incurſions in different parts of the kingdom. Intelligence of this being ſent to Henry, then in Normandy, he made preparations for a ſpeedy return to England. But he was prevented from his deſign, by a ſudden illneſs, occaſioned by his having too freely gratified himſelf at a meal upon lampreys, a ſort of food more pleaſing to the palate than conſiſtent with the preſervation of health.

Henry's diſeaſe increaſed ſo faſt that he was convinced his diſſolution was near at hand. He therefore ſent for Hugh, archbiſhop of Rouen, his natural ſon Robert, earl of Glouceſter, and ſeveral other noblemen, then in Normandy, to receive his laſt commands. He importuned them, in the moſt pathetic manner, to uſe their utmoſt intereſts in favour of his daughter Matilda, declaring her and her children, by lawful ſucceſſion, to be the heirs of all his dominions both in England and Normandy. He then ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſpoſed of in charitable uſes, and gave handſome preſents to all his domeſtics. He likewiſe directed that all his debts ſhould be diſcharged: that all forfeitures and mulcts, lately fallen to the crown, ſhould be remitted; that the exiles ſhould be reſtored to their country; and that all, who had been

been unjuſtly deprived of their eſtates, ſhould be reſtored to them, and ſuffered to enjoy them in peace and ſafety.

Henry, having thus ſettled his temporal concerns, reſigned himſelf up to the care of the clergy, and expired at the caſtle of Lyons, the firſt of December, A. D. 1135, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and thirty-ſixth of his reign. His body was carried the next day to Rouen, attended by a prodigious concourſe of people, and being there embalmed, was conveyed to Caen, and from thence to England, where it was interred in a monaſtery founded by himſelf at Reading in Berkſhire.

With reſpect to the character of Henry, it muſt be acknowledged he poſſeſſed all the qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, that could fit him for the high ſtation he attained. His perſon was manly, his countenance engaging, and his eyes clear, ſerene, and penetrating. The affability of his addreſs encouraged thoſe who might be over-awed by his dignity or wiſdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to temper it with diſcretion, and always kept clear from any indiſcreet familiarities with his courtiers. His ſuperior eloquence and judgment would have given him an aſcendancy even had he been born in a private ſtation; and his perſonal bravery would have procured him reſpect, even though it had been leſs ſupported by art and policy. By his great progreſs in literature, he acquired the name of *Beauclerc*, or the ſcholar; but his application to theſe ſedentary purſuits did not leſſen the activity and vigilance of his government. He was a tender huſband, an affectionate parent, and a generous maſter. In ſhort, he poſſeſſed many valuable qualities, but theſe were unfortunately ſullied by a great number of faults. His behaviour to his brother and nephew have thrown ſuch a ſtain upon his memory as all his good actions can never obliterate. The bands of fraternal affection were ſeparated by the ſword of ambition; and the laws of juſtice, of humanity, and of nations, were ſacrificed at the ſhrine of unnatural uſurpation.

Henry was greatly addicted to women; and it is ſaid, by ſome hiſtorians, that he left behind him no leſs than ſeven illegitimate ſons, and ſix daughters.

In this king's reign, wheat to make bread for one hundred men one day was valued at one ſhilling; one ſheep at four-pence; one hide of land (as many acres as one team could plough) was taxed at one ſhilling per annum; and there being 244,400 hides ſouth of the Humber, this tax amounted to 12,220 pounds; to which may be added about an eighth for the lands north of the Humber.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Henry I.

A. D.	
1103	A violent ſtorm in England, which did conſiderable damage in various parts, but more particularly in London.
1110	The Arts and Sciences firſt taught at Cambridge.
1112	A dreadful plague in England, which in a ſhort time carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants.
1114	A remarkable drought, during which the river Thames was almoſt dry for three days.
1116	The firſt parliament held in England.
1117	The cities of Bath and Peterborough deſtroyed by fire.
1122	The order of Knights Templars inſtituted.
1123	Woodſtock Park made, the firſt in England.
1127	Churchwardens firſt appointed in England.
1132	A great part of London deſtroyed by an accidental fire.
1133	A violent earthquake in England, and a remarkable eclipſe of the ſun.

CHAP. IV.

STEPHEN.

Acceſſion of Stephen. War with Scotland. Inſurrection in favour of Matilda. Stephen taken priſoner. Matilda choſen to the ſovereignty. Stephen reſtored. Civil wars. Compromiſe between the king and prince Henry. Death and character of Stephen.

A. D. 1135. THOUGH the late king had taken every prudent meaſure he could deviſe for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the Engliſh throne to his daughter Matilda, yet all his precautions were rendered abortive by the ambition of Stephen earl of Boulogne, on whom he had beſtowed very conſiderable poſſeſſions both in England and Normandy.

Stephen had entertained the thoughts of aſpiring to the crown long before the death of Henry, which event no ſooner took place, than he immediately reſolved to carry the deſign into execution. He had ſworn fealty to Matilda; but fidelity was not in the catalogue of Stephen's virtues. He flattered himſelf that riches and artifice would be ſufficient to over-balance the claim of that princeſs, and therefore haſtened with all expedition to England, in order to ſeize by uſurpation that crown which had adorned the brow of his patron.

The late monarch had made Henry, the younger brother of Stephen, abbot of Glaſtonbury, and biſhop of Wincheſter. He was of an active and turbulent diſpoſition; bold, diſſembling and faithleſs; ready to conform himſelf to the circumſtances of the times, and always preferred his own intereſt to that of his country. By a pleaſing addreſs and fluency of ſpeech he had gained the eſteem and admiration of the populace, while his familiar deportment procured him diſtinguiſhed reſpect from the clergy. The biſhop of Saliſbury was alſo a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, very rich, and likewiſe had great influence over the people.

Theſe two prelates exerted themſelves with the moſt unwearied diligence to incenſe the minds of the people againſt Matilda, and ſuch was their ſucceſs, that when Stephen arrived in London, he was received with open arms by the citizens, who unanimouſly acknowledged him as their lawful king. In conſequence of this the two prelates jointly applied to William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, requeſting him to inveſt Stephen with the vacant ſovereignty, by an immediate performance of the ceremony of coronation. The primate declined a compliance, as being incompatible with the oath of fidelity he had lately ſworn to Matilda; but an expedient, as diſgraceful as the other meaſures by which the deſigns of the two prelates were anſwered, was contrived for removing the archbiſhop's objection. They prevailed on Hugh Bigod, ſteward of the houſhold, to ſwear, in the moſt ſolemn manner, before the primate, that the king, upon his

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STEPHEN.



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born
Anno. 1105.

Crowned
December 2. 1135.

Died
May 3. 1151.

his death-bed, expreſſed himſelf highly diſſatisfied with his daughter Matilda, and that his intention was to conſtitute Stephen ſole heir to his dominions. This oath removed all the ſcruples of the archbiſhop, and on the 26th of December Stephen was crowned with the uſual ceremonies.

Immediately after the ceremony Stephen took poſſeſſion of the late king's treaſures, amounting to an hundred thouſand pounds beſides plate and jewels. This enabled him to procure an aſcendancy over the more inferior clergy and nobility, who, from mercenary views, admitted his claim, and ſupported his meaſures, though they knew the firſt to be founded on injuſtice, and foreſaw that the others would be productive of national calamities.

Conſcious of the neceſſity of making ſome conceſſions to a people over whom he had arrogated the ſovereign power, Stephen began his reign with paſſing a charter, whereby he promiſed many advantages to the clergy, particularly, that on the demiſe of a biſhop he would inſtantly give the inveſtiture to the perſon appointed by a regular canonical election. He promiſed the nobility that they ſhould not be proſecuted for taking the diverſion of hunting in the royal foreſts; and to the people, that the tax of Danegelt ſhould be aboliſhed, and the laws of Edward the Confeſſor preſerved in their fulleſt extent.

Theſe flattering acts were the artifices of Stephen's ambition, and the ſtratagems he uſed to keep the crown of England on his head. But it was not long before he found the Engliſh noblemen were determined to make him keep his promiſes, and not, like his predeceſſors, break them as ſoon as he was firmly fixed in the ſeat of power.

Robert, earl of Glouceſter, a natural ſon of the deceaſed monarch, led the way to theſe neceſſary reſolutions. He was determined to ſupport the cauſe of Matilda; but the power of Stephen rendered it neceſſary for him to conceal his deſign. He accordingly ſwore allegiance to Stephen, but with this reſerve, that no innovation ſhould be made on his rights and dignities. Stephen ſaw the full force of this condition, but the great influence of that popular nobleman rendered it neceſſary to receive him upon theſe terms. The clergy, pleaſed with the cautious reſerve of Glouceſter, annexed conditions to their oath of allegiance: they declared that it ſhould be binding no longer than while he defended the eccleſiaſtical liberties of England, and ſupported the diſcipline of the church. The barons were determined not to be wanting to themſelves in this fortunate criſis: they, therefore required, in return for their ſubmiſſion, the liberty of fortifying and putting their own caſtles in a poſture of defence.—The king was ſenſible, that if he rejected the terms preſcribed, his authority would be rendered very precarious: he therefore judged it expedient to acquieſce in the demands of his ſubjects, as being the ſureſt methods of ſecuring that crown he had taken ſuch illegal methods to obtain.

A. D. 1137. It was not long before Stephen was fully convinced of the licentious and turbulent deſigns of his nobles. Many of them had no ſooner finiſhed the fortifications of their caſtles, than they renounced their allegiance, and ſet the power of the crown at defiance. Stephen now ſaw his error, but it was too late to correct it. Freſh diſturbances aroſe every day, and the whole kingdom was threatened with all the horrors of a civil war. It was in vain to attempt the removal of theſe enormities by reaſon or perſuaſions. Stephen, therefore, made his own power the ſole meaſure of his conduct. He ſacrificed to the rage of deſpotic government both his own conceſſions, and the antient privileges of his ſubjects. His authority was chiefly ſupported by mercenary ſoldiers, who, having exhauſted the royal treaſury, ſubſiſted by depredations. Hence diſcontents among the people, and complaints againſt the adminiſtration, were loud in every quarter, and the whole country was rendered a ſhocking ſcene of turbulence and confuſion.

While the king was meditating plans for reſtoring public tranquillity, Robert, earl of Glouceſter was not leſs aſſiduouſly engaged in projecting meaſures for effecting a revolution; and having ſettled all preliminary points with his friends, he retired to Normandy, from whence he diſpatched to Stephen a formal renunciation of his allegiance, upbraiding him with having violated the ſtipulations annexed to his oath of fealty.

A. D. 1138. In the beginning of this year David king of Scotland (who had reſolved to uſe his utmoſt efforts to procure his ſiſter Matilda the poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominons) entered England at the head of a powerful army, and penetrated as far as Northallerton in Yorkſhire. Stephen marched at the head of his forces againſt him, and a deſperate battle enſued, which was maintained, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, but at length victory declared in favour of Stephen. The Scottiſh army was entirely routed, and David, being hurried away with the torrent, was obliged to retreat to Carliſle, where he was afterwards joined by his ſon, and great part of his army. This battle was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the battle of the Standard, on account of a lofty crucifix placed on a waggon accompanying the Engliſh army as an enſign.

The defeat of the Scots might have been fatal to the intereſts, both of David and his ſiſter, had Stephen known how to profit by his victory. But flattering himſelf that he had now ſecured full poſſeſſion of the throne, he ſet no bounds to his ambition. He engaged in a controverſy with his clergy, to whom he was indebted for the crown, and to whoſe authority he could not be a ſtranger. They had aſſumed the privilege of acting entirely as barons, without a proper regard to the duties of their profeſſional characters. Inſtead of exerting their endeavours to prevent the diſturbances occaſioned by the laity, they became parties in, and promoters of, petty inſurrections and tyrannical ravages. Two ſtrong fortreſſes, one at Sherborne, and the other at the Devizes, had been erected and fortified by the biſhop of Saliſbury, who had alſo laid the foundation of another caſtle at Malmeſbury; and his nephew, Alexander, biſhop of Lincoln, had built a ſtrong fortreſs at Newark. Alarmed at the increaſe of citadels in all parts of his dominions, the king determined to make ſome alteration in a matter which had ſo conſiderable an effect in weakening the power of the crown. As, therefore, the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion appeared to be wholly inconſiſtent, with military operations and the duties of war, he reſolved to begin his reform by deſtroying the fortreſſes erected by the clergy; and accordingly, having cauſed the biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln to be taken into cuſtody, he obliged them, by menaces, to deliver up their caſtles.

This bold attempt to infringe on the liberties of the church greatly alarmed the whole body of the clergy, and none more than Henry, biſhop of Win-

Wincheſter, who, having, a ſhort time before, been inveſted with legantine authority, convoked a Synod at Wincheſter, and ſummoned Stephen to appear in perſon. But the king was determined not to ſubject the civil to the eccleſiaſtical power, and therefore refuſed to obey the ſummons. He, however, ſent one Aubrey de Vere, the moſt learned lawyer of his age, to anſwer for him, who juſtified the king's proceedings with great eloquence and force of argument. He obſerved, that it was inconſiſtent with the functions of the clergy, as the preachers of peace, to engage in the tumults of civil diſcord; and that the caſtles they had erected and fortified could be conſidered in no other light than as the ſeats of diſcord and the aſylum of rebellion. The legate loſt all patience at this bold remonſtrance, and was juſt going to pronounce an eccleſiaſtical anathema on the king and all his adherents, when Aubrey gave him to underſtand, that whoever dared to pronounce any ſpiritual interdict againſt his ſovereign ſhould never live to behold the fruits of his inſolence. This ſpirited declaration had more effect than all his reaſoning. Aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the deputy, and dreading the conſequences of Stephen's reſentment, the ſynod did not think it prudent to proceed. The prelates therefore departed, and the two complaining biſhops were obliged to give up their fortreſſes.

A. D. 1139. The earl of Glouceſter being no ſtranger to the contentions between Stephen and the clergy, thought it a proper opportunity of attempting to obtain that crown which by right belonged to his ſiſter Matilda. Accordingly having prevailed on her to repair with him to England, they ſet ſail, attended by a retinue of one hundred and forty-knights, and, after a quick paſſage landed ſafe on the coaſt of Suſſex. The empreſs immediately repaired to Arundel caſtle, where ſhe was affectionately received by the queen dowager, who had eſpouſed William de Albini, earl of Suſſex; and the earl of Glouceſter repaired to Briſtol.

The arrival of the empreſs and her brother greatly alarmed Stephen. He was no ſtranger to the popularity of Glouceſter, and was fearful that the people would join his ſtandard, in order to place his ſiſter on the throne. He therefore advanced immediately to Arundel caſtle, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, in order to make himſelf maſter of that fortreſs. The queen dowager, alarmed at the approach of Stephen, diſpatched a meſſenger, requeſting him not to beſiege the empreſs in her palace, but give her liberty to retire to ſome other place, aſſuring him that ſhe had received her only as a gueſt, not as a competitor for the crown. Stephen readily complied with her requeſt, and the empreſs naming Briſtol as the place ſhe choſe for her reſidence, the king ordered his brother Walleran, earl of Mellent, to eſcort her to that city.

The empreſs no ſooner arrived at Briſtol, where ſhe was received by her brother Robert, at the head of a body of forces, than ſhe openly declared her title, and aſſerted her claim to the crown of England, requiring all her ſubjects to come and pay their allegiance. This produced the deſired effect: the people flocked to her ſtandard from all quarters, and ſeemed to vie with each other in duty and affection. But what greatly contributed to her ſucceſs was, the intereſt of Miles, high conſtable of England, who abandoned the party of Stephen, and declared for the empreſs. This nobleman was then in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and city of Glouceſter, one of the moſt important fortreſſes in the kingdom. He had alſo great intereſt with many powerful noblemen, and was poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, which he freely gave the empreſs for the ſupport of her cauſe. His example was followed by ſeveral other diſtinguiſhed barons, and the party of the empreſs was ſoon able to contend with Stephen for the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown.

A. D. 1140. The whole kingdom now became a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, almoſt every individual declaring for one or other of the contending parties.. The powerful barons attacked each others territories with all the rage of the moſt implacable enemy. Caſtles, churches, monaſteries, towns, and villages, were levelled to the ground, or laid in aſhes, to gratify the private animoſity of contending nobles, and the moſt inhuman cruelties were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants.

In this ſhocking exigence recourſe was had to negotiation, and ſeveral treaties made between the contending parties; but they all proved abortive, and the horrors of a civil war continued to increaſe. At length the diſpute was terminated by the ſword. Stephen marched at the head of his forces, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Lincoln, which being conſidered as a place of the utmoſt importance, Glouceſter determined, if poſſible, to relieve it. He accordingly marched with the utmoſt expedition, and his troops having forded the Trent, appeared in the neighbourhood before Stephen had received any information of his approach. A general engagement was now unavoidable, and both armies prepared for a conteſt that was to decide the fate of the crown of England. The battle was begun by William de Ypres, one of Stephen's generals, and conſidered as the beſt officer of his time. He fell with the utmoſt fury on a body of Welſh poſted in the left wing, and put them to flight; but purſuing the broken ſquadron too far, his diviſion was charged in flank, and entirely broken. The earl of Glouceſter taking advantage of this ſucceſs, fell with amazing impetuoſity on the infantry, which compoſed the center of the royal army, where Stephen himſelf fought in perſon. The conteſt was dreadful, and the field covered with the ſlain. For ſome time it appeared as if the palm of victory would have fallen on Stephen, but it was loſt from the cowardice of his cavalry, who making a precipitate flight, his infantry were obliged to ſave themſelves by a retreat. Stephen, diſdaining to turn his back on the enemy, continued to fight with the moſt aſtoniſhing bravery, till at length receiving a blow with a ſtone, thrown by an unknown hand, he was felled to the ground, and obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to the duke of Glouceſter. He was treated with the greateſt reſpect by that accompliſhed nobleman; but experienced a moſt humiliating reverſe of fortune, on his being delivered into the hands of the empreſs. That imperious princeſs treated him with every indignity, committed him a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Briſtol, and ordered him to be heavily loaded with chains.

As ſoon as the friends of Stephen heard of his defeat and captivity, the greater part deſerted him: the city of London, and the county of Kent (where his queen, his ſon Euſtace, and his great friend and favourite William de Ypres ſtill retained their authority) were the only places that continued faithful to the impriſoned monarch. Even his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, courted the favour of the empreſs: the attractions of power were ſtronger than the bonds of fraternal affection.

Henry

Henry declared for Matilda, who, in return, promiſed him all the honours his ambition could deſire, or which a churchman could receive. Armed with the legantine authority and proud of diſplaying his power, he ſummoned a ſynod, and after aſſerting that the clergy only had the right of electing and ordaining kings, declared that the empreſs Matilda ſhould be placed on the throne of England. The only laymen ſummoned to this council were the deputies of London, who were ſo far from agreeing with the unexpected declararion of Henry, that they peremptorily demanded the liberty of their king. The legate only anſwered by laying before them the errors of Stephen's adminiſtration, upon which the deputies, after ſolemnly proteſting againſt the proceedings of the ſynod, returned to London; and Henry pronounced an anathema againſt all the adherents of the impriſoned monarch. Thus was the ſceptre of England diſpoſed of by an aſſembly of ambitious churchmen, who dared to trample upon the authority of the nobles, and deſpiſe the liberties of the people. The power of the mitre was exalted above the power of the crown; and the rights of Engliſhmen ſacrificed at the ſhrine of eccleſiaſtical tyranny.

A. D. 1141. The authority of Matilda ſeemed now to be firmly eſtabliſhed, and ſhe might probably have lived and died ſovereign of England, had it not been for her natural pride and inſolence, by which ſhe loſt the affections of thoſe who had ſo warmly eſpouſed her cauſe, and defeated all the deſigns of her brother the earl of Glouceſter.

Some time after Stephen's captivity, his queen, ſeconded by many of the nobility, petitioned Matilda for the liberty of her huſband: and offered, if their requeſt was granted, that he ſhould renounce the crown, and retire to a convent. Another matter was aſked for by Henry the legate, namely, that his nephew, prince Euſtace, might inherit Boulogne, with the other patrimonial eſtates of his father: and the Londoners ſolicited for the eſtabliſhment of king Edward's laws, inſtead of thoſe of king Henry, which they conſidered as grievous and oppreſſive. But all theſe petitions were rejected by the empreſs in the moſt haughty and peremptory manner.

The haughty prelate was ſo exaſperated at the denial of his requeſt from the perſon who had obtained ſuch power from his authority, that he determined on a ſevere revenge. Accordingly, availing himſelf of the general diſcontent excited by the imperious conduct of Matilda, he ſecretly inſtigated the Londoners to a revolt, and a conſpiracy was accordingly formed for ſeizing the perſon of the empreſs. By ſome means or other Matilda received intelligence of this deſign, and retired haſtily to Glouceſter, in order to have recourſe to the counſel of the earl of Hereford, being diſguſted with her brother the earl of Glouceſter, who had adviſed her to purſue conciliatory meaſures, contrary to her arbitrary inclinations. She, however, ſoon after repaired to Oxford, where ſhe ordered a general rendezvous of her troops and party.

While Matilda was taking meaſures for ſecuring her authority by force of arms, her brother the earl of Glouceſter was uſing his utmoſt efforts to bring about a reconciliation between her and the legate; but all his endeavours proving abortive, he went to Oxford, where he found the empreſs preparing to ſet out at the head of her army, with a deſign of reducing the caſtle of Wincheſter. She was attended by the earl of Hereford, and expected the arrival of the earl of Cheſter, who had promiſed to march to her aſſiſtance, but had privately made peace with the legate and the royal party. She, however, repaired with her army to Wincheſter; and with little difficulty ſoon obtained poſſeſſion of the fortreſs. The legate found means to withdrew himſelf before her arrival, and having aſſembled all his followers, he joined his force to that of the Londoners and Stephen's mercenary troops who had not yet evacuated the kingdom. With theſe reinforcements he marched againſt the empreſs, took the city of Wincheſter, and beſieged Matilda in the fortreſs.

The legate had furniſhed the caſtle with ſuch a ſtock of proviſions that the beſieged held out ſeven weeks, and every attempt to take it by aſſault was rendered abortive by the valour and conduct of the earl of Glouceſter. But famine at length effected what force had attempted in vain; and the garriſon had but one alternative, either to cut themſelves a paſſage through the legate's forces, or ſurrender at diſcretion. They choſe the former, and made the neceſſary preparations for the deſperate attempt. The care of the perſon of the empreſs was committed to the main body of their forces; while Glouceſter himſelf, at the head of a ſmall party, ſallied out of the caſtle, and attacked the beſiegers with the utmoſt fury. Alarmed at the vigour of this party of the beſieged, the legate's army left their poſts to repulſe this gallant and reſolute part of the garriſon. This produced the wiſhed-for opportunity, and the empreſs, with the principal part of the army, made her eſcape, and fled to Glouceſter; but her brother, being overpowered by numbers, was taken priſoner, and ſent, under a ſtrong guard, to the caſtle of Rocheſter.

The earl of Glouceſter, though only a ſubject, was as much the life of his own party as Stephen was of the other; and the empreſs, ſenſible of his merit, conſented to exchange the noble priſoners upon equal terms. The earl was accordingly brought to Wincheſter, to which city Stephen, (having been releaſed from his confinement) alſo repaired. The latter was a ſtranger to that haughtineſs ſo common to thoſe who diſpute for empire, and therefore held a familiar and, ſeemingly, friendly, diſcourſe with the earl; after which they took leave of each other, and Robert repaired to his ſiſter at Glouceſter.

A. D. 1142. The intrepid and faithful earl took every meaſure he could project for ſtrengthening the intereſt of his ſiſter Matilda; but it was eaſily foreſeen, that while the empreſs, by whoſe proud and arbitrary conduct all the advantages gained by her friends had been loſt, continued at the head of her party in England, they could never hope for ſucceſs. A general meeting, therefore, of her adherents were ſummoned to meet at the Devizes, where it was agreed, that Geoffrey Plantagenet, huſband to the empreſs, ſhould be requeſted to ſend over the young prince Henry, that he might appear at the head of his partizans in England. In conſequence of this reſolution the earl of Glouceſter went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had ſubmitted to the earl of Anjou. The earl ſucceeded in his commiſſion, and accordingly brought the young prince, with a reinforcement of four hundred men, to England.

During the abſence of Glouceſter, Stephen had ſurpriſed the caſtle of Wareham in Dorſetſhire, taken the city of Oxford, and beſieged the caſtle, where the empreſs had retired for ſafety. But on the landing of Glouceſter, affairs put on a more pleaſing aſpect: he made himſelf maſter of the caſtle at Wareham, took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Purbeck,

Purbeck, and advanced, at the head of an army, to raiſe the ſiege of Oxford Caſtle. Stephen had, for ſome time, preſſed the ſiege with the greateſt vigour; but the inclemency of the ſeaſon (the winter being now far advanced) had ſo reduced his army, that he had hardly troops ſufficient to ſurround the place. The empreſs took advantage of this, and (before her brother's arrival) made her eſcape to Wallingford, where ſhe was ſoon after joined by the earl; and Stephen, having reduced the caſtle of Oxford, returned to London.

A. D. 1143---1146. After Matilda's eſcape from Oxford, nothing material took place between the contending parties: a few caſtles, indeed, were taken, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from each party, but nothing deciſive. But at length a circumſtance happened of the utmoſt conſequence to the empreſs. The earl of Glouceſter, the principal ſupport of her cauſe, died of a fever, and was buried at Briſtol. In this accompliſhed nobleman the empreſs loſt the only perſon that deſerved her entire confidence, perhaps the only one that ſerved her without views of intereſt. He was prudent, intrepid, generous and ſincere; and an enemy to tyranny, injuſtice and deceit. He was beloved by his friends, his ſoldiers and his country. His death was lamented by the good and the virtuous, and even Stephen himſelf dropped a tear of reſpect to his memory.

The death of this gallant nobleman gave a mortal blow to the party of the empreſs. She ſaw it would be in vain for her to contend any longer for the crown. Her troops deſerted her, her friends behaved with coolneſs, and every thing indicated a ſad reverſe of fortune. She therefore immediately withdrew to the continent, leaving Stephen in full poſſeſſion of the throne.

A. D. 1148---1150. After the departure of Matilda the ſovereignty was preſerved by Stephen, without any interruption from the party of his competitor, and all things appeared likely to produce the reſtoration of tranquillity. But at length an event took place, which greatly endangered the peace of the nation. Prince Henry (the ſon of Matilda) was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood, a ceremony which every gentleman in that age paſſed through before he was admitted to the uſe of arms; and which was even conſidered as a requiſite for the greateſt princes. At the ſame time he propoſed to receive the ceremony from his great uncle David king of Scotland; and for that purpoſe paſſed through England with a large retinue, attended by the moſt conſiderable of his partizans. He ſtayed ſome time with the king of Scotland; made ſome excurſions into England, and, by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exerciſes, by his valour, and his prudent conduct on all occaſions, he rouzed the hopes of his party, and gave indications of being able, ſome time or other, to obtain that crown which had been loſt by the indiſcretion of Matilda.

Soon after Henry's return from Scotland, his father Geoffrey paid the debt of nature; a ſhort time before which he made his will, leaving young Henry all the honours and revenues of his duchy. The king of France, incenſed at Geoffrey's doing this without firſt obtaining his conſent, invaded Normandy, and laid ſiege to Arques. He imagined Henry was too young to make any great oppoſition: but in this he was miſtaken; for that gallant prince made ſo powerful a diverſion in France, during the abſence of Lewis, that the latter was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Arques, and march, with all expedition, to the defence of his own dominions. A peace was ſoon after concluded, and, Geoffrey Plantaganet being dead, young Henry took quiet poſſeſſion of the duchy of Normandy, together with the provinces of Anjou and Maine.

Some time after this Henry married Eleanor, daughter and heireſs of William, duke of Guienne, and earl of Poictou. This lady had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a cruſade againſt the infidels; but her huſband, ſuſpecting her fidelity while abroad, procured a divorce, and reſtored to her the rich provinces of Guienne and Poictou, which, upon his marriage, became annexed to the crown of France. But neither the diſparity of years, nor the report circulated to the prejudice of the lady's character, were ſufficient to check the aſpiring ſpirit of young Henry, who, ſix weeks after the divorce, eſpouſed the princeſs, and conſequently became entitled to all her poſſeſſions.

A. D. 1151. While every thing ſeemed to forebode proſperity to the duke of Normandy, Stephen imprudently involved himſelf in a quarrel with the pope, though it muſt be acknowedged he had ſufficient reaſon for his conduct. The pontiff had ſummoned a council to meet at Rheims, but inſtead of permitting Stephen, or even the church of England, to elect the deputies required, the pope nominated them himſelf. Stephen complained loudly of this breach of national privilege; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, regarded not his remonſtrances. Enraged at this inſult, the king would not ſuffer them to attend, and the pontiff, in revenge for this interpoſition, laid the kingdom under an interdict. By this ſentence all religious offices were ſuſpended, the churches ſhut up, and the dead not ſuffered to be interred in conſecrated ground. An univerſal terror was ſpread throughout the nation; and Stephen thought it neceſſary to make ſubmiſſion to the pope, in order to procure a reverſion of the ſentence.

A. D. 1152. Stephen was no ſtranger to the increaſing power and popularity of the duke of Normandy, and was fearful of the conſequences. In order, therefore, to ſecure the Engliſh ſceptre in his own family, he convened a council in London, at which he propoſed admitting his ſon Euſtace to an equal ſhare in the government. This being appproved, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was requeſted to anoint Euſtace as his ſucceſſor; but the primate abſolutely refuſed to aſſiſt in the ſolemnity. Incenſed at his denial, Stephen ordered the archbiſhop to be confined; but he found means to corrupt the guards, and getting his liberty, paſſed over to the continent. The departure of the primate rendered the king's attempt to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his family abortive; it being then conſidered, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury poſſeſſed an unalienable right to crown the kings of England.

A. D. 1153. The primate's refuſal of anointing Stephen's ſon as his ſucceſſor, greatly animated the party of Henry, who diſpatched meſſengers to Normandy requeſting him to repair to England, and attempt the recovery of a crown which had been wreſted from him by an uſurper. Henry readily liſtened to their importunities, immediately embarked, and landed on the 6th of January, at the head of a very ſmall body of troops; but their number was ſoon increaſed by the greater and moſt reſpectable part of the nobility in the kingdom.

Stephen saw the gathering ſtorm, and laboured aſſiduouſly to break its force. He marched, at the head of his forces, to meet the duke of Normandy; but the badneſs of the roads ſo greatly retarded his progreſs, that Henry made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong caſtles before Stephen could afford the garriſons the leaſt relief. At length the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, and made preparations for deciding, by a general action, the great conteſt for the Engliſh crown. But the nobles on both ſides, willing to prevent the farther effuſion of human blood, interpoſed their good offices, and a negotiation being propoſed and agreed to, a ſuſpenſion of arms was immediately proclaimed at the head of each army.

This circumſtance gave great uneaſineſs to Euſtace, who foreſaw there could be no agreement between his father and a prince of Henry's ambitious temper, but what muſt be greatly to his prejudice. His late proſpect of being raiſed to the throne embittered his reflections. He warmly expoſtulated with his father on the impropriety of coming to any accommodation with Henry. Stephen was far from being deficient in parental affection; but could not liſten to his ſon's requeſt: the neceſſities of the times compelled him to ſubmit. Euſtace, fired with reſentment, left the army, and retired into Cambridgeſhire, where he took the field at the head of an independent body of troops, and committed ſome depredations in different parts of the country; but did not long continue to practiſe theſe outrages, for he died ſoon after at St. Edmundſbury, and was buried at Feverſham.

The death of Euſtace greatly facilitated the negotiation then carrying on between Stephen and Henry. The biſhop of Wincheſter was alſo now deſirous of concluding a peace between the two princes. That pragmatical prelate, the flame of whoſe ambition had lighted up the torch of war that ſo long deſolated the kingdom, ſeeing no proſpect of the ſcepter's continuing in his family, began now to cheriſh pacific ſentiments. Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was returned to England, and reinſtated in all his former dignities and poſſeſſions, laboured alſo with great earneſtneſs to accompliſh the deſirable work of peace. The buſineſs was at length effected, and articles being drawn up, it was agreed to call a general council of the nobility at Wincheſter, in order to their being ratified. This was accordingly done, and the ſubſtance of the treaty was to this effect: that Stephen ſhould enjoy the crown during his life, and that, on his death, Henry ſhould ſucceed to the throne.

The treaty being thus concluded, the barons did homage to Henry as lawful heir to the crown, and the two princes repaired to London, that Henry might receive the fealty of the citizens. On their arrival in the capital, the people teſtified their ſatisfaction by the loudeſt acclamations, and Henry, after ſtaying only a few days, embarked for Normandy, leaving Stephen in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne.

A. D. 1154. Being now freed from all apprehenſions of an enemy, Stephen ſolely directed his attention to remove the ſufferings of the people, and heal the wounds of his diſtreſſed country. He reformed many abuſes, made ſeveral wiſe and ſalutary laws, and gave many inſtances of his great abilities and love of juſtice. In ſhort, he ſeemed as if reſolved to devote the remainder of his days to the eaſe and benefit of his ſubjects, to purſue every method for ſecuring their properties, protecting their perſons, and diffuſing through the whole kingdom univerſal tranquillity. But while he was employed in theſe offices of juſtice and humanity, he was ſeized with a diſorder called the *illiac paſſion*, of which he died on the 25th of October, in the 50th year of his age, and 19th of his reign. His remains were interred in the abbey church of Feverſham, which had been founded by himſelf, and where, a ſhort time before, were depoſited the remains of his wife, and ſon.

Ambition was the ruling paſſion of Stephen. To gratify this darling object, he trampled on the laws of juſtice, and plunged an innocent people into all the horrors of civil diſcord. But at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that he was a prince of great fortitude, courage, activity and generoſity. He harboured not the paſſion of revenge, and malevolence ſeems to have been a ſtranger to his breaſt. He diſpenſed juſtice impartially to his ſubjects, and cheriſhed the virtue of forgiveneſs. In ſhort, he poſſeſſed ſo many good qualities, that had he aſcended the throne by right of inheritance, and lived in leſs troubleſome times, his adminiſtration would, in all probability, have produced honour to himſelf, and happineſs to his ſubjects.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Stephen.

A. D.

1135 On the day Stephen landed to take upon him the ſovereignty of England, there happened a moſt dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which being in the winter ſeaſon was conſidered by the people as an omen of thoſe troubles that afterwards took place throughout the kingdom.

1149 This year there fell ſo much rain in the ſummer ſeaſon that all the fruits of the earth were deſtroyed, and a dreadful famine enſued, which laſted for ſome time, till relief could be obtained from foreign countries.

On the 9th of December, in the ſame year began a very ſevere froſt. It continued till the 9th of February following, during which time the river Thames was entirely frozen over, ſo as to admit a paſſage not only for people, but likewiſe for horſes and carriages.

1150 On the 21ſt of March there happened a remarkable eclipſe of the ſun, by which it was ſo dark that candles were lighted at noon-day, and near the ſun were ſeen ſeveral ſtars.

1154 The canon law firſt introduced into England.

BOOK VII.

From the Acceſſion of Henry II. to the Death of King John.

CHAP. I.

HENRY II. ſurnamed PLANTAGENET.

Acceſſion of Henry II. Firſt acts of his government. Henry marches againſt the Welſh. Goes over to France, and lays ſiege to Thouloufe, but, on the arrival of Lewis, raiſes the ſiege, makes peace with the French monarch, and returns to England. Goes again to France, and, with Lewis, pays diſtinguiſhed homage to the pope. Returns, and reſolves to make a reform among the clergy, to facilitate which he appoints Thomas a Becket to the ſee of Canterbury. Violent diſputes between the king and Becket. Conſtitutions of Clarendon. Becket, after behaving in an inſolent manner to the king, retires privately, and flies to the court of France. Henry paſſes over to the continent, in order to bring about a reconciliation with Becket; but without effect. Returns to England, and aſſembles a parliament at Windſor. Gets his eldeſt ſon Henry crowned, and ſerves the firſt diſh at his table. Goes over to the continent, and an accommodation takes place between him and Becket, who is reſtored to his archiepiſcopal dignities, but ſoon after aſſaſſinated. Compromiſe between Henry and the court of Rome. Conqueſt of Ireland. Revolt of young Henry and his brothers. Wars abroad, and inſurrections at home. Remarkable penance of Henry for the murder of Becket. William, king of Scotland, defeated and taken priſoner. Henry goes over to France, and an accommodation takes place between him and his ſons. Returns to England, and makes many wiſe regulations for the good of his ſubjects. Prince Henry again revolts, but ſoon after dies. His brother Geoffrey follows his example, but is ſtopped in his unnatural deſigns by being killed in a tournament. Revolt of prince Richard. Death and character of Henry.

A. D. 1154. AT the time Henry received intelligence of Stephen's death, he was engaged in beſieging a caſtle belonging to one of his mutinous barons on the frontiers of Normandy; but conſcious that his great power and popularity would prevent any ſchemes being formed for interrupting his ſucceſſion, and relying on the veneration in which he knew his perſon to be held in England, he determined to perſevere in his attempt of reducing the fortreſs, and accordingly continued the ſiege till the garriſon ſurrendered. As ſoon as this was accompliſhed he embarked for England, where he landed on the 8th of December, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people; and on the 19th of the ſame month he and his queen were crowned at Weſtminſter by Theobald, then archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1155. The Engliſh had conceived very flattering ideas of the virtues and abilities of Henry; and the firſt acts of his government convinced them that their ideas were juſtly founded. He diligently applied himſelf to the removal of thoſe complaints which had been ſo general, in the late turbulent reign. He diſmiſſed the mercenary ſoldiers of Stephen, by which the kingdom was freed from a burthen that had occaſioned the moſt affecting complaints. The bands of robbers, who ſo long ravaged the country, were deſtroyed, and every ſpecies of violence ſuppreſſed: the powerful were reſtrained from acts of tyranny, and the licentious from diſturbing the repoſe of the peaceable and harmleſs. The laws were executed with proper authority; nor did any dare diſpute the power of the magiſtrate. The fortreſſes raiſed by the nobles, who had ſo often ſpread deſolation over various counties, were demoliſhed, except only a few, which were retained on account of their advantageous ſituation for the defence of the kingdom.

Henry was far from wanting aſſiſtance in eſtabliſhing theſe meaſures of national utility; he was ſupported by the people at large, and had nothing to fear but from a few turbulent barons, who at firſt oppoſed the deſtruction of their caſtles, but in a ſhort time quietly ſubmitted. Henry alſo paſſed a charter of liberties in which he confirmed all thoſe privileges which had been granted by his grandfather Henry I. By theſe, and other acts of popularity, Henry obtained the univerſal affection of his ſubjects, and perfect tranquillity was ſoon eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom.

A. D. 1156. In the beginning of this year Henry embarked for Normandy, in order to puniſh the inſolence of his brother Geoffrey, who had made incurſions into Anjou and Maine, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the principal parts of thoſe provinces. Henry no ſooner diſembarked than his claims were univerſally acknowledged; upon which Geoffrey finding it would be in vain to contend with the ſuperior power of his brother, reſigned his claims for an annual penſion, to be paid by Henry, of one thouſand pounds. Soon after this Geoffrey took poſſeſſion of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Noel, their prince, put into his hands, and inveſted him with the full power of adminiſtration.

A. D. 1157. Having ſettled his affairs in Normandy, Henry returned to England, and on his arrival found that the Welſh, who were ever reſtleſs and uneaſy, had entered the Engliſh territories, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the innocent inhabitants. In conſequence of this Henry marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army; but the cowardice of his ſtandard-bearer had like to have proved fatal both to him and his whole army. The attack of the Welſh was made with all the fury natural to thoſe people, which ſo terrified Henry de Eſſer, who carried the royal

royal ſtandard, that, throwing down the enſign, he fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Alarmed at miſſing the royal ſtandard, the Engliſh were intimidated, and, thinking the king was ſlain, were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. Henry, perceiving the cauſe of the diſorder, rode through the ranks bare headed to convince them of their miſtake; in conſequence of which the Engliſh, aſhamed of their puſillanimous conduct, returned to the charge with redoubled courage, and fell ſo violently on the inſurgents that they were obliged to ſeek their ſafety by flight, after great numbers had been killed on the field of battle. Thoſe who eſcaped retired with all poſſible expedition to their own country, ſoon after which Henry concluded a peace with the Welſh prince, and diſbanded his army.

A. D. 1159. Though Henry was maſter of great power and conſiderable poſſeſſions, yet he was very deſirous of increaſing them, and therefore laid claim to the county of Thouloufe, in right of his queen, to whom it belonged; but Raymond, count of Thouloufe, refuſed to deliver up the territories. In conſequence of this Henry determined to obtain them by force of arms, and accordingly paſſed over to the continent, and engaged a number of mercenaries to aſſiſt him in his intended expedition. He began his military operations by laying ſiege to Cahors, the capital of the province of Quercy, which he ſoon reduced, and made himſelf maſter of the place; but the city of Thouloufe made a gallant defence, and the Engliſh monarch exerted all his abilities to take it. Lewis, king of France, was alarmed at Henry's progreſs. He was fearful that if he ſhould be ſuffered to make himſelf maſter of the principal places in the heart of France, his ambition might puſh him on to farther conqueſts, and he might even advance to the very gates of Paris. Lewis therefore marched at the head of a body of forces, and threw himſelf into Thouloufe before Henry could become maſter of the city. In conſequence of this Henry immediately deſiſted from farther proſecuting his deſign, declaring he owed ſo much reſpect to Lewis, that he would not attack a place defended by him in perſon. He therefore raiſed the ſiege, and a treaty of peace was ſoon after concluded between the two monarchs.

A. D. 1160.-1163. This peace, however, was but of ſhort duration: ambition ſoon diſſolved the bands of amity between the two monarchs. Henry's eldeſt ſon had, for ſome time, been contracted in marriage to Margaret, the daughter of Lewis, and it was agreed in the treaty that the princeſs ſhould have the city of Giſor, with part of Norman Vexin, for her portion; and that thoſe places ſhould remain in the cuſtody of the Knights Templars till the marriage was celebrated. Anxious for obtaining poſſeſſion of theſe valuable places, Henry prevailed upon the cardinals Piſa and Pavia to grant him a ſynodical decree, diſpenſing with the nonage of the parties. In conſequence of this the nuptials were immediately celebrated, though the prince was but ſeven, and the princeſs only three years of age; and the Templars, conſidering themſelves as free from their engagement, delivered up the caſtle of Giſon, and the other places aſſigned as Margaret's dowry.

The French monarch was highly incenſed at the proceedings of Henry; and his firſt reſentment fell upon the Templars, to whom the cuſtody of the caſtle had been committed, and whom he baniſhed his dominions. This, in all probability, would have been ſucceeded by a war between the two monarchs, had it not been for Pope Alexander III. who was then in France, and being deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, interpoſed and brought about a reconciliation *.

Henry, after having accommodated all differences with the French monarch, returned to England, and flattered himſelf with poſſeſſing a long ſeries of peace and tranquillity; but he was greatly deceived in his expectations, and his life rendered unhappy by the very perſon who owed his whole fortune to his bounty. This was the celebrated Thomas a Becket †, whoſe conduct ſet the nation in a flame, and rendered abortive the ſcheme which Henry had formed for confining the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within proper bounds, and of ſuppreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the clergy, who arrogated to themſelves the privileges which were contrary to the peace of ſociety. Henry was reſolved to correct theſe enormities, and, without depriving the church of its real privileges, to eſtabliſh proper limits to the pretenſions of the clergy. He conſidered Becket as the moſt proper perſon for aſſiſting him in the execution of this noble deſign, and accordingly on the death of Theobald, promoted him to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury.

Becket, before his promotion, had given a looſe to the uſual pleaſures and amuſements of the age; but his whole behaviour was changed after being placed at the head of the church. He reſigned the office of chancellor, renounced all concern in ſecular affairs, ſubmitted to the moſt rigid mortifications, and became laviſh in his generoſity to the poor. By this conduct he gained the general reſpect of the people; but inſtead of becoming an aſſiſtant to Henry in executing his grand deſign of limiting the privileges of the clergy, he purſued only ſuch meaſures as were moſt conducive to his own emolument. He attempted to recover all the lands that had been alienated from the ſee of Canterbury, pretending that none of his predeceſſors had any right to diſpoſe of the property of the church. Nor was he contented with this attempt to extend his authority and power: he aſſerted that it was the prerogative of the archbiſhop to fill vacant church livings in the manors of the military tenants, as well as thoſe of the churches of Canterbury.

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* In order to account for the pope's interference on this occaſion, as well as to form an idea of the great authority poſſeſſed by the Roman pontiff at that period, it may not be improper to remark, that the two kings had, the year before, met the pontiff at the caſtle of Toris on the Loire; and gave him ſuch marks of reſpect, that both diſmounted from their horſes to receive him, and each holding one of the reins of the bridle, walked by his ſide, and in that ſubmiſſive manner, conducted him to the gate of the caſtle.

† Thomas a Becket was the ſon of a citizen of London, and had ſpent his youth in the ſtudy of the civil and canon law at Boulogne. He was poſſeſſed of very ſingular talents, and had a ſpirit not to be daunted even by the frowns of royalty. He had been raiſed by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbnry, to conſiderable preferments in the church, and on Henry's acceſſion to the throne was recommended to him by that primate as a perſon worthy of his confidence and favour. Henry accordingly promoted him to ſeveral places of truſt, and in particular to that of chancellor, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom. After obtaining that high poſt he was made provoſt of Beverley, dean of Haſtings, and conſtable of the Tower; and, to complete his importance, was entruſted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir apparent to the crown.

bury. He accordingly collated one Laurence to the rectory of Aresford; but the patron, who was a peer of the realm, resolved not to submit to so insolent an intrusion, and immediately ejected Laurence from the benefice. This was considered by Becket as an unpardonable offence, and he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the patron.

As soon as Henry was informed of these proceedings he dispatched a messenger to Becket, insisting that he should immediately absolve the patron; but the haughty prelate sent him for answer, that it did not belong to him to command him either to absolve or excommunicate any person whatever. A little reflection, however, convinced him of his error: a law, passed in the reign of William the Conqueror, inflicted the penalty of high-treason on any churchman, who should promulgate an ecclesiastical censure on any military tenant of the crown, without the king's consent; and the prelate, not chusing to subject himself to this penalty, annulled the sentence.

Henry was now convinced of his mistake in the opinion he had entertained of Becket; but still was resolved, if possible, to reduce the power of the ecclesiastics; and an event soon happened which gave him the opportunity of attempting the execution of his design. A clergyman in Worcestershire debauched a gentleman's daughter, and in order to conceal the offence murdered the father. Henry gave orders that the criminal should be tried in the secular court, and punished according to the laws of the kingom. In consequence of this Becket insisted on the privilege of the church, and positively asserted that no greater punishment could be inflicted than that of degradation, and being shut up in a monastery during the remainder of his life. He likewise added, that, to subject an ecclesiastic to the cognizance of the civil magistrate was an high infringement on the privileges of the church, and which he would always oppose to the utmost of his power.

Astonished at the insolence of Becket, the king called an assembly of all the prelates at Westminster, and solemnly demanded, "whether they "consented to, and allowed, that such clergymen "as were convicted of felony should be degraded, "and immediately on their degradation, delivered over to a secular officer for corporal punish-"ment." This demand, which was perfectly consistent with justice, and the antient laws of the land, met with very little opposition from any of the clergy, except the archbishop, who alledged, that it was contrary both to the law and institutions of the church, for a delinquent to undergo a double punishment for the same offence. At the same time told his brethren, that it ill became them (who were forbid to have any concern in sentences of death) to expose any person of their own order to capital punishment. Swayed by the authority, and fearing the power of Becket, the bishops declined coming to any resolution on the subject of the king's demand. This greatly exasperated the king, who put to them the following precise and decisive question: "Whether or not they were willing to submit to the antient laws of the kingdom." The answer returned was equivocal: a salvo was added with regard to the clerical order and the privileges of the church; on which Henry left the synod with marks of the greatest indignation.

The bishops, alarmed at the abrupt departure of the king, represented to Becket, that his unreasonable obstinacy would, in all probability, be fatal to the privilege of the clergy; and therefore advised him to make concessions to offended majesty. But the archbishop was deaf to their entreaties, declaring, that he was ready to lay down his life in support of the canons of the church. Astonished at the obstinacy of Becket, the bishops, who were not equally blinded by enthusiasm, considered that whatever honour their countenancing the prelate might reflect on them at the court of Rome, yet, as Englishmen, they had every thing to fear from the resentment of an active and warlike prince. Instigated by these considerations, they waited on the king, and gave him an absolute promise to submit themselves to the laws of the nation. Their example was followed by Becket, who promised, on the faith of an honest man, to pay a strict adherence to the laws of the kingdom.

A. D. 1164. This submission was highly pleasing to the king, who, in order to prevent any future controversy, resolved to have the laws of the kingdom fully explained and defined, that the limits of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, might be properly ascertained. For this purpose he summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, where the following laws (commonly called the *Constitutions of Clarendon*) were by the assembly framed and unanimously agreed to:

1. That all suits relative to the advowson and presentation of livings, should be determined in the civil courts.

2. That the churches, belonging to the king's fee, should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent.

3. That clergymen accused of any crime, should be tried in the civil courts.

4. That no person, particularly no clergyman of any rank, should depart the kingdom without the king's licence.

5. That excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for continuing in their usual place of abode.

6. That the laity should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable witnesses.

7. That no chief tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands put under an interdict, except with the king's consent.

8. That all appeals in spiritual cases should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king; and no farther without the king's consent.

9. That if any law-suit arose between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenement, and if he disputed whether the land be a lay or an ecclesiastical fee, it should be determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what class it belonged, and if found to be a lay fee, the cause should finally be determined in the civil courts.

10. That no inhabitant in demesne should be excommunicated for non-appearance in a spiritual court, till the chief officer of the place, where he resided, be consulted, that he might compel him, by the civil authority, to give satisfaction to the church.

11. That the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual dignitaries, should be considered as barons of the realm; should possess the privileges and be subject to the burthens belonging to that rank; and should be bound to attend the king in his great council, and assist at all trials, till the

ſentence, either of death or loſs of members, be given againſt the criminal.

12. That the revenues of the vacant ſees ſhould belong to the king; the chapter, or ſuch of them as he might think proper to ſummons, ſhould ſit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his conſent; and that the biſhop elected ſhould do homage to the crown.

13. That if any baron ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to the ſpiritual courts, the king ſhould uſe his authority in obliging him to make ſuch ſubmiſſion; and if any one threw off his allegiance, the prelates ſhould, with their cenſures, aſſiſt the king in reducing him to ſubjection.

14. That goods forfeited to the king ſhould not be protected in churches or church-yards.

15. That all actions and ſuits for debt, due either upon oath or ſolemn promiſe, or otherwiſe contracted, ſhould be tried in the king's court.

16. That the ſons of villains, or copyholders, ſhould not be ordained without the conſent of the lord of the manor.

Such were the famous articles ſo well known under the title of "The Conſtitutions of Clarendon." The biſhops, over-awed by the barons, who were all gained over to the king's party, readily ſigned them; but Becket retracted his promiſe, and for ſome time abſolutely refuſed, till at length by the repeated ſolicitations of the nobility and clergy he was prevailed on to aſſent, and not only ſigned the articles, but likewiſe promiſed "legally with good faith, and without fraud, to obey them."

Having thus far ſucceeded in his deſign, Henry tranſmitted a copy of the articles to the pope in order to have them confirmed by a bull. But the pontiff was ſo far from complying with the wiſhes of the king, that he condemned and annulled them, as being incompatible with the rights of the church.

As ſoon as Becket was informed that the pope had rejected the articles, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for having ſigned them, redoubled his auſterities, and refuſed to exerciſe any part of his archiepiſcopal function till he ſhould receive abſolution from the pontiff.

The conduct of Becket ſo irritated the king, that it was generally apprehended by all Becket's friends his ruin was determined. The archbiſhop himſelf was alarmed, and applied to Henry for leave to viſit the pope, in order to confer with him on ſome important affairs relative to the church; but this the king abſolutely refuſed. The next day the prelate repaired to Woodſtock where Henry reſided; but the king would not permit him to enter the palace.

A few days after this Henry ſummoned a council at Northampton where no leſs than four articles of impeachment were preferred againſt the prelate. The firſt was for contumacy, in not having appeared at the king's court in perſon, to anſwer a writ brought againſt him by John, mareſchal of the Exchequer, who had ſued the primate in the archiepiſcopal court, for ſome laws belonging to the manor of Pagham, and, who, thinking the determination illegal, had appealed from thence to the king's court for juſtice. The archbiſhop endeavoured to defend himſelf, but was convicted, and fined 500l.

The ſecond article was, his having embezzled 300l. he had received as conſtable of the caſtles of Eye in Suffolk and Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire. In anſwer to this he alledged, that he had laid out a greater ſum in the repairs of royal caſtles; but the king denying this allegation, and demanding immediate judgment, he agreed to refund the money.

The third charge brought againſt him was for 500 marks which he had borrowed from the king. The archbiſhop pleaded that he was unprepared to anſwer to this charge; but the plea was over-ruled, and Becket obliged to give ſecurity for the payment.

The laſt charge was of much greater importance, and of a more complicated nature than either of the other three. He was required to give an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the biſhoprics, abbies and baronies, which had, during that time, been ſubjected to his management. To this charge the primate replied, it could not be expected he was prepared to anſwer a charge of ſo complicated a nature, as he had not received any intimation of it in his ſummons; but promiſed to give the king ſatisfaction, if he would give him time to deliberate on the ſituation of his affairs and conſult with his friends. This requeſt being granted he left the court, and retired to his apartments, where he ſpent the whole night in cloſe conſultation with his friends, ſome of whom adviſed him to reſign his ſee, as the moſt probable means of making his peace with the king: others adviſed him to offer 10,000 marks as a compenſation; while a third party recommended, that he ſhould throw himſelf entirely on the mercy of his ſovereign, without making, or attempting to make, any terms whatever.

The archbiſhop, however, did not think proper to follow the advice of either party; but on the contrary reſolved to repair next day to the court, and, inſtead of giving any account of his ſtewardſhip, or making the leaſt ſubmiſſion, to inſiſt on the privileges of the church. Thinking ſome religious ſolemnity might attract the notice of the people in his favour, he propoſed walking to the court barefooted, dreſſed in his pontifical robes, and to carry in his hand the croſs of Canterbury. His friends, however, diſſuading him from this deſign, he laid aſide his pall and mitre, and wearing his other ſacred veſtments, with the cope above them, the croſs being carried before him proceeded in that manner on horſeback to the king's court. When he came to the outward court he alighted, and taking the croſs into his own hand, proceeded in that manner into the preſence chamber, where he ſet himſelf down, holding the croſs before him. Every perſon preſent was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at his inſolence and folly. The biſhops, in particular, were aſhamed and confounded: they told him his behaviour looked as if he came prepared to ſet the whole kingdom in a flame, and to put his ſovereign at open defiance: they repreſented the ill conſequences of ſuch vain and inſolent behaviour, and endeavoured to perſuade him to deliver the croſs to the biſhop of Hereford; but the haughty prelate would not comply. At length the archbiſhop of York, being no longer able to bear with his inſolence, told him that, notwithſtanding the croſs was in his hand, he would find the king carried much ſharper weapons. "It is true, replied Becket, the king's weapon can kill the body, but mine can deſtroy the ſoul." This anſwer, which ſeemed to threaten the king and court with excommunication, was carried to Henry, then ſitting in an inner chamber, who was ſo provoked at ſuch an imperious menace, that he ſent for the nobles and prelates, to whom he complained

loudly of Becket's intolerable inſolence in entering his court in ſuch a preſumptuous manner. The whole council joined in condemning this inſtance of the prelate's pride; and at the ſame time informed the king that Becket had intimated to them his deſign of appealing to the pope for protection.

Willing to avoid a rupture with the pontiff, though at the ſame time deſirous of puniſhing the inſolence of the prelate, Henry went into the preſence chamber, remonſtrated with Becket on the impropriety of his conduct, and reminded him of his having aſſented to, and ſubſcribed, the articles of Clarendon. Becket told him, the cauſe of God and the church had rendered his conſent to thoſe articles of no force; and that he put himſelf under the protection of the Roman pontiff, the ſupreme head of the church, to whom he appealed againſt the ſentences that either had, or might be pronounced, againſt him, and ſtrictly enjoined his ſuffragans not to join in any enterprize that was contrary to the privileges of the church.

The king and barons were ſo exaſperated at this arrogant behaviour, that a propoſition was made to commit the prelate to priſon; upon which, not chuſing to hear the ſentence denounced, he abruptly left the aſſembly, and retired, with his croſs erect before him, to the monaſtery of St. Andrews.

The next day Becket ſent three biſhops to the king to aſk a ſafe conduct for his departure; but this being denied, he retired privately, in the night, attended only by two ſervants, and fled to the continent. He was received by Lewis king of France, and pope Alexander, who was then at the court of that monarch, with every mark of reſpect. By the munificence of Lewis he lived with the utmoſt magnificence in the monaſtery of Pontigni, and the pope made preparations for iſſuing bulls to revenge his diſgrace.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of Becket's departure from the kingdom, he immediately diſpatched a very reſpectable embaſſy to the pope, to ſolicit the depoſition of the primate, offering, at the ſame time, in caſe his requeſt was granted, to double the revenue of Peter's-pence, and to render it a perpetual tax. But the pope was inflexible: he poſitively refuſed compliance on any terms whatever; upon which the ambaſſadors left his court, and returned to England. Immediately on their arrival Henry ſummoned an aſſembly of the nobles, when it was determined to ſequeſter all the poſſeſſions of the ſee of Canterbury, together with all the revenues of the churches, chapels, and rents of the clergy who adhered to Becket; and all the primate's relations and domeſtics, both clergy and laity, were baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1165. Henry was apprehenſive theſe proceedings might ſo irritate the pope as to be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. He therefore went over to the continent, in order, if poſſible, by a perſonal conference with his holineſs, to prevent an interdict being laid on the kingdom. An interview was accordingly propoſed, and it was agreed that Becket ſhould not be preſent. The archbiſhop was alarmed at this excluſion, being fearful that the pope, on hearing a fair account of the whole proceedings, would withdraw his protection, and abandon him to the vengeance of an enraged monarch. He therefore told his holineſs "he might be impoſed on by the fluent and plauſible ſpeeches of Henry, unleſs himſelf was preſent to interpret their meaning." The pontiff liſtened to this artful ſuggeſtion of the prelate, and inſiſted on the archbiſhop being preſent at the interview. But Henry diſdained to ſubmit to this propoſal, and, without taking leave of the pope, embarked for his own dominions.

A. D. 1166. As it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe the pontiff would exert all his power in favour of Becket, Henry, on his arrival in England, took every precaution he could project to render that power abortive. He prohibited all his ſubjects, under ſevere penalties, from receiving any mandates either from his holineſs or the archbiſhop, and from appealing to their authority in any inſtance whatever. He declared that whoever brought an interdict on the kingdom from the pope or Becket ſhould be deemed guilty of treaſon, and be puniſhed by death if done by a layman; by loſs of ſight if done by a ſecular clergyman; and by amputation of feet if by regular eccleſiaſtics. On the contrary, the pope and archbiſhop did all they could to wreak their vengeance on the king. Becket denounced anathemas againſt all his enemies, and at laſt pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all that adhered to the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and abſolved every perſon from the oaths they had taken to obſerve them. Nay, he even went ſo far as to threaten to excommunicate the king, unleſs he repented of what he had done, and had ſuch influence over the pope as to obtain his ratification of the cenſures.

A. D. 1167. While the king and Becket were thus purſuing meaſures of the moſt contentious and dangerous nature, Lewis king of France interpoſed his good offices to bring about an accommodation. Becket declared he was ready to put an end to all diſputes, and to ſubmit to the king, on condition of having all his honours and poſſeſſions reſtored. At length an interview was agreed on, and Becket met the kings of France and England at a village in the neighbourhood of Paris; but the primate was ſo unreaſonable and haughty, that Lewis was perſuaded it would be impoſſible to bring about a reconciliation. Henry, deſirous of pacification, ſaid to Lewis, "There have been many kings of England, and there have been many archbiſhops of Canterbury: let Becket act towards me with the ſame ſubmiſſion which the greateſt of his predeceſſors have paid to the leaſt of mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." But Becket refuſed to acquieſce in ſo reaſonable a propoſal. Lewis was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, diſguſted, and the two kings departed without taking leave of the archbiſhop; but the correſpondence and friendſhip between the monarch of France and the prelate was ſoon after renewed.

After this interview Henry viſited his Norman dominions, where he continued ſome time, during which he gave that duchy, together with the provinces of Maine and Anjou, to his eldeſt ſon Henry; Poictou and Guienne to his ſon Richard, and Britany to his third ſon Geoffrey, who held it as a fief depending upon Normandy, and ſwore fealty to his eldeſt brother. Lewis, as lord paramount of theſe fiefs, confirmed the grants, and the young princes did homage to the French monarch for their reſpective territories.

A. D. 1169. Henry, after having ſecured his Norman dominions in the poſſeſſion of his own family, returned to England, and immediately on his arrival ſummoned a parliament, or great council of the nation, to meet at Windſor. In this aſſembly the kingdom was divided into circuits; and certain earls, knights and clergymen, appointed commiſſioners to make a progreſs through theſe diviſions, in order to take cognizance of all abuſes committed



KING HENRY *the* SECOND *serving the first Dish to the Table of his* SON HENRY,
after his Coronation by the Bishops of York, Durham, and London

committed by the ſheriffs, bailiffs, and other inferior officers. This inquiſition produced the moſt ſalutary effects; the ſubject was eaſed of many exactions, various grievances were redreſſed, and peace eſtabliſhed in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1170. Henry had, for ſome time, reſolved in his mind to take effectual meaſures for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown to his eldeſt ſon; but thought proper to conceal his deſign till the very moment of its execution, leſt the turbulent primate ſhould find means to render the whole abortive. He did not forget the little regard the Engliſh had paid to their oath of fealty in the caſe of his mother, and was determined not to ſubject his own children to the ſame misfortune: he therefore reſolved to have the crown formally placed on the head of his eldeſt ſon Henry, then in the 16th year of his age. He accordingly adjourned the national aſſembly from Windſor to London. No perſon, not even the young prince himſelf, was acquainted with the real intentions of Henry. The aſſembly was, however, remarkably full, as the report was to be made from the commiſſioners who had been appointed to make a progreſs through the different circuits of the kingdom. As ſoon, therefore, as the report was read, Henry acquainted them with the reſolution he had formed relative to the coronation of his ſon, and was pleaſed to find it received with univerſal approbation. The only difficulty conſiſted in finding a prelate who was properly authorized to perform the ceremony. It was generally underſtood to be a prerogative peculiar to the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but that prelate not being in the kingdom, it was agreed that it ſhould be performed by Roger, archbiſhop of York, who had, ſome time before, been inveſted with a legantine authority for Scotland. Accordingly that prelate, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London and Durham, placed the crown upon the head of young Henry, and immediately after the ceremony William, king of Scotland, his brother David, and all the earls and barons of England, did him homage.

The young prince was of an haughty and imperious diſpoſition, and a ſtranger to generoſity and gratitude. His father, deſirous of diſplaying, before ſo great and noble an aſſembly, every mark of paternal love and reſpect for his favourite ſon, ſerved the firſt diſh at his table with his own hands, ſaying, with an endearing ſmile, "You may now boaſt, my ſon, of being as honourably ſerved as any monarch upon earth." But young Henry was too haughty to make a proper return to this diſtinguiſhed condeſcenſion in his royal parent. He turned to the archbiſhop of York, and whiſpered, with a contemptuous ſneer, "That he thought it no degradation for the ſon of a petty count to ſerve the heir of a great king." His father, however, did not hear this ungenerous reflection: he was yet a ſtranger to the natural ingratitude of his ſon.

Soon after the coronation of the young prince, Henry paid a viſit to his foreign dominions, where another effort was made for terminating the differences between the king and the ambitious primate. The pope, indeed, was juſt going to lay an interdict on Henry's dominions, but receiving a moſt humiliating meſſage from that prince, informing him of his wiſhes to bring about a reconciliation with Becket, he laid aſide his intentions. Soon after a conference was held in a meadow between Charton and Maine, where all the differences between the king and archbiſhop were finally adjuſted. It was agreed, that Henry ſhould receive the archbiſhop, his exiled clergy, adherents and relations into his favour: that the prelate ſhould be reſtored to his rights and poſſeſſions in the ſee of Canterbury, and be empowered to hold them in the ſame manner as before the conteſt began; and that ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the ſee of Canterbury, for the violation of its rights in the coronation of the young prince. Thus were matters accommodated between Henry and the archbiſhop, the latter of whom, after taking leave of the king, with the greateſt ſeeming ſatisfaction and reſpect, embarked for England, in order to reinſtate himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Canterbury.

Henry now hoped that Becket, from the great conceſſions he had made to him, would lay aſide all rancour and malice, and apply himſelf to the proper duties of his office, the cultivation of peace, and promoting brotherly love and charity throughout the kingdom. But in this he was greatly deceived. Becket no ſooner took poſſeſſion of his ſee than he iſſued out ſentences of excommunication againſt the biſhops of London and Durham, together with ſeveral of the king's miniſters, officers of the houſhold, juſticiaries, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom. At this time Henry was at Bayeaux in France, and being informed of the violent proceedings of Becket, he cried out in the bitterneſs of grief and aſtoniſhment, "What! will none of my ſervants rid me of this ungrateful and imperious prelate." This exclamation produced conſequences little expected by Henry, at the time he ſpoke it. Four barons, or knights of his houſhold, agreed to revenge the cauſe of their maſter, and for that purpoſe privately withdrew from court, and paſſed over to England. As ſoon as Henry was informed of their departure he recollected the exclamation he made relative to Becket, and fearful that it might induce them to take ſome violent meaſures, immediately diſpatched meſſengers after them, to prevent any fatal cataſtrophe. But it was too late. The four conſpirators followed the archbiſhop into the church of Canterbury, and murdered him before the altar of St. Benedict.

Such was the tragical end of Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of the moſt imperious and inflexible ſpirit. He fell a victim to his own pride and obſtinacy in a cauſe which he fancied juſt, and in which he was guided by the moſt deſtructive prejudices. Unable to bear the leaſt contradiction, and fond of directing affairs of every kind, he treated all who oppoſed him with a virulence of behaviour, and a ſeverity of vengeance, which was neither ſuitable to the character of a chriſtian biſhop, or a decent member of ſociety. When he had any point to gain he advanced, without ſcruple, the moſt infamous falſehoods, and vouched them as truths under the ſanction of the moſt ſacred oaths. But notwithſtanding this, and his having been publickly condemned as a traitor to his country, yet he was canonized and revered as a martyr about two years after his death. This was done by order of pope Alexander, who alſo by a bull, directed to all the clergy and people of England, appointed the 30th of December to be annually kept as a feſtival in commemoration of his martyrdom.

A. D. 1171. Henry was greatly affected at the death of Becket. He dreaded the reſentment of the pope, and knew his enemies would exert all their influence with him to lay an interdict on his dominions. He therefore diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to Rome, to clear him of all ſuſpicion of being

being any ways concerned in the death of Becket, and to avert the thunders of the vatican. Alexander, at firſt, refuſed an audience to Henry's ambaſſadors; but by the proper diſtribution of large ſums among the principal people of his court, the intention of Henry was fully anſwered, and the pope contented himſelf with iſſuing general denunciations againſt the principals and accomplices of Becket's murder. Two cardinals, however, were ſent with legantine powers into Normandy, in order to examine into the king's conduct, and a conference was opened at Avaranches, at which were preſent Henry and his eldeſt ſon, together with all the clergy of Normandy. After long debates the whole affair was ſettled, and all differences terminated between the pontiff and Henry, the latter of whom ſoon after left the continent, and embarked for his own dominions.

A. D. 1172. A ſhort time after Henry's return to England, he determined to put in execution a ſcheme he had ſome years before projected for obtaining the conqueſt of Ireland. Adrian IV. who at that time filled the papal chair, deſirous of augmenting the power and revenues of the holy ſee, encouraged Henry to purſue the plan he had formed, and granted him a bull, with the moſt ample privileges. But the diſturbances that happened between Becket and the king, prevented the latter from carrying his deſign into execution.

But before we proceed any farther, it may not be improper to give the reader ſome account of the Iriſh, the conqueſt of whoſe country was attempted upon the ſlighteſt foundation, and effected with an eaſe that borders almoſt on romance.

At this time the Iriſh were ſo unpoliſhed as to be little better than ſavages: they were even ignorant of agriculture, and deſtitute of laws, of manners, and learning. The iſland was divided into a number of ſmall principalities, each governed by its own prince, but all forming a political confederacy, though they frequently committed great violences againſt each other. They were incapable of making any defence againſt regular forces; and it was no eaſy matter to unite them into one body or nation, and govern them by wholeſome laws. Ferocious by nature, and fond of liberty, they oppoſed every attempt to civilize them; and, like the antient Britons, when attacked by a ſuperior force, fled to their foreſts and mountains for ſafety.

An event now happened which gave Henry a favourable opportunity of claiming his pretended right to Ireland in conſequence of the bull received from pope Adrian. Dermot, one of the petty kings of Ireland, being driven out of his dominions by a neighbouring chief, whoſe wife he had carried off, applied to the Engliſh monarch for aſſiſtance to recover his territories. Henry liſtened to the Iriſh chief, and empowered him to raiſe troops in England. He alſo gave general permiſſion to his ſubjects to aſſiſt the prince in perſon, but declined embarking himſelf in the enterprize. Excited by ambition ſeveral of the Engliſh barons determined to aſſiſt the Iriſh prince, among whom, Richard, earl of Striguel, ſurnamed Strongbow, was the chief. That noblemen poſſeſſed ſeveral large eſtates in Wales, where his tenants were numerous, and the ſituation of his territories very convenient for paſſing over to Ireland. Strongbow undertook to aſſiſt the Iriſh chief on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, and leaving him his territories. Accordingly theſe adventurers, at the head of their reſpective forces, landed in Ireland, defeated ſome conſiderable bodies of the wild Iriſh, and, not content with recovering the territories of Dermot, proceeded to the reduction of the whole iſland.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of the great ſucceſs of his barons, he was deſirous of acquiring the honour of being the conqueror of Ireland, and therefore went over in perſon at the head of a powerful army. But the Iriſh were already conquered, and there remained nothing for the king to do but receive the ſubmiſſion of a vanquiſhed people. Moſt of the tributary princes attended his court at Dublin, and ſwore allegiance to him. The clergy, who had laboured to render their country ſubject to England ever ſince Adrian iſſued a bull for that purpoſe, met in general aſſembly at Waterford, where they ſigned their ſubmiſſion, and delivered the inſtruments to Henry, who tranſmitted them to Rome, where they were confirmed by the pontiff.

Having thus taken poſſeſſion of Ireland, Henry returned to England, and flattered himſelf with enjoying a ſeries of eaſe and tranquillity; but he ſoon found himſelf deceived, and his quietude interrupted by the very perſons who ought moſt to have endeavoured to promote it. Henry, his eldeſt ſon, a prince of an haughty and inſolent temper, was weary of bearing the royal title without authority. He had married Margaret, daughter to Lewis king of France, and the ceremony of his coronation had been repeated by the archbiſhop of Rouen, in order that his conſort might be included in the ſolemnity. He had alſo been permitted to pay a viſit to his father-in-law, and continued ſome time at the court of France. Lewis embraced this opportunity of kindling the flames of domeſtic diſcord in the family of Henry. He perſuaded the prince that, in conſequence of the ceremony of coronation, he was entitled to an immediate poſſeſſion of a part of the dominions of his father.

In conſequence of this young Henry, who was naturally of an imperious and aſpiring diſpoſition, came over to England, and, in an abrupt manner, demanded from his father either the kingdom of England, or the duchy of Normandy. Henry was aſtoniſhed at this unexpected requeſt, and began to ſee his hopes of happineſs were built on a chimerical foundation. He endeavoured to convince his ſon of the extravagance of his demand, and painted, in ſtriking colours, the folly of a requeſt, which could only tend to weaken the power of his family, and, ultimately, his own authority. But all his arguments were fruitleſs: the prince diſcovered the higheſt diſcontent, blended with inſolence, at his father's refuſal, and, retiring to France, put himſelf under the protection of Lewis, whoſe deſire of leſſening the power of Henry had given riſe to this domeſtic diſcord.

But the diſobedience of his eldeſt ſon was not the only misfortune that diſturbed the happineſs of Henry. His queen Eleanor had long been jealous of him *, and carried her reſentment ſo far as to en-

* Henry eſpouſed his queen Eleanor, not from an attachment to her perſon, but from motives of ambition. The tenderneſs of conjugal affection had never ſubſiſted between them; and in proportion as her perſonal attractions decayed, ſhe became the object of the king's diſguſt; which was, perhaps, increaſed by his reflections on her infidelity to her former royal

encourage her two younger ſons, Richard and Geoffrey, to follow the example of their brother. They accordingly repaired to the court of France, and inſiſted on being put into actual poſſeſſion of the territories aſſigned them by their father.

A. D. 1173. William, king of Scotland, had long beheld the great power of Henry, and trembled for the conſequences. As ſoon therefore as he heard of the claim made by young Henry, and that he had fled for protection to Lewis, he immediately repaired to the court of France, under pretence of renewing the league that had long continued between the Scottiſh and French nations; but, in reality, to concert proper meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh monarch. Several of the moſt powerful barons, both in England and Normandy, likewiſe joined in the unnatural alliance for ſupporting the unreaſonable claims of an undutiful ſon on the dominions of an indulgent parent.

Henry was now ſurrounded with innumerable difficulties, from which nothing leſs than his amazing abilities could have extricated him. He determined to go over to the continent, and as it was not likely to bring his refractory ſons to obedience by the power of argument, to reduce them and their adherents by the force of arms. But the deſertion of many of his powerful barons gave him reaſon to fear his own ſubjects would deſert him in the day of battle, upon which he determined to have recourſe to foreign mercenaries for aſſiſtance. He accordingly, on his arrival upon the continent, took twenty thouſand Brabanders, all veteran troops, into his pay, and, with the aſſiſtance of theſe and his own abilities, was enabled to withſtand the efforts of his enemies. His magnanimity and military proweſs never ſhone with ſo much luſtre as in this alarming criſis. The thoughts of impending danger animated him with freſh courage. Bleſſed with the moſt aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, and wholly a ſtranger to fear, he viewed, with the utmoſt coolneſs, the many dangers with which he was ſurrounded, and planned the moſt prudent meaſures to render them abortive.

The operations of the confederate princes were begun by Richard, who repaired to Guienne, and excited the greater part of the inhabitants to take up arms againſt his father. Geoffrey fomented a rebellion in Britany, and put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents. Normandy was invaded by the king of France, aſſiſted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. William, king of Scotland, who had ſome time before left the French court, marched with an army into the northern parts of England. And the earl of Leiceſter landed in Eſſex at the head of a large body of Flemiſh troops, to excite an inſurrection among the Engliſh.

But all the deſigns and endeavours of his foes were rendered abortive. Henry had taken ſuch precautions in providing for the defence of the frontiers of Normandy, that the French monarch, after loſing the greater part of his army, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Ten thouſand Brabanders, ſent by Henry into Britany, defeated the rebels, and obliged them to return to their duty. Henry advanced at the head of his army againſt the inſurgents in Guienne, retook the places they had ſeized, and obliged them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his authority. And, to crown all, while theſe tranſactions were taking place on the continent, the army of Leiceſter was routed at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, and above ten thouſand Flemings ſlain on the ſpot.

A. D. 1174. Having reduced the inſurgents on the continent, Henry haſtened to England, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the Scots, who had invaded his dominions, and committed the moſt horrid ravages in various parts of the country. He landed at Southampton, and in order to gain the affections of his people, ſubmitted to an act of humiliation, which all the power of the church could not impoſe upon him. Conſcious of laying under very ſtrong ſuſpicions of being acceſſary to the death of Becket, he determined to remove every ſhadow of ſuch a thought by joining himſelf in the prevailing devotions of the times. He accordingly ſet out for Canterbury, and three miles before his arrival at the place, alighted from his horſe, and walked barefoot to the tomb of the ſaint, proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of Becket, continued the whole day in prayer, and watched all night the holy relics. The next morning he aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put ſcourges into their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the diſcipline and laſhes of theſe eccleſiaſtics. He afterwards made a ſolemn proceſſion to all the altars in the cathedral, and, retiring to the ſhrine of the canonized prelate, made an offering of forty pounds per annum towards the ſupport of a number of lamps kept continually burning before his tomb.

Having performed theſe ceremonies, which gave great ſatisfaction to the multitude, Henry left the cathedral, and proceeded towards London; but he had not gone far, when intelligence arrived that a deciſive victory had been obtained over the Scottiſh army, and that William their king was taken priſoner. This remarkable ſucceſs was immediately attributed by the people to the protection of St. Becket, and the ſame opinion prevailing throughout

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conſort, and the circumſtance of her ſuperiority in point of years. Henry was not addicted to many vices, but it muſt be acknowledged he preſcribed no limits to the indulgence of his paſſion for women; and he conceived that the former libidinous conduct of his queen, and the imperfections that time wrought in her features, afforded ſome countenance and excuſe for the numerous amours in which he engaged. Among the reſt of his miſtreſſes was Fair Roſamond, a lady who is equally celebrated in antient ballads and romances on account of her extraordinary beauty, and the ſingular manner of her death.

Roſamond Clifford, daughter of lord Clifford, was eſteemed by far the moſt beautiful woman of the age in which ſhe lived. Henry, whoſe heart was remarkably ſuſceptible of amorous impreſſions, conceived an ardent paſſion for her, and long loved her with unabating tenderneſs. That ſhe might not be expoſed to the jealous rage of Eleanor, the king concealed her in a labarynth in Woodſtock-park, where he retired to paſs, in an interchange of tender endearments with his ſolitary beauty, thoſe hours which could be ſpared from the important cares inſeperable from his exalted ſtation. Fabulous hiſtorians have told us that it came at length to the knowledge of the queen; who, being guided by a clew of ſilk, found the retreat of her fair rival, whom ſhe compelled, by holding a dagger to her breaſt, to ſwallow poiſon. But the real truth is, that, after a courſe of time Roſamond ſhook off all connections with Henry, retired to the convent of Godſtow, and ſpent the remainder of her days in penitence.

Eleanor was not leſs obnoxious to Henry on account of her jealouſy than ſhe had been to her former huſband for her gallantries; and to her it was in a great meaſure owing that the diſturbances took place between Henry and his children. After the departure of Geoffrey and Richard, the queen diſguiſed herſelf in man's apparel, with the deſign of effecting her eſcape to France; but being diſcovered ſhe was immediately ſeized, and, by the king's order, committed to cloſe confinement.

out his dominions, greatly contributed towards ſuppreſſing the ſpirit of rebellion.

But many of the reſtleſs barons were ſtill in arms, in conſequence of which Henry marched immediately to chaſtiſe them, and reſtore that peace to his kingdom, which their unnatural rebellion had diſturbed. He firſt inveſted the caſtle of Framlingham, belonging to Hugh Bigod, one of the moſt powerful of the Engliſh mal-contents. But this nobleman was too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of Henry to attempt defending his fortreſs: he therefore opened a negotiation, and obtained pardon on condition of delivering up his caſtles of Framlingham and Bungay. The reſt of the diſcontented barons followed his example, and received their pardons on the like conditions.

During theſe tranſactions in England the French king had laid ſiege to Rouen, in which he was joined by the earl of Flanders. This re-inforcement enabled the French monarch to puſh the ſiege with vigour; and he flattered himſelf with being able to reduce the place before Henry could arrive with an army to oppoſe him. In this, however, he was greatly deceived. The garriſon made a gallant defence, and Henry landed before Lewis could even reduce the outworks. The preſence of the Engliſh monarch ſtruck the enemy with terror: the ſiege was immediately raiſed, and the combined forces fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving all their baggage in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh monarch.

Soon after this a conference was propoſed by Lewis for bringing about a general peace. This propoſition was readily approved by Henry's firſt and third ſon, as alſo by the Engliſh monarch himſelf; but the impetuous and reſtleſs Richard, ſon of Henry, was ſtill in arms in Poictou, committing acts of hoſtility on all the inhabitants who favoured the intereſt of his father, and therefore refuſed to come to any accommodation but on his own terms. Exaſperated at his obſtinacy, the younger Henry with the king of France, gave him up to the reſentment of his father, to whom they ſwore not to give any diſturbance, but, on the contrary, to aſſiſt him in reducing his ſtubborn ſon to obedience. Richard depending upon the ſupport of the French king and his brother, was amazed at finding himſelf deſerted by both, and fearing the conſequences if he ſhould perſevere, ſent a meſſenger to his father, ſoliciting his pardon, and promiſing immediately to deſiſt from his rebellious proceedings. In conſequence of this a conference was agreed to be held between Tours and Amboiſe, where all the three ſons made ample ſubmiſſion to their father, who allowed each of them penſions, aſſigned caſtles for their reſidence, and granted pardons to all thoſe who had combined with them in their diſobedience.

Having thus accommodated all differences abroad, Henry returned to England, and compelled the king of Scotland, then his priſoner, to ſign a treaty of peace, in which it was ſtipulated that William ſhould do homage to Henry for his dominions, as ſhould alſo the barons and biſhops of Scotland; and that the forts of Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Stirling, ſhould be delivered up as ſecurities for the performance of the articles. The Scotch king, being releaſed from confinement, brought up all his barons, prelates and abbots, who, with himſelf, did homage to Henry in the cathedral church of York, and acknowledged him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord.

A. D. 1176—1178. Henry, having thus rendered abortive all the deſigns of his enemies, applied himſelf, with great diligence, to the purſuit of thoſe meaſures that were moſt likely to procure and eſtabliſh a general tranquillity throughout his kingdom. He eſtabliſhed laws for the ſuppreſſion of murder, robbery, burning of houſes, and counterfeiting the coin; according to which the perpetrators of thoſe offences were to be puniſhed by the amputation of the right-hand, and right-foot. Though the ordeal trial was not entirely aboliſhed, its influence was conſiderably leſſened; and perſons who had been ſubjected to this ſcrutiny, and eſcaped, were liable to a legal inveſtigation of their conduct, and, in caſe of conviction, baniſhed the kingdom.

In order that the laws might be properly executed, Henry divided the kingdom into ſix parts, and appointed judges to make regular circuits, for the purpoſe of trying cauſes, and protecting the inferior claſſes of his ſubjects from the cruelty and oppreſſion of the haughty barons. He likewiſe reſtored the mode of trial by jury, which, through the prevalence of the abſurd and barbarous cuſtoms of deciding conteſts by the ordeal and ſingle combat, had almoſt grown into diſuſe. To ſecure his dominions from the horrors that had been experienced from the formidable oppoſition of the refractory barons to the regal authority, he cauſed moſt of thoſe caſtles, which had been erected and fortified during the late civil diſcords, to be demoliſhed; and eſtabliſhed a regular militia to ſecure his dominions from foreign invaſion. Theſe wiſe regulations produced tranquillity throughout the kingdom; his people were protected, contented and happy.

A. D. 1179. Lewis, the French king, being worn out with age, was deſirous of reſigning his crown to his ſon Philip; but that young prince being taken ill on the day appointed for his coronation, Lewis, contrary to the advice of his council, undertook a pilgrimage for his recovery to the ſhrine of St. Thomas a Becket. Henry, being apprized of his arrival, met the French monarch at Dover, and accompanied him to Canterbury, where they both paid their devotions at the altar of St. Thomas. Lewis offered a maſſy cup of pure gold, beſtowed upon the monks a grant of two hundred gallons of wine annually, and freed them from all duties on ſuch goods as they ſhould, in future, purchaſe in any part of his dominions. After ſtaying four days, Lewis returned home, but in a ſhort time after his arrival was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, of which he died, leaving the crown to his ſon Philip.

No material tranſaction occured from this time till the year 1183, when young Henry (who was then with his queen at the court of France) again unſheathed the ſword of rebellion againſt his father, in which he was protected by the ambitious and aſpiring Philip, king of France. Young Henry committed ſeveral acts of hoſtilities in his father's territories, but was ſtopped in his proceedings by illneſs, being ſeized with a violent fever at Martel, a caſtle in the neighbourhood of Limoges. Finding himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, he diſpatched a meſſenger to his father, intreating the favour of a viſit, that he might die with the ſatisfaction of having obtained the forgiveneſs of a parent he had ſo groſly offended. Henry, fearful of truſting himſelf in the power of thoſe about the perſon of his ſon, refuſed to viſit him; but ſent a ring by one of the

pre-

lates as a token of his bleſſing and pardon. The biſhop found young Henry near his end, and received his dying requeſt, that his father would forgive his undutiful behaviour; that he would pay his knights and attendants their ſalaries, and pardon the barons of Guienne, whom he had excited to rebellion. The biſhop promiſed to relate theſe requeſts to his father, and on his return to England, faithfully performed his promiſe; but before an anſwer could be returned, the prince paid the debt of nature, on the 11th of June, in the 28th year of his age, leaving his wife Margaret without iſſue. As ſoon as Henry heard of his ſon's death, he burſt forth into the moſt exceſſive lamentations of grief, and accuſed himſelf of inhumanity for not having given him in perſon that aſſurance of forgiveneſs, which he had only ſent by another hand.

A. D. 1185. In the ſpring of this year Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, arrived in England, attended by the grand-maſters of the knights-templars and hoſpitallers, on an embaſſy from Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Henry againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. The patriarch preſented the Engliſh monarch with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and thoſe of the Tower of David, in token of their deſire to place the crown of the Holy City on his head. Henry, however, refuſed the offer, but afterwards gave 50,000 marks of ſilver, in order to aſſiſt the Chriſtians againſt the infidels.

A. D. 1186. The tranquillity of the Engliſh monarch was now diſturbed by the conduct of his two ſons Richard and Geoffrey, who again broke into open rebellion againſt their father. Prince Richard, diſguſted at a deſign formed by his father of ſettling Guienne upon John, his youngeſt brother, departed the kingdom, and made preparations for ſeizing by force thoſe dominions which he thought belonged ſolely to himſelf. His brother Geoffrey peremptorily demanded of Henry, that Anjou ſhould be annexed to his duchy of Britany. This demand, however, was abſolutely refuſed, upon which Geoffrey repaired immediately to the court of France, in order to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt his father: but before Philip could give any poſitive anſwer to his requeſt, Geoffrey, was killed in a tournament at Paris. This accident delivered Henry from the enterprizes of the moſt vicious of his ſons, Geoffrey being a prince in whom pride, diſſimulation and perfidy, were at once united. No principle of honour could bind, no precept of religion could reſtrain, that headlong prince. In ſhort, he practiſed every kind of vice, and, for that reaſon, was diſtinguiſhed by the opprobrious epithet of *The Child of Perdition.*

A. D. 1187. This year Henry received advice that the city of Jeruſalem was taken by the valiant and politic Saladine, ſultan of Egypt, and that Gey de Luſignan (the laſt prince that ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom) was in the hands of the infidels. This melancholy intelligence rekindled the ardour and enthuſiaſm of the warriors of Europe, and in particular Henry and Philip, who ſeemed to vie with each other in their readineſs to ſend ſuccours to Paleſtine. They both took the croſs, and both ordered, that ſuch of their ſubjects as did not chuſe to engage in the cruſade, ſhould pay the tenth part of their revenues, and moveable effects, to defray the expence of the armament; and this impoſt was diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Saladine's Tax."

A. D. 1188. But notwithſtanding the ſeeming ſincerity of Philip for directing his attention towards ſupporting the cruſades in Paleſtine, yet his conduct ſoon evinced how much more deſirous he was of enlarging his own dominions. Taking advantage of a quarrel that happened between prince Richard, and Raymond count of Thouloufe, he led an army into Berry, burnt Mount Richard, and took ſeveral towns in Auvergne. This perfidious conduct highly enraged the Engliſh monarch, who went over to Normandy, and put himſelf at the head of a powerful army. His ſon Richard joined him, and the great ſucceſs they met with in their enterprizes ſoon obliged Philip to ſolicit a conference. This was accordingly held, and a treaty of peace being concluded between the contending monarchs, Henry returned with his forces to England.

A. D. 1189. But it was not long before Henry ſufficiently experienced the perfidy of the French monarch. That ambitious prince treacherouſly brought over to his intereſt young Richard, who once more unſheathed the ſword againſt his aged parent. The conjunctive princes ſoon made themſelves maſters of ſeveral capital places belonging to Henry, who, in conſequence thereof, haſtily left England, in order to ſtop their farther depredations.

Henry marched with his troops to the city of Mans, which was ſoon after attacked with ſuch reſolution by the conjunctive forces of Philip and Richard, that Henry was obliged to abandon the place; in conſequence of which he repaired to the caſtle of Chinon, which he ſtrongly fortified, and then retired with his army to Saumur.

After the departure of Henry from Mans, Philip and Richard took poſſeſſion of the place, and marching into Tourain, made themſelves maſters of the city of Tours, from whence they directed their courſe towards Saumur; and it is probable they would have not only reduced that place, but alſo taken Henry priſoner, had not the neutral princes (who could not behold the unnatural alliance between Philip and Richard without regret) interpoſed, and brought about an accommodation. At their inſtigation a treaty was concluded at Cozay, near Tours; by which it was ſtipulated that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to Philip: that all his ſubjects both in England and his tranſmarine dominions, ſhould ſwear fealty to Richard: that thoſe barons who had entered into a confederacy with Richard ſhould receive an indemnity for their offences: that his own nobles ſhould engage to compel him to obſerve this treaty; and, in caſe of his violating it, ſhould join Philip and Richard againſt him.

Theſe were terms of the moſt humiliating nature, but Henry's neceſſities compelled him to ſign them; and to complete his misfortunes, on demanding a liſt of the barons who were to receive his pardon, he found at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite, and in whom he had placed the moſt implicit confidence. This ſhock was too great to be ſupported: Henry broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair, curſed the hour of his birth, and beſtowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction, which he could not be prevailed on to retract. He retired to Chinon in all the anguiſh of a wretched parent, where he died of a broken heart, two days after ſigning the treaty of Cozay, in the 57th year of his age, and 35th of his reign.

The corpſe of this great prince was treated in the like indecent manner as that of the Conqueror of England;

England; for his ſervants, after rifling his wardrobe and treaſures, ſtripped the royal corpſe naked, in which indecent manner it remained till one of the pages, leſs brutal than the reſt, threw over it a ſhort mantle. In this condition it was viſited by his *natural* ſon Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutiful, and who attended the corpſe to the nunnery of Fonteveraud, where it lay in ſtate in the abby church. The next day Richard, who went to view the dead body of his father, and who, notwithſtanding his criminal conduct, was not altogether deſtitute of feeling, was ſtruck with horror and remorſe at the ſight; and, as the people preſent obſerved, at that very inſtant blood ran out of the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe, he exclaimed that he was his father's murderer, and expreſſed, though too late, a deep ſenſe of that undutiful behaviour, which had ſo greatly contributed to the death of an indulgent parent.

Henry II. was the greateſt prince of his time for wiſdom, virtue, and abilities, and the moſt powerful in extent of dominion of all that had ever filled the throne of England. His character, both in public and private life, is almoſt without a blemiſh; and he ſeems to have poſſeſſed every accompliſhment both of body and mind, which makes a man either eſtimable or amiable. He was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and well-proportioned: his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and pleaſing; his elocution, eaſy, perſuaſive, and always at command. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, and temperate without auſterity. He preſerved an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of health, and kept himſelf from corpulency, to which he was ſomewhat inclined, by a moderate diet, and frequent exerciſe, of which hunting was his favourite. When the affairs of his kingdom permitted him to enjoy leiſure, he had always recourſe to books, or the converſation of learned and ingenious men. His palace was a kind of academy, and his table a ſchool, where the moſt abſtruſe points of government and learning were debated. His affections, as well as enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men never deſtroyed the natural ſenſibility of his temper, which always diſpoſed him to friendſhip and ſociety. He was wiſe in council, moderate in proſperity, and firm in adverſity. Not ſatisfied with forming good and wholeſome laws, he took care to ſee them executed with the greateſt punctuality: for this purpoſe he made frequent tours through all the different parts of his dominions, inſpecting the behaviour of his officers and magiſtrates, and ſeverely puniſhing thoſe, who were either negligent or unjuſt in the performance of their duty. In ſhort, he was at once the king and father of his people.

This prince ſo far aboliſhed the barbarous and abſurd practice of ſhips being forfeited, which happened to be wrecked on any parts of the coaſt, that if one man or animal was found alive in the ſhip, the veſſel and goods were reſtored to the owners.

He was alſo the firſt prince who levied a tax on the moveables and perſonal eſtates of his ſubjects, nobles as well as commonalty. Their zeal for the holy wars made them ſubmit to this innovation; and a precedent being once ſet, this taxation became, in ſome following reigns, the uſual method of ſupplying the neceſſities of the crown.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry II.

A. D.
1156 London Bridge built with wood.
1176 ——— Begun to be built with ſtone by Peter Coleman, a prieſt. The king contributed to the advancement of the work, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury gave 1000 marks. The courſe of the river Thames was, for the time, turned another way, by a trench dug for that purpoſe, beginning at Batterſea, and ending about Rotherhithe. The bridge was about 33 years in building
1177 Glaſs windows firſt uſed in private houſes.
1179 The Jews obtained permiſſion to have a burial-ground near every town where they dwelt. Before this time, they had but one in England, which was at London.
1185 This year there happened a violent earthquake, which threw down many churches in different parts of the kingdom; and on the ſame day there was almoſt a total eclipſe of the ſun.

CHAP. II.

RICHARD I. ſurnamed Cœur de Lion.

Acceſſion and coronation of Richard I. The Jews in London cruelly treated by the populace. Richard engages in the cruſades, extorts great ſums of money from his ſubjects, and goes over to the continent. Maſſacre of the Jews in different parts of the kingdom. Richard marries the king of Navarre's daughter. Diſturbances in England during the king's abſence. Richard makes himſelf maſter of Cyprus. Quarrels with the king of France. Engages and defeats the Saracens. Concludes a three years truce with Saladine, the chief commander of the Infidels. Quits Paleſtine, is ſhipwrecked, taken priſoner, and ſent in chains to the emperor of Germany. His brother John endeavours to obtain the ſovereignty. Richard is ſet at liberty, and returns to England. Wars with France. Richard impoſes heavy taxes on his ſubjects, which occaſions great diſturbances. Takes the biſhop of Beauvais priſoner, and ſends his coat of mail to the Roman pontiff. Death and character of Richard.

A. D. 1189. RICHARD was moſt feelingly affected at the death of his father, and beheld, with horror, his former baſe and unnatural conduct. He ſaw, in a very different point of light, the ſervices of his pretended friends, who had inſtigated him to draw the ſword of rebellion, and liſt his hand againſt the life of the moſt indulgent parent. He therefore diſcharged them from his ſervices, and, inſtead of the rewards they expected, loaded them with reproaches. He deſpiſed the courtiers who had baſely deſerted the intereſt of their maſter, and placed his confidence in thoſe who had ſerved his father with zeal and fidelity.

As Richard was on the continent at the time of his father's death, and no ways apprehenſive of any oppoſition being made to his ſucceſſion, he determined to adjuſt his affairs in that quarter before he embarked for England. In the mean time he diſpatched meſſengers to London, with orders for

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RICHARD I.



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Oxford 1157. | *Crowned* September 3. 1189. | *Died* April 6. 1199.

for the immediate diſcharge of his mother from confinement on whom he beſtowed the adminiſtration of public affairs during his abſence.

Eleanor exerted herſelf ſo warmly in favour of Richard, that ſhe ſoon ſecured for him the oaths of allegiance from all orders of the ſtate, ſo that nothing was wanting but his preſence to have them properly ratified.

Richard, having ſettled his affairs on the continent, embarked at Barfleur, and ſoon after landed in England, where he was received by the people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. On his arrival he proceeded to Wincheſter, and there took up his reſidence till the 2d of September, when he repaired to London, and, the following day, was crowned at Weſtminſter, by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The coronation of Richard was celebrated with great magnificence; but it gave riſe to a ſcene of the moſt horrid barbarity. The expeditions to the Holy Land, and the cruelties inflicted on the Chriſtians by the infidels, had filled the minds of the people with a kind of enthuſiaſtic madneſs. Whatever had even the moſt remote connection with this religious warfare was ſufficient to ſet the whole nation in a flame. The Jews had long been a deſpiſed people, and the ſufferings of the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem now raiſed the hatred of the people againſt them to the higheſt pitch. Richard knew this, and therefore prudently iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any of them to appear at Weſtminſter during the ceremony of the coronation. Thoſe deſpiſed people had long endeavoured, by their aſſiduous application to traffic, to ſhake off that contempt in which they had been ſo long held by the public at large. But their riches, inſtead of procuring them favour, excited the avarice, as much as their religion did the fury of the people. Deſirous of obtaining the protection of the new monarch, they collected among themſelves a very conſiderable ſum of money, which they intended preſenting to Richard on the day of his coronation. Several of the moſt eminent among them were accordingly ſelected; and, thinking their buſineſs a ſufficient exemption from the general prohibition, went to the gates of Weſtminſter-hall to tender him their preſent, and compliments of congratulation. The appearance of the Jews, and their diſregard of the royal mandate, awakened in the minds of the people all the fury of reſentment. A tumult immediately took place, and the poor defenceleſs Jews were murdered by the populace. Nor did this ſatisfy their reſentment: they entered the city, maſſacred all the Jews they could find, plundered their houſes, and then laid them in aſhes. The conflagration and carnage continued the whole night, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the magiſtrates to ſuppreſs the tumult. And thus did ſeveral thouſands of the unfortunate Jews fall ſacrifices to the reſentment of a deluded multitude.

The king was ſo incenſed againſt the authors of this inhuman tragedy, that he ordered ſeveral of the principal leaders of the tumult to be put to death. He likewiſe publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly forbidding any inſult to be offered to the Jews, whom he declared to be equally under his immediate protection with the reſt of his ſubjects.

Richard had, a ſhort time before his acceſſion, taken the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop of Tours, and, being firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, was now determined to make an expedition to the Holy Land. He was, indeed, more a ſoldier than a devotee; and, to gratify his paſſion for military honours, and gather laurels in the field of Paleſtine, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice at once the intereſt of his crown, and the welfare of his people.

The whole attention of Richard was now engaged in forming ſchemes for raiſing money to defray the expences of the intended expedition. He had already ſeized upon his father's treaſures; and the biſhop of Ely happening to die without a will, Richard confiſcated his eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to his own uſe. He laid the moſt rigorous impoſts on the people, expoſed the crown lands to ſale, and even diſpoſed of the great ſeal of England to William Longchamp, his firſt miniſter.

Theſe unwarrantable proceedings gave great uneaſineſs to Ralph de Glenville, the chief juſticiary, who expoſtulated with Richard on a conduct ſo derogatory to his own dignity, and oppreſſive to his ſubjects. The king replied, "He would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer." The upright juſticiary was ſhocked at this anſwer, and remonſtrated more freely with the king on the conſequences that muſt attend ſuch precipitate and unjuſtifiable meaſures. But Richard, who would not ſubmit to admonition, ſo highly reſented the liberty taken by the juſticiary, that he deprived him of his poſt, committed him to priſon, obliged him to pay fifteen thouſand pounds for his liberty, and ſold his poſt of juſticiary to the biſhop of Durham for one thouſand marks. The king of Scotland, purchaſed for ten thouſand marks, his right of ſuperiority over that kingdom, an acquiſition of the greateſt conſequence ever made by his father.

Nor were theſe the only methods taken by Richard for obtaining a ſufficient ſum of money to carry on his intended expedition. He obtained a bull from pope Clement, empowering him to diſcharge from the cruſade all who (having engaged themſelves in the buſineſs) were unable to undertake the expedition, and excuſe others, who were unwilling to undergo the fatigues, on their paying a proportional ſum of money. He inſtituted offices of enquiry into the conduct of the magiſtrates throughout the kingdom; not for reformation, but oppreſſion. The innocent and guilty ſuffered in common, and nothing but paying large ſums into the king's coffers gave ſafety to the one, or indemnity to the other. Thus, by theſe illegal proceedings, did Richard reduce the patrimony of the crown, exhauſt the ſubſtance of his people, and proſtitute the juſtice of his country, merely to procure a temporary ſupply for indulging his religious zeal, and ſatisfying his unbounded vanity.

Richard had got over to his intereſt the principal part of the clergy, ſo that while he was accumulating treaſures to defray the expences of the expedition, they were zealouſly labouring to procure him ſoldiers. The pulpits reſounded with the great merit of ſerving in the holy wars. The confeſſors enjoined no penances but what tended to promote the grand deſign of recovering Paleſtine out of the hands of the infidels, and freeing the Chriſtians in that country from the dreadful burthen laid on them by the declared enemies of the goſpel. In conſequence of this the people were fired with enthuſiaſm, and the army ſoon became exceeding numerous: nor was there any officer or ſoldier who did not furniſh himſelf with common neceſſaries, either from his own property, or from

the aſſiſtance of thoſe who were equally zealous as himſelf, but from ſome infirmity, unable to engage in the expedition.

Being now ſufficiently ſupplied both with men and money, Richard, (after conſtituting Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, and Pudſey, biſhop of Durham, regents of the kingdom during his abſence) embarked his forces at Dover on the 11th of December, and landed the ſame day at Gravelines, where he was met by the earl of Flanders, who attended him to Normandy. After a ſhort ſtay in that duchy, he marched with his forces to Gue de St. Remi, where he met Philip, king of France, who had engaged to act conjunctively with Richard in the intended expedition. The two kings ſwore mutually to ſupport each other, and agreed, that in caſe either of them died during the cruſades the other ſhould take upon him the command of his army, and become maſter of his treaſures, in order to carry on the war againſt the infidels.

A. D. 1190. Richard had hardly departed from his kingdom, when an event took place of a moſt melancholy nature, and which threatened a total annihilation of the wretched Jews throughout England. Mad with enthuſiaſm, and exaſperated at the cruelties exerciſed on the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, the people thought it a meritorious act to extirpate every perſon who refuſed to believe the doctrines of the goſpel, and therefore reſolved to make a general maſſacre of the Jews throughout the kingdom. Reaſon and humanity pleaded in vain: the unfortunate Hebrews were deſtined to deſtruction. The maſſacre began at Lynn, where theſe diſtreſſed people were all murdered, and their houſes reduced to aſhes. A ſimilar fate attended thoſe who reſided at Stamford, Norwich, St. Edmunſbury, and Lincoln. But the moſt tragical ſcene was at York, where no leſs than five hundred men, beſides women and children, fell ſacrifices to the barbarous fury of religious zeal. The deſpiſed Jews, dreading the fate of their brethen in other parts of the kingdom, prevailed on the governor to admit them into the caſtle, hoping, by that means, to avert the ſtorm of popular fury which threatened their deſtruction. But in this they were fatally miſtaken; for the bigotted multitude ſurrounded the caſtle, and attacked the works with the utmoſt fury. The Jews offered to purchaſe the liberty of retiring at the price of all their riches: but they pleaded in vain; the ear of bigotry was deaf either to the voice of avarice or compaſſion. Driven to deſpair, and finding it impoſſible to defend themſelves againſt ſuch multitudes of enemies, they firſt murdered their wives and children, and after throwing their dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, ſet fire to the buildings, and periſhed in the flames. The regent Longchamp made a ſtrict but fruitleſs enquiry after the authors of this horrid tumult. The laws wanted power to curb the licentiouſneſs of a bigotted multitude.

While theſe melancholy tranſactions were taken place in England, the two kings on the continent (Philip and Richard) divided their armies, and each proceeded with all expedition, towards Paleſtine, it having been previouſly agreed between them to meet at Meſſina. Philip took the rout to Genoa, and Richard that to Marſeilles, their reſpective fleets having received inſtructions to rendezvous at thoſe ports. Richard waited ſome days at Marſeilles, when his fleet not arriving, he hired twenty gallies, and ten large veſſels, on board of which he embarked his forces, and ſailed for Meſſina in Sicily, leaving orders for his fleet to follow him with all expedition. This order was punctually obeyed, and the fleet reached Meſſina as ſoon as the veſſels that had been hired by Richard, who, on his arrival, found Philip, with his whole navy, ready to join him: but contrary winds, and other accidents occaſioned ſo long a delay, that they were obliged to winter at Meſſina. This delay proved exceeding injurious to the enterprize, by laying the foundation of thoſe animoſities between Philip and Richard, that could never after be removed.

The long ſtay of the two monarchs at Meſſina with their powerful armies greatly alarmed Tancred, the king, or rather tyrant, of Sicily. That prince was very ſenſible his deſpotic adminiſtration had excited the general hatred of his people, and dreaded the conſequences of their putting themſelves under the protection of either of the two powerful kings. He therefore determined to ſow the ſeeds of animoſity between them, and prevent, by their diſcords, any application taking place that might be made by the Sicilians. Richard had long been affianced to Alice, the ſiſter of Philip; and that princeſs had been ſent, when very young, to the court of England. The conſummation of this marriage, which had been delayed on various pretences, had furniſhed Philip with reaſon for quarrelling with Henry II. but the matter, at that time, ſeemed to be forgotten. Tancred revived the contention, by inſinuating that his honour was concerned in the marriage of his ſiſter, and that there was room ſufficient to ſuſpect the ſincerity of Richard. The French monarch, alarmed at the ſuggeſtions of Tancred, immediately demanded that Richard ſhould conſummate the nuptials; but the Engliſh monarch gave ſufficient proofs that Alice had violated the contract of marriage, having been with child by his father. Philip was amazed at this intelligence; but thought it more prudent to bury in ſilence the diſhonour of his family, than inſiſt further on the performance of the marriage.

The two kings now made the neceſſary preparations for reimbarking their forces, and proceeding, with all expedition, to Paleſtine: but queen Eleanor arriving with the princeſs of Berangera, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre (to whom Richard was ſoon after married) he determined, on this account, to make a longer ſtay in Sicily: upon which Philip, being ſtrongly importuned by the Chriſtians of Paleſtine to come to their aſſiſtance, took leave of Richard, who attended him to the ſeaſide, and the two monarchs, at parting, expreſſed themſelves in the higheſt terms of mutual friendſhip.

Queen Eleanor now gave her ſon a faithful account of the ſtate of affairs in England, the principal particulars of which were as follow: Longchamp, (one of the regents) diſdaining to have a colleague of equal authority, had thrown the biſhop of Durham into priſon, and governed the nation by his ſole authority with all the tyranny of a deſpotic monarch. He ordered Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, who had been elected to the ſee of York, to be arreſted; but the archbiſhop, having received intelligence of his deſign fled to the monaſtery of St. Martin, and took ſanctuary in the church. The regent's officers paid no regard to the ſanctity of the place; they dragged him from the altar in his ſacerdatal robes,

robes, and committed him priſoner to the caſtle at Dover.

Theſe tyrannical proceedings excited the univerſal deteſtation of all ranks of people, but not more ſo than the clergy. The biſhop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in this ſacrilegious violence, and the ſentence was confirmed in a general convocation held at Reading. The biſhops even threatened the kingdom with an interdict, if Geoffrey was not immediately releaſed. The regent was now ſufficiently alarmed, and therefore, for his own ſafety, thought proper to give orders for the enlargement of the prince. But this did not ſatisfy the clergy, who determined to put a final period to the deſpotic adminiſtration of Longchamp. Accordingly, a general aſſembly of the nobles and prelates was held at Reading, before whom the regent was ſummoned to appear, in order to anſwer for his conduct. He returned for anſwer that he would attend, but, being conſcious his actions would not bear inſpection, fled to London, and ſhut himſelf up in the Tower. He ſoon found it impoſſible to defend that fortreſs any length of time, and therefore ſubmitted to appear before the great council of the nation, who immediately deprived him of his poſts; in conſequence of which, finding himſelf deſerted by thoſe who had baſked in the ſunſhine of his greatneſs, he paſſed over to the continent, in order to apply to the pope for redreſs. After the departure of Longchamp, the great ſeal was given to Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, a perſon of great prudence, modeſty and integrity, who always conſulted his colleagues in the affairs of government, and, by his prudent management, reſtored peace and tranquillity to the nation. But to return to affairs on the continent.

A. D. 1191. Richard ſtaid ſome time at Meſſina after the departure of Philip; but at length embarked his forces on the 10th of April, his whole fleet conſiſting of 150 ſail of large ſhips, and 53 well armed gallies. Queen Eleanor returned to England; but Berangera, and his ſiſter, the queen Dowager of Sicily, attended him on the expedition.

Before Richard could reach the coaſt of Syria, a deadful ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated his fleet, and three of his largeſt ſhips were ſtranded on the iſland of Cyprus. Iſaac, the emperor, or tyrant of that iſland, though a profeſſor of the Chriſtian religion, was ſo far from aſſiſting theſe diſtreſſed ſoldiers (who were going to Aſia to defend the perſecuted followers of their common maſter) that he uſed them in a very cruel manner, and committed them all to cloſe confinement.

Exaſperated at this ungenerous treatment, Richard, who had taken ſhelter in the harbours of Candia, ſent a meſſenger to the tyrant, demanding that his ſubjects ſhould be ſet at liberty, and their effects reſtored. But Iſaac, inſtead of complying with ſo reaſonable a demand, returned a very inſolent anſwer to Richard. In conſequence of this the Engliſh monarch immediately ſailed to Cyprus landed his forces, and totally routed the tyrant's army. Iſaac, who was humbled by a ſingle ſtroke of adverſity, laid his crown at the feet of Richard, who ſent him in chains to Tripoli in Syria, and the conqueror by the general conſent of the people, was placed on the Cyprian throne.

Richard ſtayed a ſhort time at Cyprus, during which he was married to Berangera, and they were both crowned at Limiſſo, the capital of the iſland. A few days after the performance of theſe ceremonies Richard embarked for Paleſtine, carrying with him the daughter of the Cyprian prince. In this paſſage he took a very large ſhip belonging to Saladine, the chief commander of the infidels. She was laden with proviſions and military ſtores for the garriſon of Acre, together with a reinforcement of 1500 troops.

The Engliſh army landed time enough to ſhare in the glory of taking Acre, which had been ſome time beſieged by the French monarch. Richard was welcomed to the Chriſtian camp by Philip in perſon; and it was determined by the two monarchs to preſs the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. By this conjunctive determination the moſt amazing acts of valour were every day performed, and the beſieged ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. At length, Saladine, finding it impoſſible any longer to ſuccour the city, gave the garriſon leave to ſurrender. Accordingly, articles of capitulation were ſigned, and the city delivered up to the cruſaders, together with 500 Chriſtian captives.

The conjunctive kings, elated with their ſucceſs, reſolved to march with their forces to Jeruſalem, in order, if poſſible, to wreſt that city out of the hands of the infidels. Every neceſſary preparation was made for the armies to march, and the hopes of the cruſaders were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when an unhappy diſſention aroſe between the two chiefs, and fruſtrated all their pleaſing expectations.

The diſtinguiſhed valour of Richard during the ſiege of Acre, his liberality to the ſoldiers, and the magnificence he diſplayed on every occaſion, procured him the hearts of the cruſaders, and filled the breaſt of Philip with malignant jealouſy. He, however, concealed his paſſion, till a diſpute, which now happened between Guy de Luſignan, and Conrade, marquis of Montſerrat, relative to the crown of Jeruſalem, gave him an opportunity of expreſſing his reſentment. Richard eſpouſed the pretenſions of the former, and Philip thoſe of the latter. During this conteſt, which, in reality, had nothing more than an empty title for its object (the city of Jeruſalem being then in the hands of the infidels) ſeveral ſharp meſſages paſſed between them; and Richard complained that Philip obſtructed the progreſs of the confederate army; adding, that he was ready to ſacrifice every perſonal conſideration to the intereſt of the cauſe he had, at ſuch expence, undertaken to ſupport.

It ſoon, however, appeared that Philip was determined to abandon the enterprize, but, aſhamed to avow his real motives, had recourſe to artifice and deception. He pretended that the climate of Paleſtine did not agree with his conſtitution, and therefore deſired of Richard that he would permit him to return. Richard, after exacting from him the moſt dreadful oath that he would not attempt any thing againſt his dominions, but, on the contrary, protect and defend them to the utmoſt of his power, conſented to his departure, and even furniſhed him with two of his beſt ſhips for carrying him and his retinue to Europe. Philip left the command of his army to the duke of Burgundy: and after giving him ſtrict orders to pay the ſame obedience to the king of England as to himſelf, ſailed to his dominions. Nor was Philip the only perſon who deſerted the enterprize; multitudes followed his example, ſo that the numerous army of the Chriſtians was greatly reduced in number.

After the departure of the French monarch, Richard determined to attempt ſome enterprize

worthy the name of the leader of the Chriſtiam armies. He accordingly made a general attack on Saladine's camp; but met with ſo powerful a reſiſtance, that he was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. But this rebuff made no change in Richard's reſolutions: that martial ſpirit, which was his ruling paſſion, ſupported him under every misfortune. He determined to march his forces from Acre to Joppa, and fortify all the places that ſhould fall into his hands.

Saladine was no ſtranger to the deſigns of Richard, and therefore poſted himſelf in the way, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand men, to oppoſe his paſſage. Richard glowed at this opportunity of ſignalizing his courage, fully perſuaded that, if he could defeat the army of Saladine, he ſhould open to himſelf a free paſſage to Jeruſalem, and, perhaps, make himſelf maſter of that city in a ſhort time.

The two armies meeting, they both prepared for a general engagement, which was to decide the fate of thouſands, and, poſſibly, of Paleſtine itſelf. The right wing of the Chriſtian army was commanded by James d'Aveſnes, and the left by the duke of Burgundy, while Richard in perſon led the center, or main body. Saladine had concealed part of his troops on the right behind ſome hills, which covered them from the ſight of the Chriſtians. On this body of reſerve he placed his greateſt hopes of victory; and therefore, without altering his poſition, waited the attack of the enemy, who began the action with their right wing. The Saracens ſupported the ſhock with great reſolution; and, by the ſuperiority of numbers, put that body into great diſorder. Their leader, James d'Aveſnes was ſlain, while endeavouring to rally his broken troops, and lead them once more againſt the infidels. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of the left wing, made a furious attack upon the right of the enemy. The Saracens, for ſome time, ſupported themſelves gallantly till at length Saladine gave orders for a retreat, upon which the duke followed them a conſiderable way from the main body of the army. Saladine perceiving his left wing ſtood firm, and that the duke of Burgundy was ſeparated from the reſt of the allied forces, ordered the body that lay concealed behind the hills to move forward. Theſe troops accordingly deſcended the eminences with ſuch amazing rapidity, that the duke's forces were ſurrounded, and prodigious numbers of them put to the ſword.

Richard no ſooner ſaw the ſituation of the duke than he immediately marched to his aſſiſtance, and fell on the troops of Saladine with ſuch aſtoniſhing impetuoſity, that they were ſoon compelled to give way. The valour of Richard entirely changed the fortune of the day, and Saladine was obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of his troops from the left. This motion, which cauſed ſome diſorder in that part of the Saracens army, gave the right wing of the Chriſtians time to recover themſelves, who fell on the remainder of the left wing of the enemy with ſuch reſolution, that they were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

In the mean time Richard maintained the battle againſt the right wing with the moſt aſtoniſhing reſolution, in ſpite of the great ſuperiority of the enemy, who now directed their whole force againſt the Engliſh monarch. Richard would, however, have been in the moſt imminent danger, had not his right wing, meeting with no farther oppoſition, advanced to his aſſiſtance. The Saracens, finding themſelves attacked in flank by a freſh body of forces, began to give way; nor was it in the power of Saladine, though he exerted his utmoſt, to rally them. The Chriſtians took advantage of this diſorder, and preſſed the Saracens with ſuch vigour, that they betook themſelves to flight, leaving no leſs than 50,000 infidels dead on the field of battle.

In conſequence of this defeat, the Saracens abandoned the maritime cities of Aſcalon, Cæſarea, and Joppa, after demoliſhing the fortifications. Richard, marched with his victorious troops to Joppa, where he ſtaid ſome time to repair the fortifications, thinking, if, in his future efforts againſt the infidels, he ſhould be compelled to retreat, [illegible] would be a ſecure port from whence he might embark his forces for Europe.

During Richard's ſtay at Joppa an event took place which had like to have coſt him his life. He was exceeding fond of hunting, and frequently amuſed himſelf with that diverſion in the neighbourhood, attended only by a few of his moſt intimate friends. As he was one day returning from the chace, with only ſix perſons in his train, being greatly fatigued, he alighted from his horſe, laid himſelf under a tree, and fell aſleep. He was, however, ſoon rouſed by the approach of a ſmall party of Saracen horſe paſſing by the place. Richard immediately got up, mounted his horſe, and, as the Saracens were few in number, purſued them ſome time. The Saracens pretended to fly before him, but artfully drew Richard into an ambuſcade, where he was ſuddenly ſurrounded by a ſquadron of horſe. The king defended himſelf with great bravery for a conſiderable time, without the leaſt thought of retreating, notwithſtanding the prodigious diſparity of numbers. But even the valour of Richard would have been exerted in vain, had not one of his attendants, by a remarkable preſence of mind, ſaved him from impending deſtruction. No leſs than four of his attendants were already ſlain, when William Deſpreaux, a moſt ſincere friend to Richard, cried out, in the Saracen language, "Hold! I am the king of England." The eyes of the Saracens were now directed to Deſpreaux; and thoſe engaged with Richard immediately left him, that they might have a ſhare in ſeizing the perſon whom they imagined to be the Engliſh monarch. This ſtratagem gave Richard the opportunity of eſcaping from the enemy. Deſpreaux did not diſcover himſelf till he was taken before Saladine, when, falling at his feet, he ingenuouſly acknowledged the deception he had uſed for the ſafety of his maſter. Saladine commanded his fidelity, treated him with the greateſt reſpect, and gave him his liberty.

Richard, having finiſhed the fortifications at Joppa, began his march towards Jeruſalem, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of that city. On his way he met with the army of Saladine, which was drawn up on the plains of Rama, in order to diſpute his paſſage. In conſequence of this another deſperate battle enſued, which was continued, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Richard, and the Saracens, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

After this victory, Richard, having now no obſtacle in his way, proceeded on his march towards Jeruſalem: but the Knights Templars (who were in the intereſt of Philip of France, and therefore

fore envious of the glory which Richard muſt obtain ſhould he make a conqueſt of the Holy City) perſuaded the Engliſh monarch to lay aſide his deſign till the enſuing ſpring, and take up his winter quarters at Aſcalon. Richard who did not ſuſpect the real motive of the knights; followed their advice, marched directly to Aſcalon, and rebuilt the fortifications which had been demoliſhed by the forces of Saladine.

A. D. 1192. Richard had not been long at Aſcalon when the contention, which had, ſome time before, commenced between Guy de Luſignan and the marquis of Conrade, relative to the crown of Jeruſalem, was revived; the conſequence of which was, that the duke of Burgundy refuſed to act any longer in conjunction with the Engliſh, and the French troops retired into places of ſafety, and ſpent their time in luxury and indolence.

Anxious for making himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem (the great object for which the cruſade had been undertaken) Richard put an end to the diſpute by declaring the marquis of Conrade ſovereign of Jeruſalem; but, at the ſame time gave Guy a real, for the loſs of a nominal, dignity, by preſenting him with the crown of Cyprus. The marquis, who was then at Tyre, pleaſed with obtaining the honour he had ſo long deſired, made preparations for joining the Chriſtian army at Aſcalon; but before he could embark with his forces, he was ſtabbed in the ſtreets of that city by two aſſaſſins.

This accident proved a freſh obſtruction to the progreſs of the Chriſtian army; but the widow of the marquis being ſoon after married to Henry count of Champagne, that nobleman was, in her right, declared king of Jeruſalem; and, at his ſolicitation, the French conſented to join the army of Richard, who immediately marched towards the capital of Paleſtine.

When Richard arrived within the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem he fortuuately met with the caravan of the Saracens, which had come from Babylon, and conſiſted of three thouſand camels, and four thouſand mules, loaded with the rich merchandize of the Eaſt, and eſcorted by ten thouſand horſe. The Saracens no ſooner perceived the Chriſtian army than they began to retreat; but Richard, at the head of five thouſand cavalry, attacked them with ſuch fury that they were put to flight, and the whole caravan fell into the hands of the Chriſtians. Richard, who was equally generous and brave, diſtributed the whole booty, which was of prodigious value, among his troops.

Immediately after this ſucceſsful incident, Richard marched with his army to the neighbouring eminences, from the ſummits of which they had a fair proſpect of the celebrated city of Jeruſalem, and the reduction of which was the great object of all their labour and toil. But when Richard thought himſelf ſure of conqueſt, and of putting a glorious period to the expedition, his hopes were rendered abortive by diviſions among the leaders of the confederate army. It was urged, in a council of war, that the ſcarcity, which then prevailed in the neighbouring countries would render it difficult, if not impoſſible, to procure proviſions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and that therefore it would be imprudent, at leaſt for the preſent, to attempt inveſting the city.

But theſe reaſons were far from being ſatisfactory to Richard, who determined to lay ſiege to the city, which was then very thin of troops, great numbers having been drawn out to reinforce the army of Saladine. The duke of Burgundy, finding it impoſſible to divert Richard from his deſign, and at the ſame time envious of the glory which the Engliſh monarch would acquire by the reduction of Jeruſalem, drew off his forces, and marched directly to Tyre; and his example was followed by the duke of Auſtria, general of the French forces.

Theſe were diſcouraging circumſtances to Richard, whoſe mind was ſo bent on the reduction of Jeruſalem, that he even ſubmitted to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Champagne himſelf, the nominal king of Jeruſalem, undertook the office of ambaſſador, but every attempt was made in vain. Steady to his purpoſe of depriving Richard of the glory of taking the capital of Paleſtine, the duke abſolutely refuſed to join the Chriſtian army. The Engliſh monarch was therefore obliged to abandon the enterprize, and accordingly marched his army to Acre. But he had hardly reached the neighbourhood of that city, when advice was received that Saladine had taken Joppa, and was preſſing the ſiege of the caſtle with ſuch fury, that unleſs a ſpeedy relief arrived, the garriſon muſt be compelled to ſurrender.

In conſequence of this intelligence, Richard (who never abandoned his ſoldiers in diſtreſs) marched with his forces to Joppa, whither he had no ſooner arrived than he fell on the beſiegers with ſuch aſtoniſhing fury, that they immediately gave up the enterprize, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, it was impoſſible for Richard (whoſe army was materially weakened by the deſertion of the dukes of Burgundy and Auſtria) to defeat the numerous armies of Saladine, and carry his victories to the gates of Jeruſalem. At the ſame time, the violent enthuſiaſm of the cruſaders in general began to yield to time and fatigue; and they were now more deſirous of viſiting their own country than the capital of Paleſtine. Richard was no ſtranger to their wiſhes, and therefore determined to take the opportunity of coming to an accommodation with Saladine. Accordingly, a three year's truce was concluded between them, by which it was agreed, that Acre, Joppa, and ſome other ſea-port towns in Paleſtine, ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, and that all of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform pilgrimages to Jeruſalem unmoleſted.

Saladine continued faithful to his engagements, but did not live to ſee the expiration of the time limited for the truce, being ſuddenly taken off at Damaſcus juſt before that period arrived. He was a prince of the greateſt humanity and moderation; and his death was lamented by the Chriſtians. The laſt action of his life deſerves to be particularly noticed. He ordered that, at his funeral, his ſhirt ſhould be carried on the point of a lance through every ſtreet in Damaſcus, while a crier preceding it, proclaimed, with a loud voice, "This is all that remains of the mighty Saladine, the conqueror of the Eaſt." By his laſt will, he left conſiderable charities to be diſtributed to the poor of every denomination: the Chriſtian, Jew and Mahometan, ſhared equally the bounty of the generous and humane Saladine.

After ſigning the truce with Saladine, Richard, having no farther buſineſs of importance to detain him in Paleſtine, reſolved to haſten, with all expedition, to England. He accordingly embarked

on board a large veſſel bound for the iſle of Corfu, from whence he ſet ſail in order to land on the coaſt of Italy; but was unfortunately ſhipwrecked near Raguſa in the gulph of Venice. He knew the danger of croſſing ſo large an extent of territory with his attendants, and therefore diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a pilgrim, intending to travel through Germany, as the ſafeſt way, to his own dominions. But, unluckily, ſome German officers, who had ſerved under Leopold, duke of Auſtria at the ſiege of Acre, happened to recollect the perſon of the royal pilgrim, and gave their maſter the pleaſing information. Leopold, rejoiced at the thoughts of having the Engliſh monarch in his power, ordered him to be ſeized in the night at a village near Vienna, and ſent him in chains to the emperor.

As ſoon as the captivity of Richard was known in England, a general conſternation took place throughout the kingdom. His brother John (who had long formed a deſign of uſurping the Engliſh throne) conſidered it as a very fortunate event, and determined, if poſſible, to improve it to his own advantage. To effect this he went over to France, and ſolicited the protection of Philip, whom he knew to be an inveterate enemy to his brother. In conſequence of this, queen Eleanor exerted herſelf in the cauſe of Richard, and earneſtly conjured the council to take every precaution to render abortive the ungenerous deſigns of John.

A. D. 1193. The perfidious Philip received John with open arms, and a treaty was concluded between them, by which it was ſtipulated that the latter ſhould deliver up to Philip a great part of Normandy; and that John ſhould receive, in return, the inveſtiture of all the reſt of Richard's tranſmarine dominions. In conſequence of this treaty Philip invaded Normandy at the head of a powerful army, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, and extended his ravages to the gates of Rouen. But the time of the ſervice of his vaſſals being expired, he concluded a truce with the Engliſh regent, who agreed to pay him twenty thouſand marks to withdraw his army.

During theſe baſe tranſactions, the warlike Richard was ſuffering every kind of inſult and indignity in a German priſon. A warrior, who, at the head of his army, made even the mighty Saladine tremble, was now treated with contempt by the very perſon who ought to have protected him. The unfortunate Richard was at length taken before the diet, and accuſed of ſeveral crimes, which had no exiſtence but in the malignant minds of his enemies. He juſtified himſelf with an eloquence that confounded his perſecutors, and covered them with confuſion, and remonſtrated with them on the cruel treatment he had received in a country that had expreſſed the utmoſt ardour for the cruſade, and by princes who profeſſed the tenets of the goſpel. The princes of the diet were aſhamd of the emperor's conduct, and loudly declared they could not ſuffer the Germanic body to be ſtained with the imputation of violating the laws of nature and nations, by detaining in priſon, without any juſt cauſe, the perſon of a great king, who had ſo nobly ventured his life in the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The emperor was alarmed at this declaration, and offered to ſet Richard at liberty; but demanded 150,000 marks as a ranſom, of which 100,000 were to be paid to him before his releaſement, and hoſtages delivered to the duke of Auſtria, for the payment of the remainder at a future period.

As ſoon as the emperor's demand was made known in England, every method was taken that could be thought for raiſing the money with the utmoſt expedition. Twenty ſhillings were levied on every knight's fee, and the money then in the treaſury applied to purchaſe the liberty of a prince, who had ſo gallantly reduced the power of the infidels. The plate in the churches and monaſteries was melted down: the nobles, biſhops and abbots paid a fourth part of their annual revenues; the parochial clergy a tenth of their tithes; and William, king of Scotland contributed two thouſand marks towards the king's ranſom. The neceſſary ſum being thus raiſed, queen Eleanor, accompanied by Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, went over to the continent, paid that part of the money then demanded by the emperor, and delivered up the hoſtages to the duke of Auſtria, for the remainder; in conſequence of which Richard was immediately ſet at liberty, in the preſence of the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, and moſt of the German nobility.

A. D. 1194. Richard had not long left the imperial court, when ambaſſadors arrived from Philip of France, offering a large ſum of money to the emperor, if he would confine the Engliſh monarch one year longer. The baſe and perfidious emperor readily catched at the offer, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to arreſt Richard, and bring him back to the imperial court. But his cruel deſigns were rendered abortive, Richard having embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and loſt ſight of the German ſhore, before the meſſengers could overtake him.

Philip was aſtoniſhed when he heard that Richard was ſet at liberty; and wrote a letter to prince John in the following terms: "Take care of yourſelf: the devil is broke looſe."

Richard was releaſed from his confinement on the 4th of February, and on the 20th of March following landed at Sandwich, from whence he proceeded to London, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who ſeemed to vie with each other in teſtifying their ſatisfaction at his ſafe return. This endearing behaviour of his ſubjects almoſt baniſhed from the mind of Richard, the thoughts of thoſe indignities he had experienced during his impriſonment: all his alarms, fatigues and ſufferings were buried in oblivion. He was even deſirous of wiping off the ignominy of his captivity, and therefore ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be repeated, which was according performed, a few days after his arrival, at Weſtminſter, the king of Scotland carrying the ſword of ſtate.

Soon after the performance of this ceremony Richard declared his deſign of making a reſumption of all the crown revenues, and annulling all the contracts he had made before his departure to the Holy Land. He alledged, that the purchaſers had already indemnified themſelves with the profits of the eſtates: that neceſſity had compelled him to make the grants: that the money had been ſpent in an expedition favoured both by the clergy and laity; and that therefore it was unjuſt the crown ſhould bear the whole burthen. Theſe reaſons were unneceſſary, not a ſingle perſon diſputing the juſtice of reſumption. All the purchaſers gave up the poſſeſſions they had obtained from the king, and ſeemed to vie with each other who ſhould be firſt to make the required ſurrender.

Richard now called a parliament at Northampton, at which he demanded juſtice againſt his

brother John, and his principal abettor, Hugh, biſhop of Coventry, both of whom were then in France. They were cited to appear within forty days, and anſwer the charges exhibited againſt them. But they both refuſed to obey the ſummons, in conſequence of which John was attainted of high treaſon, and the prelate was ordered to be tried by the biſhops in the king's court.

A. D. 1195. Richard had, ever ſince his arrival in England, reſolved in his own mind, to take the firſt opportunity he could of puniſhing the perfidious Philip, king of France; and the kingdom being now in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity, he determined on carrying his deſign into execution. A monarch leſs paſſionate and haughty than Richard could not have been eaſily prevailed on to pardon the deteſtable conduct of Philip, who, contrary to the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in defiance of all laws, both human and divine, had invaded his territories, and endeavoured to prolong the time of his captivity.

Having raiſed a very powerful army, Richard paſſed over to the continent, and immediately commenced hoſtilities againſt the French monarch. But no great conqueſts were made during the whole campaign. The only action of any conſequence happened at Fretteville, between the French and Engliſh cavalry, when the former were totally routed; and Philip loſt his chartulary, or regiſter of charters, which he always carried with him, containing the ſeveral particulars of his revenues, with a liſt of his vaſſals.

In the courſe of this war prince John, the king's brother (who was deſtitute both of honour and integrity) deſerted the French monarch, as he had before done his brother. Having invited to dinner all the officers of the garriſon of Evreaux, where he commanded, he ordered them to be maſſacred, and then delivered up the place to the king of England, of whom he craved pardon for his offences. Queen Eleanor interceded in his behalf, and with ſuch ſucceſs that Richard forgave his brother for what was paſſed, and again received him into favour. "I forgive him, ſaid Richard, and hope to forget his injuries as eaſily as he will my clemency."

During theſe tranſactions the duke of Auſtria was ſeized with a violent fever, in conſequence of having cruſhed his leg by a fall from his horſe at a tournament; and finding his end approaching, was ſtruck with remorſe for his cruel behaviour to Richard. A proper reſtitution was not in his power to make; but he ordered, by his will, that all the Engliſh hoſtages ſhould be ſet at liberty, and his part of the king's ranſon remitted. The duke's ſon refuſed to obey his father's orders, but by the interpoſition of the clergy he was obliged to ſubmit, and they were fully diſcharged.

A. D. 1196. Richard, in order to ſupport his military operations againſt Philip, was obliged to load his Engliſh ſubjects with heavy taxes, which occaſioned a general commotion throughout the kingdom; and the great talents of Hubert, the chief juſticiary, were hardly ſufficient to prevent the general diſcontent from producing the moſt ſerious conſequences. Every day produced ſome freſh diſturbances, which were greatly increaſed by the harangues of one William Fitz-Oſbert, a perſon of mean birth, and ſtill meaner appearance. He was a lawyer by profeſſion, but pretended to be the advocate of the poor; and in order to render himſelf particularly remarkable as to perſon, ſuffered his beard to grow to an enormous length, from which circumſtance he acquired the appellation of Longbeard. He was continually exciting the ſpirit of reſentment in the poor againſt the rich, by the moſt inflammatory ſpeeches; pretending there was a colluſion among the great to eaſe themſelves of the load of public taxes, and throw the whole weight on the ſhoulders of the labouring people, who (he ſaid) were conſidered in no better light than as beaſts of burthen. Theſe inſinuations produced the intended effect: the fury of the people was raiſed to a degree bordering on madneſs; and a tumult enſued in St. Paul's church-yard, where ſeveral perſons loſt their lives, and many others were dangerouſly wounded.

Theſe dangerous commotions greatly alarmed Hubert the juſticiary, who ordered Longbeard to appear before him; but he was ſo far from paying any regard to the ſummons, that he killed the officer who delivered the citation. The more rational part of Longbeard's followers were ſtruck with horror at this inhuman act, and immediately abandoned the pretended advocate for the rights of the people. Longbeard obſerved this deſertion, but continued for ſome days, at the head of his rabble, to commit the moſt horrid barbarities on the citizens.

It was now thought high time for government to interpoſe, in order to prevent an open rebellion. Accordingly, a ſtrong party of ſoldiers were ſent into the city, with ſtrict orders to apprehend the incendiary, dead or alive. This appearance of the ſoldiery ſtruck a terror in the rioters, who retired, with Longbeard at their head, to the church of St. Mary-le-bow, where they ſhut themſelves up, hoping a general inſurrection would be excited in their favour. But in this they were greatly miſtaken: the citizens ſaw their error, and gave up the wretch who had ſo baſely deceived them. When the ſoldiers came to the church in order to execute their commiſſion, Longbeard refuſed to ſurrender; and being driven from the body of the church by one part of them, who made a forcible entrance, he ran, at the head of his followers, into the ſteeple, from whence they diſcharged a prodigious number of ſtones, and other miſſiles, at the aſſailants. The officer, who commanded the ſoldiers, being unwilling to expoſe their lives to the attacks of a ſet of deſperadoes, ordered a large quantity of wet ſtraw to be carried into the body of the church, and ſet on fire. This had the intended effect, the inſurgents, being compelled to ſurrender, in order to prevent ſuffocation. Longbeard was ſentenced to be drawn at a horſe's tail through the principal ſtreets of the city, and afterwards to be hung in chains: but this ſentence was altered, and he, with nine of his principal accomplices, were hanged at Tyburn.

A. D. 1197. The war on the continent was ſtill carried on with the moſt unremitted animoſity by the two contending monarchs. In the ſpring of this year, Richard marched his army into Auvergne and Berry, where he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral places; but they were ſoon after retaken by Philip.* In the mean time John, who had been harraſſing

* During theſe tranſactions Richard was informed that his Engliſh ſubjects were in great diſtreſs on account of a famine and mortality, which were equally felt in moſt parts of the kingdom. Soon after receiving this melancholy intelligence he

harraſſing the people of Beauvais, being reinforced by a conſiderable body of Brabanders, advanced to the very gates of the city. Peter de Dreux, biſhop of Beauvais, a prince of the blood royal, diſdaining to be inſulted at the gates of his own capital, ſallied out, at the head of a choſen number of forces, in order to drive the enemy from their poſts. But this attempt proved unſucceſsful, his army being totally defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner.

John knew that Richard mortally hated the biſhop, and therefore ſent him to his brother, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper. Richard immediately gave orders that he ſhould be conveyed to a dark dungeon in Rouen, and heavily loaded with chains. A few days after ſeveral of the biſhop's friends interceded with Richard for a mitigation of the prelates ſentence. "You yourſelves (ſaid the king) ſhall be judges of my reaſons for this ſeverity. When I was taken priſoner in Germany, the emperor treated me, at firſt, with good manners and civility; but within a few days arrived the biſhop of Beauvais. Next morning he had his audience of the emperor, and a few hours after I was chained like a ſlave, and more irons heaped upon my limbs than if I had been the baſeeſt of criminals. Can you, therefore, condemn me for treating the biſhop in the ſame manner?" This ſilenced all the advocates of the prelate; but the pope ſoon after demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his ſon, and inſiſted highly on the privileges of the church. The king ſent the coat of mail, which the biſhop had worn in battle, and which was beſmeared with blood, to the pontiff, with a letter, containing theſe words: "This have we found: know then whether it be thy ſon's coat, or not." This laconic epiſtle put a ſtop to any farther interceſſion from his holineſs, who returned for anſwer, "that the coat ſent by the king did not belong to a ſon of the church, but to a ſon of the camp; therefore Richard was at liberty to treat the priſoner as he thought proper." The prelate, being thus abandoned, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty at the price of ten thouſand marks.

A. D. 1198. The French monarch, being now weary of a war which had greatly exhauſted his finances, applied to pope Innocent III. who then filled the papal chair, to employ his good offices in bringing about a peace with Richard. The pope readily complied with his requeſt, and ſent cardinal Peter into France to act as mediator between the contending parties. Accordingly a negotiation was begun, and a conſiderable progreſs made in a treaty for a durable peace, when the whole was rendered abortive by the unexpected death of the Engliſh monarch, the particulars relative to which are as follow:

A. D. 1199. A peaſant ploughing a field in the lordſhip of Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, found a treaſure, containing, beſides money, ſeveral valuable pieces of antiquity. The peaſant delivered the whole to Vidomar, who ſent a part of it to Richard; but the king, not being ſatisfied, demanded the whole, as ſuperior lord of the ſoil. The viſcount, not readily complying with his demand, Richard, at the head of a company of Brabanders, beſieged him in the caſtle of Chaluz. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but Richard replied, that ſince Vidomar had given him the trouble of coming himſelf to recover what was properly his own, he would enter the caſtle by force; and hang every man of them on the walls. This declaration rendered the beſieged deſperate, and they reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible.

In the afternoon of the ſame day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, the leader of the Brabanders, approached the caſtle in order to reconnoitre its ſituation and avenues. But as he was taking a ſurvey of the works one Bertram de Gourdon, (who was on the walls of the caſtle armed with a croſs-bow) took aim at the king, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. Richard immediately clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and returned to his quarters, from whence he ſent a meſſenger to Marcadee, with orders that he ſhould begin the aſſault, and after taking the place, hang up all the garriſon, except the perſon who had given him the wound. Theſe orders were punctually executed; the garriſon were all hanged, and Bertram reſerved a priſoner to ſuffer whatever puniſhment the king might think proper to inflict on him.

The wound which Richard received was not, of itſelf, dangerous; but from the ignorance of the ſurgeon in extracting the head of the arrow, a mortification enſued. In conſequence of this, Richard, ſenſible his life was drawing towards a period, ſent for Gourdon, and, on his approach, ſaid, "Wretch, what injury did I ever do to you, "that you ſhould endeavour to deprive me of my "life?" "What have you done to me, replied "the priſoner: you killed, with your own hands "my father and two brothers; and myſelf you "intended to have hanged. I am now in your "power; take your revenge: I ſhall willingly "ſubmit to the ſevereſt tortures, provided I can "think I have delivered the world from ſo great "a tyrant."

Struck with remorſe at the boldneſs and juſtneſs of this reply, Richard ordered the priſoner to be immediately ſet at liberty; but Gourdon ſoon after falling into the hands of Marcadee, he ordered him to be flead alive, and afterwards hanged in chains.

The king did not long ſurvive the death of Gourdon, the mortification increaſing ſo faſt as to prevent every attempt to ſtop it fruitleſs. He paid the debt of nature on the 6th of April, in the 42d year of his age, and 10th of his reign.

Richard, a few hours before he expired, made his will, in which he deviſed not only the throne of England, but likewiſe all his other dominions, to his brother John, to whom he had been, for ſome time perfectly reconciled. He left conſiderable ſums of money to be diſpoſed of for the relief of the poor, beſides legacies to the greater part of his domeſtics.

It is ſaid that the archbiſhop of Rouen, preſuming on the privilege which a death-bed then gave to the clergy, viſited Richard a ſhort time before his death, and, in the courſe of converſation,

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he happened to go to a ſmall ſea port town called St. Valeri, where he obſerved a ſhip laden with corn from England. Knowing the diſtreſſes of his people on account of the famine, he determined to make examples of thoſe, who, from views of intereſt, had ſo materially contributed to increaſe them, and accordingly ordered all the people belonging to the veſſel to be immediately hanged at the yard-arm; having done which he put other men on board the ſhip, and ſent her with the corn back to England.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

KING JOHN.



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Oxford Dec.r 24. 1166.

Crowned 27. May 1199.

Died 18 Oct. 1216.

tion, adviſed the king (with whom he had had ſeveral ſharp diſputes) to put away his three daughters. "Daughters! replied the king: why "you know I have none." "Yes, ſaid the pre- "late, you have three, Pride, Covetouſneſs and "Luxury." "Then, ſaid Richard, that I may "may diſpoſe of them where I know they will be "cheriſhed, I leave my pride to the Knights Tem- "plars, my covetouſneſs to the Ciſtertians, and "my luxury to the prelates"

Richard excelled all the princes of his age for perſonal bravery and military proweſs; on which account he received the ſurname of *Cœur de Lion*, or Lion's Heart. He was ſo paſſionately fond of military glory, that he never thought any toils, any dangers, any difficulties, too great to attain it. In ſhort, war was to him a paſtime, and danger a ſpur to freſh atchievements.

In his perſon he was ſtrong and well-proportioned: his arms were long; his eyes blue and full of vivacity: his hair was of a yellowiſh colour, his countenance fair and comely, and his mein grand and truly majeſtic.

Few men were poſſeſſed of a greater ſhare of underſtanding, a more ſolid judgment, or more perſuaſive eloquence, than Richard. He had a ready wit, and was maſter of a delicate keen vein of ſatire, the latter of which qualification was evinced in the ſmart repartee he made to the archbiſhop of Rouen, when on his death-bed.

In his private character Richard, like moſt other great men, had a mixture of ſhining qualities and diſtinguiſhed vices. His ingratitude, and want of filial affection, are unpardonable. He was proud, haughty, ambitious, choleric, cruel and vindictive; but at the ſame time he was open, frank, generous and brave, and particularly rewarded thoſe who aſſiſted him in obtaining military honours.

During his reign the people were burthened with ſeveral very heavy taxes, but then it muſt be acknowledged he did not hoard up the money like a covetous miſer, it being chiefly employed in defraying the expences of a war, which (however abſurd it may appear in modern times) was, at that period, conſidered as laudable.

Upon the whole, it muſt be confeſſed, that had Richard lived longer, the natural enemies of this country (the French) would never have been able to extend their territories as they afterwards did; nor would England have been reduced to the miſerable ſtate in which ſhe appeared under the reign of his ſucceſſor.

Richard bore in the ſhield of his coat of arms three lions paſſant guardant; which bearing has been ever ſince continued by the Engliſh monarchs. In his reign alſo coats of arms came to be hereditary in families. Theſe owe their origin to the badges, which knights, and other military perſons, painted, for diſtinction, on their ſhields or banners, in thoſe expeditions into the eaſt, called the Cruſades.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Richard I.

A. D.

1189 The citizens of London obtained the liberty of being governed by two bailiffs or ſheriffs; alſo to have a mayor for their principal governor. The two firſt ſheriffs, or bailiffs, were, Henry Cornhell and Richard Ryner; and the firſt mayor, Henry Fitz-Alwyn, who continued in that office upwards of twenty-five years.

1191 On Midſummer-day the ſun was eclipſed for three hours, and the ſtars were ſeen in the heavens at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

1192 Grain was ſo ſcarce in England, that wheat ſold for 20s. per quarter, a ſum equal to 6l. of the preſent money. This year there raged a violent fever, which laſted five months, and carried off innumerable multitudes of the people.

On Whitſunday there appeared a ſeeming ſun ſo like the real one that the aſtronomers were obliged to view them with their inſtruments in order to diſcover the difference.

1197 About this time lived Robin Hood and Little John, two diſtinguiſhed robbers, who concealed themſelves in retired parts of the country, and lived entirely by plunder. Robin Hood was betrayed in a nunnery at Berkley, and being ſick, deſired to be let blood; but after the oriſice was cloſed, he opened it, and ſuffered himſelf to bleed to death.

It was during this reign that the citizens of London firſt divided themſelves into corporations, or, as they are now called, companies.

CHAP. III.

JOHN, ſurnamed LACKLAND.

John is crowned king of England. Divorces his wife, and marries Iſabella, daughter to the count of Angouleſme. Goes over to Normandy in order to quell ſome commotions excited by the earl of Marche. His nephew prince Arthur takes up arms againſt him, but is defeated and taken priſoner. Death of Arthur, and conſequences thereof. Philip, king of France, makes himſelf maſter of John's dominions on the continent. John returns to England, and quarrels with the pope. The kingdom laid under an interdict. John cruelly treats his ſubjects, both clergy and laity. Is excommunicated by the pope. The French king makes preparations for invading England. John reſigns his dominions to the pope, and ſubmits to hold them as tributary to him at the yearly payment of 1000 marks. Is abſolved, and the pope's interdict taken off his kingdom. John makes an unſucceſsful expedition to France. On his return the Engliſh barons oblige him to ſign a charter of liberties, called Magna Charta, *and another, intituled,* Charta de Foreſta. *John retires in diſguſt to the Iſle of Wight, and prevails on the pope to condemn and annul the two charters. The king marches at the head of an army againſt the barons, and commits the moſt cruel ravages. The barons invite over Lewis, the dauphin of France, to their aſſiſtance. On his arrival the king retreats to Wincheſter, and Lewis marches to London, where the barons and citizens ſwear fealty to him. Several of the barons grow diſguſted at Lewis's partiality to foreigners, and make private aſſurances of their good intentions to John. The king marches into Lincolnſhire in expectation of being joined by the barons, but is diſappointed by an unforeſeen accident. His death and character.*

A. D. 1199. THE late king had, by his will, left the crown of England to his brother John; but, it was a matter of ſome diſpute whether or not prince Arthur, ſon of his elder brother Geoffrey, had not a prior right. The barons of Normandy ſupported the pretenſions of Arthur, whom they conſidered as their lawful ſovereign. The inhabitants of Anjou, Maine and Touraine, declared openly in his favour: but Conſtantia, the mother of Arthur, fearing the barons would not be

be able to ſupport the title of her ſon againſt the power of John, ſent the prince to Paris, and put him under the protection of Philip.

In the mean time the friends of John in England exerted themſelves with great aſſiduity in his favour. They exacted the oath of fealty to him from the citizens, burghers, corporations and military tenants of the crown; but the prelates and nobility, tenacious of their liberties, retired to their caſtles. In conſequence of this the archbiſhop of Canterbury (who was zealous in the cauſe of John) ſummoned them to an aſſembly at Northampton, when he painted the virtues of John in ſuch conſpicuous colours that they were prevailed on to follow the example of the reſt of the nation, which they accordingly did by taking the oath of fealty to his perſon and government.

Being informed of theſe proceedings, and having ſettled his affairs on the continent, John embarked for England, and landed at Shoreham on the 25th of May, from whence he immediately proceeded to London, where he was received with univerſal joy by the people, and two days after crowned at Weſtminſter by Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

As ſoon as John found himſelf fully eſtabliſhed on the throne, he reſolved to paſs over to Normandy, in order to conclude that treaty of peace with Philip, king of France, which had been entered into by his brother Richard. Accordingly, a conference was held between the two monarchs, when the following preliminaries were agreed on as the baſis of a definitive treaty. That Lewis, ſon to Philip ſhould marry Blanch, daughter to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, and niece to John. That the latter ſhould give up with her the earldom and city of Evreux, together with his claim to all the places poſſeſſed by Philip in Normandy at the time of Richard's death, and a pecuniary compliment of thirty thouſand marks of ſilver. John agreed to theſe articles, and the definitive treaty was ſoon after concluded. Nine barons of the king of France, and the ſame number of the king of England, were appointed guarantees. Theſe ſwore on each ſide, that if their ſovereign violated any article of the treaty they would declare themſelves againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of the injured monarch.

A. D. 1200. During the time this treaty was in agitation, John became a captive to the charms of Iſabella, daughter and heireſs of Aymar, count of Angouleſme, one of the moſt celebrated beauties of the age. John's queen was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was betrothed to Hugh earl of Marche. The nuptials, on account of her tender age, had never been conſummated; but ſhe had been ſome time delivered into the hands of her betrothed huſband. Theſe were difficulties which ſeemed to form an unſurmountable barrier to the wiſhes of the Engliſh monarch; but, in order to obtain his ends, he made no heſitation at violating the laws of his country, and committing an act at once diſgraceful to a king or a ſubject. Under pretence of conſanguinity, he artfully procured a divorce from his wife Alice, and perſuaded Aymar to carry off his daughter, whom he ſoon after married. The pope was highly exaſperated at theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings; but John neither regarded the diſpleaſure of the pontiff, or the reſentment of the earl, whom he had ſo materially injured.

A. D. 1201-2. After ſtaying ſome time on the continent John returned with his new conſort to England, and they were both ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſoon after which the king accompanied by his young queen, ſet out on a progreſs through England. In the courſe of his tour he held ſeveral courts, at which great numbers, who had treſpaſſed againſt the foreſt laws, were ſummoned, and rigorouſly puniſhed. The people thought themſelves exempted from the arbitrary foreſt laws introduced by the Normans in conſequence of the charter granted by Henry II. and therefore the king's conduct in puniſhing thoſe who had treſpaſſed againſt thoſe laws produced an univerſal diſcontent throughout the kingdom.

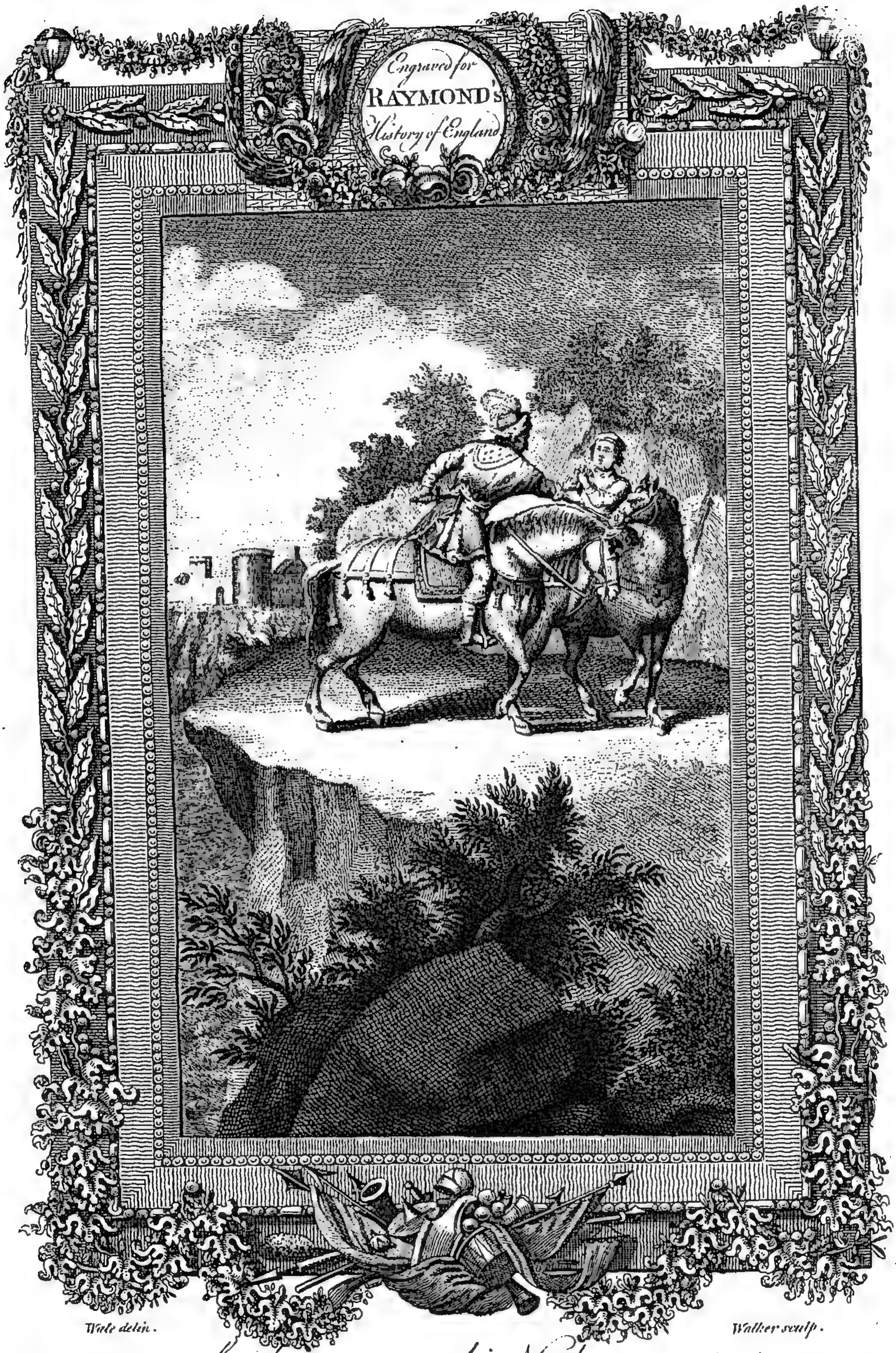
The earl of Marche was no ſtranger to the miſunderſtanding between John and his Engliſh ſubjects; and thinking this a ſeaſonable opportunity for reſenting the unjuſtifiable conduct of John in robbing him of his betrothed wife, formed a confederacy with his brother the count d'Eu, who, with him, aſſiduouſly applied themſelves to excite commotions in Poictou and Normandy.

As ſoon as John was informed of this, he ſummoned an aſſembly of his barons, when great numbers met, who unanimouſly refuſed attending him to Normandy unleſs he would firſt confirm their privileges. But the aſſociation was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for them to ſupport their noble reſolution. The threatenings and power of royality engaged the greater part to ſubmit, and John paſſed over into Normandy at the head of an army more than ſufficient to reduce the inſurgents; but he purſued no prudent methods: he advanced claims that gave univerſal diſcontent, and added daily to the public grievances. The barons complained to the king of France, as ſuperior lord; and that prince inſiſted upon John's doing them juſtice. He promiſed to redreſs all the grievances that were founded on juſtice; but as the juriſprudence of the times permitted that cauſes in the lord's court might be decided by ſingle combat, John carried with him a number of perſons whom he retained as champions to fight with his diſappointed barons. His vaſſals, deſpiſed, offended, and reduced to deſpair, once more applied to Philip; he received their appeal, and began to exert his authority, in order to prevent their oppreſſion. John again promiſed to do them juſtice, and again broke his engagements; ſo that his conduct rendered him at once both odious and contemptible.

Young prince Arthur, alarmed at the conſequences that were likely to enſue from the miſconduct of his uncle, determined to ſecure himſelf by forming an alliance with Philip and the diſcontented barons. He accordingly joined the French army, which had already begun hoſtilities. Philip was ſo pleaſed at this that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and promiſed to ſupport him againſt the Engliſh monarch.

A. D. 1203. The ſucceſs of the French forces had been ſo great for ſome time, that John was deſirous of putting an end to all military operations; but Philip was ſo exaſperated, that he openly declared he would not ſheathe the ſword of war, unleſs John would ſubmit to reſign all his tranſmarine dominions to his nephew prince Arthur, whom he conſidered as the lawful and undoubted heir. But John would not ſubmit to ſuch humiliating conditions. He was determined to defend his territories to the laſt extremity; but at the ſame time was deſirous, if poſſible, of coming to an accommodation with Philip, provided the terms could be admitted as reaſonable.

During theſe wars prince Arthur gave ſeveral inſtances



KING JOHN *basely* STABBING *his Nephew* PRINCE ARTHUR,
previous to throwing him into the Sea, near Cherbourgh.

ſtances of his courage and intrepidity; but he wanted prudence to conduct military expeditions with ſucceſs. He knew queen Eleanor was a ſworn enemy to his intereſt, and was therefore deſirous of ſecuring her perſon. She reſided in the town of Mirabel, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the garriſon too few to make any long reſiſtance. Arthur determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of attacking the town, and being placed by Philip at the head of two hundred knights, precipitately led his ſmall body of forces againſt Mirabel. The place was taken at the firſt aſſault, but the queen, with the greater part of the garriſon, retired into the tower, and made a gallant defence. The danger of his mother rouſed John from the couch of indolence: he marched at the head of an army of Engliſh and Brabanders, attacked the camp of Arthur, put his army to flight, and took the young prince, together with the earl of Marche, and moſt of the revolted barons, priſoners. The greater part of the captives were ſent over to England, but Arthur was ſhut up in the caſtle of Falaiſe, and afterwards removed to the citadel of Rouen in Normandy.

John was a ſtranger to the gentle feelings of compaſſion, and poſſeſſed not the virtue of magnanimity. He conſidered young Arthur as a fixed bar to his ambition; and imagined he could never be truly happy till that prince was effectually removed. This he determined to accompliſh with his own hands, and accordingly took Arthur from Rouen to Cherburg, that the infernal deed might be executed with the greater privacy. There, late in the evening, he mounted his horſe, and accompanied only by a few friends, ordered the prince to ride on before. In this manner they went ſome way, when John ordered his attendants to ſtop and wait his return. He then proceeded with young Arthur along the ſea-ſide, till at length they came to an high cliff hanging over the ſea, which John conſidered as a proper place for executing his bloody deſign. He accordingly ſpurred his horſe cloſe to the ſide of that on which Arthur rode, and ſuddenly ſeizing the rein of the bridle, ſtabbed the young prince ſeveral times through the body, while the wretched victim cried in vain for mercy. At length the prince fainting with loſs of blood fell to the ground and expired; upon which the baſe aſſaſſin diſmounted his horſe, and, to finiſh the infernal deed, threw the body over the precipice into the ſea.

As ſoon as the death of Arthur was known (and no one doubted who was the aſſaſſin) the wretched Conſtantia, mother to that unfortunate prince, preſented to the court of peers in France a petition ſigned by all the barons in Britany, requeſting that ſome puniſhment might be inflicted on the inhuman tyrant for the murder of her ſon. In conſequence of this, Philip ordered John to be ſummoned before his court; but when the day of hearing came, inſtead of appearing himſelf, John ſent two deputies, the biſhop of Ely and Hubert de Burgh, to demand a ſafe-conduct for their maſter. "He may come in peace," ſaid the French monarch, with a ſtern and ſevere countenance. "But "may he return in peace?" aſked the biſhop of Ely. "Yes," anſwered Philip, "if the ſentence of his peers will permit." The deputies clearly perceived the inſidious tendency of this expreſſion, and inſiſted on an explanation, and his granting the ſafe-conduct required. But Philip gave a peremptory denial, and ſwore by all the Saints of France, "That he ſhould return no otherwiſe than accord- "ing to the ſentence of the court." The biſhop then told Philip, "That John was to be conſi- "dered as king of England, as well as duke of "Normandy; and the barons of England would "not permit their king to riſque his life, or, at "leaſt his liberty, at the French court, even "though he ſhould agree to it himſelf." Philip's anſwer to this was both ready and juſt. "If, my "lord," ſaid he, "the duke of Normandy's am- "bition led him to acquire a higher title, ought "I, who am his lord, to loſe his allegiance as my "vaſſal? What is it to me that he has acquired the "crown of England?" The ambaſſadors did not attempt to anſwer Philip; and the court proceeded to paſs ſentence, which was as follows: "That "John, duke of Normandy, not regarding the "oath he had taken to Philip his lord, and being "an homager of the crown of France, had, within "the ſigniory of that crown, murdered his elder "brother's ſon, who was alſo an homager of the "ſame; therefore the ſaid John is declared a trai- "tor; and, as an enemy to the crown of France, "is adjudged to forfeit all his ſignories which he "held by homage, and re-entry into the ſame is "ordered to be made by force."

Philip made immediate preparations for putting the ſentence of the court in execution: a more favourable event could not have happened for annexing to the crown of France ſo many conſiderable fiefs, which, during ſeveral centuries, had been diſmembered from it. His vaſſals were no ways inclined to oppoſe his deſigns: the inhuman action of John ſilenced all oppoſition, and Philip marched with his forces into Normandy. Nor was the hatred which the inhabitants of that duchy bore to the French of any great conſequence: it formed but a feeble obſtacle to the rapidity of Philip's conqueſts. The count of Alençon, who had been one of John's moſt ſtrenuous advocates, deſerted him, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French monarch, who now divided his army into different bodies, each commanded by an able and experienced officer.

Exaſperated at the deſertion of ſo powerful a man as the count, John determined to retake Alençon, and immediately inveſted the place. Philip ſaw himſelf expoſed to the diſgrace of ſuffering the capital of his new ally to be wreſted from him. Fortunately a tournament was now held at Gatinois, and the fertile genius of Philip furniſhed him with an expedient for obtaining a powerful aſſiſtance. He repaired to the tournament, and pointed out the plains of Alençon, as the proper field for diſplaying their military talents, and inflicting on a baſe parricide the puniſhment due to his crimes. The knights vowed to chaſtiſe the aſſaſſin, and marched immediately to the relief of the beſieged. John fled at their approach; and never more made any attempt to defend his dominions. He even affected to be unconcerned at the ſucceſs of Philip. "Let him go on," ſaid the puſillanimous monarch, "I ſhall retake in one day what has coſt him ſo long a time to acquire."

A. D. 1204. The principal perſon ſincerely attached to John was Richard de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, one of the moſt able and courageous generals of his age. This brave and faithful officer defended Chapeau Galliard a whole year with the greateſt firmneſs and magnanimity. The fortreſs was remarkable for its ſtrength, and Philip was obliged to ſubdue it by famine. The intrepid governor, after having repulſed every attack

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and supported, with remarkable patience, all the miseries of famine, was at last subdued by a sudden attack in the night and taken prisoner with his whole garrison. Philip, who knew how to respect valour even in an enemy, treated him with the utmost civility, and confined him no farther than within the capital of his dominions.

The French monarch found but little difficulty in possessing himself of the other towns and fortresses in Normandy. The inhabitants of Rouen, indeed, at first determined to defend the capital; but finding all resistance would be in vain, they gave it up, and Philip took possession of the city. The other towns followed the example of the capital, and thus was Normandy, one of the finest provinces in the kingdom, re-annexed to the crown of France.

A. D. 1206. The pusillanimous John, finding it needless to make any farther efforts in opposing Philip returned to England covered with disgrace. He pretended to impute his ill success on the continent to the defects of his English barons, who refused to join his standard. But his conduct which was at once tyrannical and pusillanimous, soon convinced the people that the losses he had sustained were the natural consequences of his personal cowardice. He was therefore looked upon with contempt; and his barons began to form conspiracies for reducing within proper limits the exorbitant prerogatives of the crown.

A. D. 1207-9. But the designs of the barons were interrupted, for the present, by an event which engaged the attention of the whole nation, and shook the very pillars of the state. It took place from the imprudence of the monks of Canterbury, and was continued by the perverseness and tyrannical obstinacy of the king. These monks enjoyed the privilege, on the death of a primate, to name a successor; but it was usual, before they filled an office of such importance, to obtain the king's consent; and it was also generally allowed, that the suffragan bishops had voices in the election.

On the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury (who paid the debt of nature about the close of the preceding year) the junior monks met clandestinely in the night, elected Reginald, their subprior, to the vacant dignity, and placed him on the archiepiscopal throne. Knowing this election was not valid, unless the pope's consent could be obtained, they enjoined him secrecy, and sent him immediately to Rome, to be confirmed by Innocent III. the then pontiff. Elated with his elevation, Reginald suffered his vanity to get the better of his prudence, and endeavoured not to conceal the intention of his journey; so that the secret was known in England long before he crossed the Alps. John was highly exasperated; the senior monks protested against the election; and the suffragan bishops asserted their privilege. The juniors themselves, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted at the levity of Reginald, were very desirous of annulling the election. The chapter was accordingly assembled, and John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, chosen primate, without one dissenting voice. Twelve monks were immediately dispatched to Rome, to sollicit his confirmation, where they found Reginald, whom the pope had refused to confirm, till he received more satisfactory intelligence of the election.

The opportunity now offered which Innocent had so long desired, namely, that of extending his authority over the ecclesiastical power in England, and he determined to embrace it. He annulled both elections; and insisted, that the monks sent to his holiness should elect cardinal Langton into the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. The monks then represented, that they had no authority from their convent to make such election; and that it would not only be contrary to all the laws of equity, but also to the canons of the church.

But the pontiff was determined to be obeyed; he listened not to the voice of reason, and the remonstrances of the monks were urged in vain. He even threatened them with the terrors of excommunication, if they refused to obey his orders, and used every menace in his power to terrify them into obedience. One of their number, indeed, had the courage to persevere in opposing the pontiff, but the rest were intimidated, and elected cardinal Langton to the archiepiscopal see.

The Roman pontiff was not insensible that this flagrant usurpation must, of course, excite the resentment of the English court. He therefore wrote a very mollifying letter to John, and enclosed four gold rings set with precious stones, the value of which he endeavoured to enhance, by explaining the many mysteries they implied. He desired him to observe, with the most serious attention, the form, matter, and colour of the rings. "The "form, said he, is round, representing eternity, "which has neither beginning nor end; and "hence you ought to learn your duty of aspiring "from earthly to heavenly objects, from things "temporal to things eternal. The number Four "being a square, denotes steadiness of mind, which "neither prosperity nor adversity can subvert, "fixed for ever on the solid basis of the four cardinal virtues. The matter, which is gold, the "most precious of metals, shadows out wisdom, "the most precious of all accomplishments, and "justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, "and all exterior attainments. The blue colour "of the emerald represents Faith; the verdure of "the sapphire, Hope; the redness of the ruby, "Charity; and the splendor of the topaz, Good "Works."

This curious explanation, however, was far from producing the effect expected by the pontiff. John was enflamed with the utmost rage, and threatened the most exemplary vengeance against all who had been concerned in the late collusive election. But when he heard that the monks of Canterbury, dreading the vengeance of the court of Rome, were inclined to support the choice, his passion knew no bounds. He immediately dispatched two resolute knights, whose violent tempers were equal to the ferocity of their manners, to expel the monks from their convent. They performed their orders with the greatest punctuality; and the fathers were obliged to seek their safety in a precipitate flight.

The Roman pontiff received advice of these violent proceedings with the utmost satisfaction, being convinced, in his own mind, that should John persist in his opposition he must infallibly sink in the contest, and that his own purposes would be most amply answered. But instead of following the rash example of John, he had recourse to the softer arts of persuasion. He wrote a very conciliating letter to the king, beseeching him not to oppose the determination of his spiritual father, who was continually labouring for his future happiness; and desired him to reflect seriously on the consequences that had attended a similar opposition in his father Henry.

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But John, inſtead of paying any regard to this letter, remained firm to his purpoſe, and determined, if poſſible, to attain his ends, though at the expence of his life and kingdom. This being made known to the pope, he commanded the biſhops of London, Ely and Worceſter, to expoſtulate with him, and, if he continued to perſevere in his diſobedience, to threaten the kingdom with an interdict.

Theſe threats, inſtead of having any effect on John, only exaſperated him the more; and he ſwore, that if the pope preſumed to pronounce the ſentence, he would put out the eyes, and cut off the noſes, of all the Roman clergy in his dominions. In vain were all the perſuaſions of the biſhops to mitigate his fury. He wrote a letter to the pope, telling him, that he looked upon his proceedings as an inſult upon royalty: that his own kingdom furniſhed a ſufficient number of clergymen, eminent at once for their learning and piety, without ſuffering thoſe of a foreign ſeminary to be intruded upon him: that he was determined to maintain the election of the biſhop of Norwich to the utmoſt extremity: and that if he refuſed to do him juſtice in this particular, he would prohibit all commerce between his ſubjects, and thoſe belonging to the ſee of Rome.

The pontiff paid not the leaſt regard to theſe threats from the Engliſh monarch. He knew the animoſity that ſubſiſted between the king and his people, and therefore, without any heſitation, iſſued out the dreadful ſentence of interdiction againſt the kingdom.

This was the moſt fatal ſtroke that could happen to England. The ruin of the people was involved in the puniſhment of the king. The exterior parts of religion immediately ceaſed: the altars were ſtripped of their ornaments; the images, the croſſes, the ſtatues of ſaints, and all the holy relicks were laid upon the ground. The churches were ſhut againſt the laity, and divine ſervice was ſuppreſſed. Even ſacraments were no longer adminiſtered but to dying perſons; nor were the dead ſuffered to be buried in conſecrated ground. The ſevereſt penances were commanded, and every kind of entertainment ſtrictly prohibited.

But notwithſtanding theſe dreadful calamities, the obſtinate John (though ſolicited by his people with tears and ſupplications) remained inflexible. He oppoſed, with the moſt obſtinate reſolution, every attempt to remove the ſcourge, and reſtore tranquillity to his dominions. He puniſhed, with the utmoſt rigour, all who ſubmitted to the orders of the pope, whether biſhops, monks, or ſecular clergy. Some of the eccleſiaſtics, indeed, diſregarded the cenſure of the Roman pontiff. The Ciſtercian order continued to perform divine ſervice publicly; the biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich followed their examples, and ſeveral of the moſt eminent divines openly preached againſt thoſe proceedings, which they called unjuſt and unwarrantable. An exertion of prudent vigor therefore might have diſſipated the tempeſt: but John liſtened not to the voice of reaſon; he followed the dictates of his headſtrong paſſions, which led him to the brink of a precipice that at once threatened the deſtruction both of him and his kingdom.

A. D. 1210. As John could not wreak his vengeance on the pope, he determined on having the horrid ſatisfaction of adding to the calamities of his ſubjects, by perſecuting them in a manner that would have diſgraced the moſt ferocious tyrant. The clergy were the particular objects of his fury. He ſeized upon their temporalities, drove them from their monaſteries, and inflicted on them every kind of indignity. But his deſpotiſm was not confined to the clergy, the laiety alſo felt the weight of his oppreſſion. He not only enforced the foreſt laws, which had always excited troubles and diſtreſs, but likewiſe ordered all the mounds of his foreſt to be levelled, that his deer might range at large, to the inexpreſſible diſtreſs of the huſbandmen. In ſhort, ſo inconſiſtent were the meaſures of this infatuated prince, that even while the crown tottered on his head, he had recourſe to the moſt extraordinary ſtretch of power to enforce the obedience of his barons. He compelled them to give him hoſtages for their good behaviour and fidelity. The greater number complied with his demand; but when the king's meſſengers came to the caſtle of William de Baroule, a nobleman of great power in the Marches of Wales, his lady replied, "That ſhe would never truſt her ſon to the care of a prince who had embrued his hands in the blood of his own nephew." Barouſe, who knew the cruel temper of John, and that the ſarcaſm of his wife would never be pardoned, fled, with his family, into Ireland. But the place of their retreat was ſoon known, and John gave a looſe to his cruelty. He ſhut up the lady and her ſon in priſon, where, by his orders, they were ſtarved to death; but Barouſe luckily made his eſcape, and fled to the continent.

A. D. 1211. From theſe violent and tyrannical proceedings John, had been ſome time in expectation of receiving the dreadful ſentence of excommunication from the pontiff; and was therefore deſirous of averting ſo tremendous an edict. He therefore diſpatched the abbot of Beaulieu on an embaſſy to Rome, to effect, if poſſible, a reconciliation with the pontiff. Cardinal Langton was immediately ordered to repair to England; but John's propoſals not being equal to what the pope demanded, he broke off the conference abruptly, and returned to the continent.

The pope, irritated at the ill ſucceſs of his legate, immeidately denounced the dreadful ſentence of excommunication againſt John, and abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. He gave the kingdom of England to Philip of France, a prince who wanted neither power nor inclination to aſſert his claim. Nay, he even promiſed him the remiſſion of all his ſins, if he ſucceeded in the reduction of England; and granted the ſame indulgences on account of this expedition, as had been given to thoſe who went into Aſia to recover the Holy Land from the Infidels. The facinating luſtre of the Engliſh diadem ſhone bright in the eyes of Philip, who employed his whole time in fitting out a numerous fleet, and in raiſing and diſciplining the fineſt army ever ſeen in France.

Though John's ſubjects had reaſon to look on him with deteſtation, yet from the natural enmity they bore the French, and the hatred they had conceived againſt the pope for his arbitrary proceedings, John was enabled to raiſe, and keep together, an army of ſixty thouſand men, at the head of whom he marched towards Dover, to meet the prince, who had tried and condemned him in France, and was then coming to dethrone him in England.

In the mean time the pope was determined once more to try lenitives with John, and accordingly ſent over Pandolf, his legate, to whom he gave pri-

private inſtructions how to behave, in caſe John ſhould repent, and deſire to make ample ſatisfaction. The legate, having procured an interview with the king at Dover, repreſented to him all the dangers of his ſituation. "The French fleet, "ſaid he, is ready to ſail; and your troops will "certainly deſert you in the day of battle. The "only reſource, therefore, left is, that of ſub-"mitting yourſelf abſolutely to the protection of "the Holy See."

Theſe remonſtrances had the deſired effect. The puſillanimous John, fearful of the power of Philip, and dreading the deſertion of the barons, readily ſubmitted, and ſubſcribed to all the conditions ſtipulated by Pandolf. Among other articles he promiſed that he would ſubmit himſelf entirely to the will of the pope: that he would acknowledge Langton for primate, and reſtore all the exiled clergy and laity, who had been baniſhed on account of the conteſt; that he would make them full reſtitution for all damages they had received, and immediately conſign eight thouſand pounds in part for that purpoſe; and that every one impriſoned, on account of their adherence to the pope, ſhould be releaſed, and received into grace and favour.

Pandolf, having procured this humiliating treaty from John with ſo much eaſe, thought he might venture to go one ſtep farther; and accordingly propoſed, that he ſhould reſign his kingdom to the pontiff. He perſuaded the king, that there was no other way by which he could ſo effectually diſappoint the French invaſion, as by putting himſelf under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. The wretched and now truly abject John made no ſcruple to comply with every propoſition made by the artful legate. He accordingly (on the 15th of May, A. D. 1213) repaired to the houſe of the Knights Templars at Dover, where he formally reſigned the two kingdoms of England and Ireland to the holy ſee, acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of the pope, and engaged to pay him an annual tribute of a thouſand marks. It was alſo ſtipulated, that if either he, or any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever violate theſe engagements, he or they ſhould forfeit all right to the two crowns.

This diſgraceful treaty was followed by the truly humiliating ceremony of homage. The king, unarmed, and on his knees, appeared before Pandolf, ſeated on a throne, and in that degrading poſture ſwore fealty to the pope. A ſum of money was then put into the legate's hands, as the firſt payment of this tribute; and John himſelf preſented him with the crown and ſceptre. The imperious prieſt, to ſhew his triumph over the fallen monarch, had the inſolence to trample the money under his foot. He, indeed, returned the regalia to the king, but not without declaring, in an audible voice, that he muſt conſider it as a particular favour of the Roman ſee. Nor would he take off the interdict and excommunication, till the exiled clergy had received full ſatisfaction for their loſſes.

The haughty legate having thus amply executed his commiſſion in England, paſſed over to the continent, where he found the powerful armament prepared by Philp ready to put to ſea. He immediately repaired to the king, and informed him, that he was no longer permitted to make a deſcent upon England, now become a fief of the Roman church; and that John was under the protection of the holy ſee.

Philip, at once ſurpriſed and incenſed at this declaration, treated the legate as an impoſtor. He told him, that he had made theſe preparations at an immenſe expence, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope; and therefore, that no contrary orders, nor even the threats of the Vatican, ſhould now deter him from proſecuting his deſign. He immediately ſummoned a general council, wherein he painted the pope's inſidious proceedings in the moſt glaring colours, and deſired their advice with regard to proſecuting the deſign againſt England. They all expreſſed their abhorrence of the pope's duplicity, and the greater part declared for making the intended deſcent. The earl of Flanders not only diſſented from the general opinion, but declared ſtrongly againſt it. He boldly told Philip, that his expedition againſt England was inconſiſtent with juſtice, and the law of nations, as none of his anceſtors ever pretended any claim to that kingdom. Exaſperated at this remonſtrance, Philip ordered the earl to quit his dominions, and immediately turned the armament he had raiſed for an expedition into England, againſt Flanders. But William earl of Saliſbury, at the head of an Engliſh fleet fitted out to guard the channel, fell with ſuch fury on the French tranſports, that one hundred of them were ſunk, and three hundred taken. Philip perceiving that the total deſtruction of his ſhips was inevitable, ſet fire to the reſt, as the only method to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh.

This fatal overthrow blaſted all the ambitious projects of Philip, and at the ſame time greatly exhilirated the ſpirits of the Engliſh monarch. Being aſſured of the pope's aſſiſtance, John reſolved to purſue the advantage he had obtained over Philip, and endeavour to recover his loſt dominions. He accordingly ſummoned all his barons, knights and vaſſals, to attend him at Portſmouth: but the barons ſent him word they could not comply with his ſummons ſo long as he continued under a ſtate of excommunication. To remove this obſtacle, John wrote a very preſſing letter to Langton, beſeeching him to come, with all expedition, and give him abſolution; aſſuring him that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, defend and maintain the church and clergy againſt all their adverſaries: that he would re-eſtabliſh the wholeſome laws of his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of king Edward; and that he would annul all oppreſſive edicts, and judge every man according to juſtice and equity. The prelate liſtened to John's requeſt, and on the above conditions, gave him abſolution before the principal nobility and clergy, in the cathedral church of Winchester; ſoon after which a bull arrived from the pope, empowering Langton to take off the interdict which had ſo long been laid on the kingdom.

A. D. 1214. Having thus removed all obſtacles that impeded the execution of his deſign, John now determined to carry on the war againſt Philip with the utmoſt vigor; but when he came to the teſt, it was evident he wanted both courage and prudence to lead an army againſt ſo powerful an enemy. He, however, went over to the continent at the head of his army, and beſieged a caſtle near Angiers; but the approach of a large body of forces under the command of prince Lewis, excited all his natural timidity. He raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind him all his tents, machines and baggage. A few days after, advice arrived, that Philip had defeated, at Bovines, the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred

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and fifty thouſand Germans. This victory eſtabliſhed the reputation of Philip, and put a final period to all John's hopes of a conqueſt: he therefore relinquiſhed every farther attempt, and returned home with diſgrace.

The Engliſh nobility now looked upon their king with the moſt diſtinguiſhed contempt, and renewed their deſigns of curtailing the exorbitant prerogatives of the crown, from which they had been prevented by the great diſturbances that had taken place on account of the diſpute between John and the Roman pontiff.

The charter paſſed by Henry I. renewed by Stephen, and confirmed by Henry II. had flattered the people with liberty, without communicating to them any real advantages. The articles had never been executed on the part of the crown, and the whole was now nearly forgotten. The barons were rouſed from the couch of indolence by the meanneſs, violence, and tyranny of John. Both clergy and laity joined in oppoſing the tyrant of their country; and archbiſhop Langton became the head of a faction. The promiſe the king had made at the time he received abſolution furniſhed the primate with pretences for a revolt. He aſſembled the barons; produced a charter of Henry I. which he had fortunately found in the library of a monaſtery, and exhorted them to join firmly in inſiſting on a renewal and ſolemn confirmation of that contract of privileges.

The barons (pleaſed with the opportunity of ſetting bounds to the royal authority, and of procuring a poſitive declaration of the rights of Engliſhmen) took an oath to adhere firmly to each other: planned meaſures for forcing the king to grant their requeſt, ſhould he be diſpoſed to refuſe it; and agreed to meet at London ſoon after Chriſtmas, to put their deſigns into execution.

A. D. 1215. At the time appointed the barons, headed by archbiſhop Langton, repaired to London, and peremptorily demanded of John a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; upon which the king, alarmed at their number, zeal, and apparent unanimity, promiſed to give them a poſitive anſwer at Eaſter.

In the mean time John laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to gain the clergy over to his intereſt, by making them the moſt laviſh conceſſions. But this did not anſwer his purpoſe. They were weary with the deſpotiſm of the Roman court, and, regretting the loſs of thoſe privileges which had been taken from them by the power of the pontiff, openly profeſſed their zeal for the liberty of the people. This encouraged the barons to proceed with alacrity, and they determined either to procure a charter of liberties, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

The time being now near at hand when John was to give a poſitive anſwer to the demands of the barons, he ſent a meſſenger, deſiring to have a ſchedule of the different articles of their pretenſions. The barons (having prepared the articles requeſted) advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford (where the court then reſided) and ſent the ſchedule by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earl of Pembroke. The king, after reading the articles, flew into the moſt furious paſſion, and ſwore that he would never grant them liberties which muſt reduce a monarch to the character of a ſlave. "Why, ſaid he, did they not alſo demand my crown?"

The primate and earl immediately left the court, and communicated the king's anſwer to the barons, who immediately elected Robert Fitz-Walter their general, under the title of "The Mareſchal of the army of God, and of the Holy Church." Having done this, they began their proceedings by publiſhing a proclamation, inviting the reſt of the nobility to join them in this national cauſe; after which they advanced towards London, and entered the capital without the leaſt oppoſition.

Almoſt all the nobility now joined the ſtandard of the barons, and the puſillanimous king retired to Odiham in Surry, with the poor retinue of only ſeven knights. He made ſeveral attempts to elude the efforts of the barons. He offered to refer the diſpute to the pope, and ſign any charter that ſhould be approved by his holineſs: but this was peremptorily refuſed. He then propoſed to empower eight barons to ſettle the conteſt, four to be choſen by himſelf, and four by the barons. But this offer was rejected in an equal peremptory manner with the former.

Finding all oppoſition would be in vain, and that he was abandoned by his ſubjects, John was obliged to conſent to the demands of his barons. Accordingly, Runnemede (a place between Windſor and Staines) was appointed for holding a conference, where, after a debate which laſted a few days, the king ſigned, on the 19th of June, the celebrated charter known by the name of *Magna Charta*, and, to this day, juſtly conſidered as the great bulwark of Engliſh liberty. At the ſame time the king ſigned another charter called *Charta de Foreſta* or Charter of Foreſts; the ſubſtance of both of which is as follows:

"Magna Charta, or the great charter, confirmed what was lately granted to the clergy, relative to the freedom of elections; allowed perſons to leave the kingdom without ſpecial licence, except in time of war; ordained that no clergyman ſhould be amerced in proportion to his benefice, but according to his lay tenement; ſecured to the lay nobility the cuſtody of vacant abbies and convents, which were under their patronage; aſcertained the reliefs for earldoms, baronies, and knights's fees, which before were arbitrary; decreed that barons ſhould recover the lands of their vaſſals, forfeited for felony, after they ſhould have been a year and a day in the poſſeſſion of the crown; that they ſhould enjoy the wardſhips of their military tenants, who held no other lands of the crown by a different tenure; that a perſon knighted by the king, though a minor, ſhould enjoy the privileges of an adult at law, provided he was a ward of the crown; but ſuch knighthood conferred on a ward of a baron, ſhould not deprive that baron of his wardſhip; that widows ſhould not be forced to marry againſt their inclination, or to pay any fine for their dower; that the wardſhips of minors ſhould not be ſold; that guardians ſhould not take unreaſonable profits from the lands of their wards, or commit waſte, but keep the houſes in good repair, leave the farms well ſtocked, and diſpoſe of their wards in marriage, without diſparagement; that no ſcuttage ſhould be levied in the kingdom without the conſent of the common-council of the realm, except in the caſes of ranſoming the kings perſon, knighting his eldeſt ſon, or marrying his eldeſt daughter; that no freeman

"ſhould

" ſhould be taken, impriſoned, or diſſeized of " his freehold, liberties, or free cuſtoms, but by " the lawful judgment of his peers, or by legal " proceſs; that ſheriffs ſhould not hold county " courts above once a month; that they, as well " as caſtellans, coroners, and kings bailiffs, " ſhould be reſtrained from holding pleas of the " crown; that ſheriffs who had the management " of the crown revenues within their ſeveral " diſtricts, ſhould not raiſe the farms of counties, " hundreds, and tythes according to their plea- " ſure, except in the king's demeſne manors; " that the people ſhould not be unjuſtly proſe- " cuted, and put to canonical purgation, with- " out legal proof, in regard to carriages, pur- " veyance of victuals and other ſervices; that " amerciaments ſhould be proportioned to the " offence, and circumſtances of the offenders, " ſo as not to affect his landed eſtate, or diſable " him from following his vocation, but be rated " by the verdict of twelve creditable men in the " neighbourhood."

" The Charta de Foreſta was intended to pre- " vent the extortion of foreſters; to allow free- " holders to improve their lands and woods within " the limits of the foreſts: to diſforeſt all lands " taken in ſince the coronation of Henry I. ex- " cept the crown demeſnes: to exempt thoſe who " lived without the foreſts, from the trouble of " attending theſe courts, except when ſummoned " for ſome tranſgreſſion: to annul all outlawries " for ſuch tranſgreſſions; and to convert the pe- " nalty for killing veniſon, from a capital puniſh- " ment to a fine, or, in caſe of inſolvency, to a " year's impriſonment."

Such is the ſubſtance of the two famous charters ſigned by king John at Runnemede. But the barons were ſenſible the merely procuring theſe charters was not ſufficient fully to anſwer their ends. They were too well acquainted with the ſanguinary diſpoſition of John, and knew that every precaution in their power would be neceſſary for their ſupport againſt his anger, and to oblige him to obſerve the articles of the two inſtruments of liberty. They therefore inſiſted on his conſenting that twenty-five of their own number ſhould be choſen to ſee the charters duly obſerved. Theſe were to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Conſervators of the Liberties of the people; and four of them were empowered to demand reparation, within forty days, from him or his juſticiary, in caſe of an infringement on any article in either charter; and if ſuch reparation ſhould be neglected, then the committee of four were to give notice of the ſame to the reſt, who, with the council of the nation, were empowered to take up arms, and ſeize his caſtles, lands and poſſeſſions, until ſatisfaction ſhould be obtained.

The puſillanimous king made not the leaſt oppoſition to theſe terms; but ſubmitted with great apparent tranquillity, to every thing propoſed by the barons. He even ſent writs to his ſheriffs, ordering them to oblige every perſon to ſwear obedience to the conſervators, on pain of having all their eſtates ſeized, and their chattels ſold within a fortnight after refuſal.

But notwithſtanding this ſeeming deſire of acting in conformity to the articles of the great charter, John never intended to obſerve that treaty any longer than the neceſſity of the times obliged him. He only bowed beneath the ſtorm that then blew around him; but he determined as ſoon as the threatning blaſt was over, to reſume the power he had loſt.

John was principally encouraged in this deſign by the foreign mercenaries he kept about his perſon. They inſinuated, that it was ſhameful for a king to make any conceſſions to his ſubjects, and that no compact, extorted by the force of rebellion, could be binding. Theſe inſinuations coincided exactly with the king's opinion, and determined him to make one attempt to ſhake off the yoke of compulſion, ſo galling to his mind. He became ſullen and melancholy, ſeparated himſelf from the company of his courtiers, and at laſt retired privately by night, attended only by ſeven of his friends, into the iſle of Wight, where he meditated ſevere vengeance againſt his enemies. He ſolicited the pope to abſolve him from all the engagements he had entered into with his barons; and ſent ſeveral emiſſaries into France, Germany, and Flanders, to engage a number of Brabanders in his ſervice.

The pope, conſidering himſelf as feudal lord of the kingdom, was highly incenſed at the behaviour of the barons; and therefore iſſued a bull, by which the great charter was condemned and annulled, as derogatory to the holy ſee. Both the king and barons were prohibited from paying any regard to the articles contained in it: the oaths which had been adminiſtered were annulled, and the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt every one who perſevered in maintaining the authority of the charter of liberties.

But the power of the pope, in temporal affairs, had now loſt great part of its force; and Innocent III. had the mortification to find even Langton, whom himſelf had placed on the archiepiſcopal throne of Canterbury, refuſe to promulgate his cenſures. Exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this oppoſition in a prelate he expected would have exerted his utmoſt power to promote the intereſt of the holy ſee, the pope ſuſpended Langton from the exerciſe of his functions. But this did not produce the deſired effect; the clergy, with the primate at their head, as well as the nobility and people, diſcovered a noble ardour for preſerving that liberty and independence, they had with ſo much difficulty obtained.

In the mean time John's emiſſaries on the continent engaged a powerful army in the ſervice of their maſter. They were all veteran troops, and ready to venture their lives in any cauſe to gain independent fortunes; beſides which they were farther encouraged by the promiſes of John, who had engaged to give them all the eſtates of his turbulent barons.

No ſooner was the king aſſured that his foreign troops were embarked, than he immediately threw off the maſk, by recalling all the liberties he had granted to his ſubjects; declaring the great charter null and void, and the barons who had extorted that inſtrument from him, rebels and traitors.

The foreign forces landed at Dover, immediately on which, John, putting himſelf at their head, marched to Northampton, reducing the whole country through which he paſſed to a ſmoaking deſart. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, urged on by a cruel and enraged prince, were let looſe againſt the eſtates and tenants of the barons. Every thing was levelled with the ground; and cruelties, ſuch as would ſhock even ſavages themſelves, were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants.

The greater part of the northern barons, unable

to reſiſt the force of the mercenaries, and having little reaſon to expect mercy ſhould they fall into the hands of the king, fled with their wives and families and ſolicited the protection of Alexander king of Scotland. John followed them into that kingdom, and in his way burnt ſeveral towns, particularly Haddington and Dunbar: but receiving advice that Alexander had raiſed a numerous army, and was advancing to give him battle, he thought proper to retreat, well knowing that ſhould he be defeated, it would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

A. D. 1216. John had made himſelf maſter of the principal caſtles in England, and he now determined to lay ſiege to London, the only place of conſequence that held out in ſupport of independence. The barons were alarmed at the king's declaration, and, driven to deſpair, had recourſe to moſt deſperate expedient for their ſafety. They applied to the court of France for protection, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, eldeſt ſon to Philip, as their ſovereign, if he would aſſiſt him with a body of forces againſt their enraged monarch.

The ambitious Philip could not reſiſt ſo advantageous an offer, but he determined to act with caution. He had his ſcruples with reſpect to the fidelity of the Engliſh barons, and the danger of truſting his ſon and heir in the hands of perſons, who might, either from caprice, or neceſſity, make peace with their native ſovereign. He therefore exacted twenty-five hoſtages from the barons as a ſecurity for his ſon's ſafety; and, on their being delivered, ſent over his ſon at the head of a formidable army.

The arrival of Lewis produced very diſagreeable conſequences to the Engliſh monarch. The greater part of his foreign troops (who were chiefly natives of France) immediately deſerted him, declaring they would not fight againſt the heir of their lawful ſovereign John was encamped near Dover when Lewis landed in the Iſle of Thanet; but inſtead of endeavouring to attack the enemy before the French forces could be joined by the barons, he retreated to Wincheſter.

In conſequence of this puſillanimous conduct, Lewis marched to London without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. He entered the city amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, and the barons and citizens immediately ſwore fealty to him; while the prince, in return, ſolemnly promiſed to reſtore all their eſtates, and confirm the antient privileges of the kingdom.

But though Lewis was maſter of the capital, and at the head of a numerous army, yet he had many difficulties to ſurmount before he could make himſelf maſter of England. Moſt of the maritime places were in the intereſt of John, who had favoured the ſea-ports with many valuable privileges, and made many excellent regulations with regard to the marine. This was a diſagreeable circumſtance to Lewis, who conſidered his being maſter of ſome convenient harbour as a matter of the laſt importance. Deſtitute of that advantage, his receiving reinforcements from the continent would be rendered very precarious; nor would even his own retreat, in caſe of a reverſe of fortune, be ſecure. He therefore attempted to make himſelf maſter of Dover; but his enterprize was rendered abortive by the great reſolution of the garriſon. In conſequence of this he carried his arms into the inland parts of Kent and Suſſex, which he reduced with great facility; but William de Coldingham, at the head of a thouſand archers, retiring into the wilds and faſtneſſes of that country, ſupported himſelf againſt all the power of the French army.

During theſe tranſactions John was far from being idle. He fortified and furniſhed with proviſions ſeveral ſea-port towns; and flattered himſelf, that, from the interference of the pope (whom he had acquainted with Philip's proceedings) all the ſchemes of that monarch and his ſon would be defeated, and that he ſhould be reſtored to the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne.

But in this John was miſtaken. The pope, indeed, fulminated the ſentence of excommunication againſt both Philip and Lewis, but the effect fell ſhort of John's expectations. The French biſhops declared the excommunication of Philip void, and Lewis paid little regard to the papal cenſure. He was more deſirous of procuring a proper ſea-port, than of guarding againſt the effects of the pope's ſentence. He therefore once more led his army to Dover, and inveſted that important fortreſs; but Hubert de Burgh, the governor, at the head of his brave forces, made ſuch furious ſallies upon the French army, that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a conſiderable diſtance, and turn the ſiege into a blockade.

Lewis was greatly alarmed at this miſcarriage, and his fears were conſiderably increaſed on finding the barons leſs active than he expected. But he was too haughty to conciliate their affections by a familiar deportment, and wanted diſcernment to foreſee the conſequences of his negligence. He did not even endeavour to conceal his diſguſt; but, on the contrary, excluded them from his councils and confidence, and, and, inſtead of reſtoring the nobility to their honours and eſtates, beſtowed all his favours on his own countrymen.

The barons now ſaw their error in calling upon a foreign force for aſſiſtance: the people complained of the oppreſſions exerciſed by their new maſters; and every thing wore the appearance of more complicated diſturbances. At the ſame time a report prevailed, that viſcount Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, was taken dnagerouſly ill, and, finding his end approaching, ſent for ſome of his friends among the Engliſh barons, informing them that it was Lewis's deſign to extirminate them and their families, and beſtow their eſtates and titles on his foreign favourites. This report, whether true or falſe, acted powerfully on many of the Engliſh barons, and was of infinite prejudice to Lewis. The earl of Saliſbury, and ſeveral others of the principal nobility, determined, if poſſible, to elude the force of the ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction. They accordingly ſent private information to John of their deſigns of joining his army, and uſing their utmoſt efforts to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the invader of their country.

This information greatly enlivened the ſpirits of John, who immediately exerted himſelf in collecting a powerful army, in order to bring on a deciſive battle with Lewis. He marched at the head of theſe to Lynn in Norfolk, and from thence into Lincolnſhire, in order to join thoſe barons who had declared in his favour; but in marching over the waſhes of the latter county at an improper time of the tide, the ſea ruſhed in upon him with ſuch violence and rapidity, that he loſt the greater part of his forces, together with all his treaſure, baggage, and regalia. With ſome difficulty he reached Swineſhead-abbey; but the great fatigues he had undergone, and the conſtant hurry and perturbation of his ſpirits, added to the affliction he

felt at his late irreparable misfortune, threw him into a violent fever. The next day, being unable to ride, he was carried in a litter to the caſtle of Sleaford, and from thence to Newark, where, finding his end approaching, he ordered his will to be drawn up, by which he appointed his ſon Henry, then a child, to ſucceed him on the throne. The ſame night (the 18th of October, A. D. 1216) he paid the debt of nature, in the 50th year of his age and 18th of his reign. His remains were carried to Worceſter according to his own order, and interred, with little funeral pomp, in the cathedral of that city.

The character of this prince, when painted with the pencil of truth, will, perhaps, appear more odious than when drawn even by the pen of envy. He was deeply practiſed in almoſt every vice, and a ſtranger to almoſt every virtue. The murder of his nephew, the infringement of public property, and the violation of private honour and domeſtic peace, have conſigned his memory to perpetual ignomy. Inſolent in proſperity, and raſh in adverſity; puſillanimous in war, and tyrannical in peace, this prince was never beloved by his people; nor could he boaſt of having procured a real friend. But his reign, however inglorious, gave occaſion to thoſe excellent charters which form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. His tyranny firſt prompted the barons to aſſert, and his ſloth and indolence enabled them to obtain, thoſe ineſtimable privileges, which are at once the glory and ſecurity of Engliſhmen.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of king John.

A. D.

1199 French wine ſold in England for 20*s.* per tun; after which the people were allowed to ſell red wine for 6*d.* per quart, and white for 8*d.*
Surnames firſt uſed in England.

1202 Aſſize of Bread firſt appointed in London.

1204 The Inquiſition firſt eſtabliſhed.

1205 This year died Peter of Colechurch, who began to build London-bridge with ſtone, and was buried in the chapel under that bridge.
A fiſh, reſembling a man, was taken in Suffolk, and kept alive ſix months.

1207 The firſt annual mayor and common-council of London choſen this year.

1212 On the 10th of July great part of London was burnt: the fire began in Southwark, and having conſumed the church of St. Mary Overy, ſpread to the bridge; and, whilſt great numbers of people ran, ſome to behold, others to quench the flames, the houſes at the other end of the bridge took fire, ſo that the multitude being thus encloſed, many were forced to leap into the Thames, whilſt others, crowding into the boats that came to their relief, were the cauſe of their own deſtruction, the boats and people ſinking together. Near 3000 perſons periſhed by this melancholy accident, ſome by water and others by fire.

BOOK VIII.

From the Acceſſion of Henry III. to the Death of Edward II.

CHAP. I.

HENRY III. ſurnamed of WINCHESTER.

Acceſſion and coronation of Henry III. The earl of Pembroke is conſtituted regent. He warmly oppoſes Lewis the French prince, and at length obliges him to abandon the kingdom. Henry takes upon himſelf the reins of government, and diſavows the charters granted by his predeceſſor. Ill treats Hubert de Burgh, the chief juſticiary. Shews great partiality to foreigners; but, at the inſtigation of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, they are baniſhed the kingdom. Marries Eleanor daughter to the count of Provence, and commits the affairs of government to her uncle the biſhop of Valence. Encourages foreigners, and gains the ill-will of his ſubjects. Goes over to the continent to aſſiſt the count de la Marche, againſt Lewis king of France; but is defeated, and returns to England with diſgrace. The pope's nuncio, by order of his maſter, exacts money from the clergy, and behaves with ſuch oppreſſive inſolence, that he is compelled to leave the kingdom. The Engliſh lay their complaints before the council of Lyons, and the pope grants them redreſs; but ſoon after renews his exactions. Henry countenances the pope's nuncio in oppreſſing his ſubjects. Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, made king of the Romans. The parliament oblige Henry to ratify the great charter granted by king John. The king breaks his engagements; upon which the barons form themſelves into an aſſociation, and oblige him to ſign a ſet of articles, called the Statutes, or Proviſions of Oxford. The barons take the power of government into their own hands. The pope abſolves Henry from his oath relative to the Oxford Proviſions. Wars between the king and barons. The rebellion totally quelled, and tranquillity reſtored to the kingdom. Prince Edward and his brother Edmund engage in the cruſades, and go over to the Holy Land. Edward narrowly eſcapes being aſſaſſinated. Death and character of Henry.

A. D. 1216. AT the time of the late king's death, England was involved in civil diſcord, and confuſion univerſally prevailed throughout the kingdom. Lewis, the French prince, was already in poſſeſſion of the metropolis, and ſupported in his deſigns of making himſelf maſter of England by the whole power of France; while Henry, the heir and eldeſt ſon of John, was young, inexperienced, incapable of holding the reins of government, or judging which of his ſubjects was beſt qualified for that important office.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, the wiſe and gallant earl of Pembroke, then marſhal of England, boldly ſeized the helm of ſtate, with a reſolution, if poſſible, of delivering his country from foreign uſurpation. He well knew that the majority of the barons were diſpoſed to renounce the intereſt

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

HENRY III



Wale delin:

Born
October 1. 1207.

Crowned
October 28. 1216.

Walker sculp.

Died
November 16. 1272.

intereſt of Lewis, and that the death of John had obviated all pretence for any farther oppoſition. He therefore ſummoned a council of the barons at Glouceſter, at which all who adhered to the royal family attended. As ſoon as the members were ſeated, the earl entered the aſſembly leading young Henry by the hand, and calling out "Behold your king!" This was ſucceeded by a ſhort pauſe, after which the earl addreſſed the aſſembly in words to this effect:

"My dear friends and countrymen,

"Though we expreſſed a juſt reſentment againſt "the father of this prince, becauſe his conduct "was iniquitous, this little child is free from the "imputation of his father's guilt. Puniſhment "can be inflicted with juſtice only on the offender, "and reaſon tells us, that the ſon ſhould not ſuf- "fer for the iniquities of the father. We ought, "therefore, to compaſſionate the caſe of this in- "fant king, and zealouſly unite in driving Lewis, "ſon to the king of France, out of our land. "Thus ſhall we revive the antient glory of our "country, and break the reproachful chains of "ſervile bondage."

This ſpeech produced the wiſhed-for effect. The earl of Cheſter, indeed, ſtated an objection relative to their having called over Lewis; but it was ſoon over-ruled by recapitulating that prince's conduct ſince his arrival in England; and it was generally agreed that his arbitrary and tyrannical behaviour had diſſolved all ties that might have otherwiſe bound thoſe who had invited him to their aſſiſtance. The whole aſſembly, therefore, unanimouſly called out, "Let young Henry be "made king of England."

In conſequence of this general approbation of the barons, the young king was crowned on the 28th of October in the church of St. Peter at Glouceſter. The ceremony was performed by Gualo, the pope's legate, aſſiſted by the biſhops of Wincheſter, Bath and Worceſter. But before the crown was placed on Henry's head, he took the accuſtomed oath; after which it was thought neceſſary that he ſhould ſwear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage to which his father had ſubjected the kingdom. The prelates, earls, barons, and all who were preſent, next ſwore fealty and allegiance to the new king; and the earl of Pembroke was conſtituted his guardian, and regent of the kingdom.

This honourable and important office could not have been conferred on a perſon of greater abilities, or more inviolable honour; and, perhaps, none but himſelf could have healed the wounds of his then bleeding country. The firſt public ſtep he took was, to ſend circular letters, notifying Henry's coronation to all the barons and principal people of the kingdom, promiſing a general amneſty to all who ſhould return to their obedience, and peaceably acknowledge Henry III. for their lawful ſovereign. This prudent meaſure had the deſired effect. Many of the barons, who ſtill adhered to Lewis, reflected, that the cauſe, which induced them to take up arms, no longer exiſted: that oppoſition would be then unnatural rebellion; and that the only method they could purſue with propriety was that of making their peace with their lawful ſovereign. The pope's legate greatly aſſiſted in bringing about this deſirable effect, by iſſuing out the ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis and his adherents.

In the mean time Lewis was employed in carrying on the ſiege of Dover, having made a vow not to abandon the undertaking till he became maſter of the place. But he knew not the abilities of Hubert de Burgh, the governor, who, by his courage and fidelity, rendered all the deſigns of Lewis abortive. No means had been left untried by that prince to corrupt the integrity of the gallant Hubert. He tempted him with all the honours a ſubject could wiſh to enjoy; but all his offers were rejected with diſdain, Hubert declaring, he would defend the caſtle as long as one of the garriſon was left alive. Lewis, finding his fidelity incorruptible, and that he was equally proof againſt his threats and promiſes, abandoned the enterprize, and returned with his army to London.

A. D. 1217. From the prudent meaſures taken by the Protector, Lewis began to find his intereſt daily decline. Pembroke's grand aim was, to gain leiſure from the tumults of war, in order to give the Engliſh time to reflect. He knew they were naturally averſe to the French, and that if he could inſpire them with a confidence in the government, his maſter's authority would ſoon be eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom. The pope likewiſe exerted all his power in favour of the young king; ſo that Lewis found it neceſſary to paſs over to the continent, not only to procure a freſh ſupply of men and money, but alſo to avert the vengeance of the pope, who had propoſed to excommunicate him in full conſiſtory.

During the abſence of Lewis, the Protector uſed his utmoſt efforts to prevail on the barons to return to their duty. Nor did he labour in vain: many of the moſt powerful among them joined the royal ſtandard, and their examples were followed by ſuch numbers, that all the forces Lewis could raiſe in France were not equal to the deſertion from his army in England during his abſence.

The cinque ports likewiſe declared in favour of Henry, and fitted out a ſquadron of ſhips, with which they attacked Lewis on his return; but after a ſmart engagement he got ſafe with the loſs only of a few ſhips, to Sandwich. He was, however, ſo highly incenſed at this inſtance of diſaffection, that, in revenge, he reduced the town of Sandwich to aſhes; after which he made another unſucceſsful attack on Dover-Caſtle, and then marched with his army to London.

The Protector now thought it high time to commence hoſtilities againſt the invaders of his country. He accordingly detached a body of forces, under the command of the earls of Lincoln and Albemarle, to inveſt Mount Sorrel in Leiceſterſhire, the garriſon having committed the moſt horrid ravages in the neighbourhood of the caſtle. Lewis, knowing the importance of that fortreſs, detached an army of ſix hundred knights, and twenty thouſand infantry, under the command of the count de la Perche, marſhal of France, to raiſe the ſiege. On the approach of this formidable army, the Engliſh who were too weak to venture a battle, retired to Nottingham; and the count, confident of ſucceſs from ſuperiority of numbers, marched to Lincoln, with a reſolution of laying ſiege to that city.

As ſoon as the Protector was informed of the deſigns of the count, he immediately iſſued out ſummonſes to all the king's tenants ordering them, with all expedition, to join the royal army at Newark upon Trent. The pope's legate likewiſe exerciſed his authority to ſuppreſs the deſigns of the enemy. He not only excommunicated Lewis by name, but alſo declared, that all who engaged themſelves

themſelves in favour of Henry, ſhould be entitled to the ſame privileges as thoſe who undertook a cruſade. He himſelf aſſumed the croſs, and the biſhops and barons drew the temporal ſword. This diſtinguiſhed zeal of the clergy was of the utmoſt ſervice to the royal cauſe: the people flocked with the utmoſt alacrity to the ſtandard of the protector, who ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful and reſolute army, inflamed with the deſire of being led againſt the invaders of their country.

As ſoon as Lewis was informed of the great increaſe of the Protector's army, he reſolved to make a deciſive aſſault upon the caſtle of Lincoln, the garriſon of which was, by this time, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs; but he was diſappointed in this deſign by the unexpected arrival of the Engliſh forces. One Fulk de Briant, a ſtrong partizan for the king, found means to enter the caſtle at the head of a choſen body of archers, and made ſeveral ſallies to amuſe the beſiegers; while the royal army vigorouſly fell on the main body, whom they totally routed, and the count of Perche fell among the ſlain.

The news of this defeat greatly alarmed Lewis, who immediately ſhut himſelf up in the capital, and diſpatched a courier to his father for aſſiſtance. Philip, being deſirous of averting the cenſure of the pope from his own kingdom, refuſed to engage openly in defence of his ſon; but permitted Blanche his daughter-in-law, to raiſe a powerful body of troops, and to provide a fleet of ſhips for tranſporting them to England. They accordingly embarked, and ſet ſail, but being met by the Engliſh fleet on the coaſt of Kent, an engagement enſued, when the greater part were taken, and the reſt ſunk.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs the Engliſh repaired from all parts to the royal ſtandard; upon which Lewis, giving up all hopes of ſucceeding in his deſign, and even thinking his own perſon in danger, offered to conclude a peace with the Protector, by which he promiſed to leave the kingdom, on condition of his Engliſh adherents being reſtored to their honours and fortunes. Theſe terms were readily accepted by the Protector, and the articles of the treaty being properly ratified on both ſides, Lewis embarked his forces, and returned to the continent.

Among all the adherents of Lewis, the clergy were the greateſt ſufferers. There was not any thing ſtipulated for them in the treaty: they were left to the mercy of the pope, who ſeized with eagerneſs this favourable opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on them for their diſobedience. Many were depoſed, and others ſuſpended: ſome were baniſhed, and all who eſcaped puniſhment were obliged to purchaſe their pardon by paying large ſums of money to the legate: ſo that his maſter became poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſure. But the pontiff did not live to enjoy theſe riches, being ſuddenly ſnatched off ſoon after the departure of Lewis from England.

A. D. 1218. Being now no longer under diſagreeable apprehenſions from a foreign enemy, the Protector applied himſelf, with great diligence, to ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to promote the good of his country, and reconcile the minds of the people to their legal ſovereign. He procured a new charter of liberties, which, in ſome reſpects, differed from that granted by the late king. The full privilege of elections among the clergy, and the liberty of going out of the kingdom without firſt obtaining the royal covenant, were not confirmed in the charter of Henry, becauſe the ſtate had already experienced the inconveniencies ariſing from them. The obligation by which John had reſtrained himſelf from buying aids and ſcutages, without the conſent of the great council of the nation, was alſo omitted in this inſtrument. The barons perceived that no aids, unleſs they were evidently reaſonable, could be levied upon men who had arms in their hands, and who were able to repel any acts of violence. Nor did the Protector content himſelf with granting anew the privileges that had been enjoyed in the preceding reign; he cauſed writs, in the king's name, to be iſſued to the ſheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to lay open all foreſts, agreeable to the intention of the charter granted for that purpoſe by king John; and, ſome time after, ſent the chief juſticiary of the foreſts on a circuit through the kingdom, to ſee the orders fully executed, and the bounds of the foreſts diſtinctly marked. At the ſame time, orders were given to demoliſh all the new caſtles that had been erected ſince the beginning of the diſputes between the late king and his barons.

A. D. 1219. But while the Protector was thus exerting all his abilities to reſtore happineſs and tranquillity to the kingdom, death put a final period to his labours and his life. The nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of this great and good man, whoſe valour, integrity and prudence had broke the yoke of foreign ſlavery, and reſtored the liberties of Engliſhmen. He died about the middle of March, and his remains were interred in the church of the Knights Templars (now the Temple church) in London.

The earl of Pembroke was ſucceeded in the important office of regent by William de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Hubert de Burgh, the gallant defender of Dover Caſtle was made chief juſticiary of the kingdom. The counſels of the latter were conformable to his character, namely, that of a great, prudent, and virtuous man. They were for ſome time followed; and had he poſſeſſed the authority of Pembroke, the nation would not have ſo greatly regretted the loſs of that eminent patriot. But his power was not ſufficient to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the barons, who were too ſtrong to be reſtrained by laws under a minority; and whoſe rapacity induced them to uſurp the demeſnes of the crown, as well as the poſſeſſions of their weaker neighbours. Hence revolts were multiplied; and the government was, for a courſe of time, perpetually employed in reducing inſurrections in various parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 1222. In the beginning of this year a great diſturbance took place in conſequence of a wreſtling match between the citizens of London, and thoſe of Weſtminſter. The conteſt was ſharp and obſtinate on both ſides, but at length the Londoners were victorious. This ſo exaſperated the ſteward of Weſtminſter, that he determined to obtain revenge, and for that purpoſe concerted meaſures of the moſt unjuſt and illegal nature. He propoſed a ſecond trial, which being readily accepted by the Londoners, they came to the field to decide the conteſt; but inſtead of a fair trial, they were attacked by the ſteward and his followers, armed with clubs and other offenſive weapons, and obliged to retreat into the city. Exaſperated at this treatment, the Londoners, headed by one Conſtantine Fitz Arnulph, a bold,

factious citizen, repaired to Weſtminſter; where they committed many dreadful outrages, and demoliſhed ſeveral houſes belonging to the abbot and ſteward. Hubert, in order to put a ſtop to ſuch riotous proceedings, ventured to puniſh the leaders, without bringing them to trial. This ſtep, which was a direct infringement of the great charter, excited the clamours of the populace, who, with juſtice, conceived themſelves injured, and demanded a new confirmation of the great charter. In conſequence of this a general council was called, and the demand of the people taken into conſideration. During the debates, one of the council of the regency aſſerted, that no regard ought to be paid to the great charter, becauſe it was extorted by violence. But Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeverely reprimanded the ſpeaker for his indiſcretion, as his aſſertion had a direct tendency to raiſe a rebellion in the nation; affirming, at the ſame time, that the demand of the people was founded on juſtice; and that the government could not, without the moſt palpable injuſtice, diſpenſe with any article in the charter. His opinion was adopted; and the parliament having granted a ſubſidy, the king iſſued orders for a new charter of confirmation.

No material circumſtance took place in England from this time till the year 1226, when a parliament was convened at Weſtminſter, in order to deliberate on an extraordinary demand made by the court of Rome. Pope Honorius III. the ſucceſſor of Innocent, had ſent over a legate, under pretence of removing a reproach that had been long thrown upon the court of the Vatican. The pontiff obſerved, that the holy ſee having been accuſed of ſelling her favours for money, it was the duty of all good Chriſtians to aſſiſt in removing the cauſe of ſuch a ſcandalous imputation, as what had been collected aroſe from the extreme indigence of the Roman church. He therefore demanded, that two prebends in every cathedral, and two cells in every convent in England ſhould be granted to the church of Rome, by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the great council of the nation. But the Engliſh parliament treated this demand with ſuch contempt that no anſwer was returned to Rome. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, however, who was more immediately intereſted in the affair, wrote a letter to his holineſs. the ſubſtance of which was to this effect. "That "when the Roman ſee had procured the required "aſſiſtance from other nations, England would "follow their example; but would never eſta-"bliſh the precedent."

A. D. 1227. Henry, having now arrived at the age of maturity, ſummoned a parliament at Oxford, to whom he declared his intention of taking into his own hands the reins of government; but at the ſame time gave them reaſon to imagine that little happineſs could be expected from his adminiſtration. He told them that as the great charter, and that of the foreſts, had been obtained by an act of rebellion, and confirmed in his minority, he could not conſider himſelf as legally bound by any acts or promiſes during his infancy. This unexpected declaration greatly aſtoniſhed the members, who immediately aroſe from their ſeats, and retired in diſguſt.

A ſhort time after this an event happened that evinced the natural diſpoſition of the king, and clearly ſhewed his being more deſirous of ruling by arbitrary power, than gaining the love and affection of his ſubjects. Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, returning from France (where he had ſome time headed an army in Guienne) found one of his manors poſſeſſed by a German officer, who claimed it as a gift from king John. Richard inſiſted, that his pretended right ſhould be determined by his peers, and immediately diſpoſſeſſed the German. But the latter inſtead of having recourſe to the laws of England, poſted to court, and complained to the king of the injuſtice done him by the earl of Cornwall. Henry, without giving himſelf any trouble to examine into the truth of his allegations, ordered him a writ under the royal ſign manual, commanding a reſtitution of the eſtate. Exaſperated at ſuch treatment, the earl refuſed obedience, and repaired to court to defend his property. The king, highly offended at Richard's obſtinacy, told him, he ſhould either reſtore the manor in queſtion within a limited time, or depart the kingdom. This manifeſt exertion of arbitrary power rouſed the paſſions of Richard, who boldly told the king he would appeal to the laws of his country, and that the judgment of his peers only ſhould oblige him either to part with his property, or quit the kingdom.

Henry, well knowing the great power of Richard, and that he was univerſally beloved by the principal people in the kingdom, thought proper to drop the diſpute, and in order to form a reconciliation with his brother, offered to ſettle upon him the dowry of the late queen, and augment his poſſeſſions with the lands of Boulogne. Theſe terms were accepted, and both the cauſe and offence buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1228. This year died Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate who may be juſtly conſidered as one of the reſtorers of Engliſh liberty. About the ſame time died alſo pope Honorius III. who was ſucceeded in the pontificate by Gregory IX.

A. D. 1229. In the beginning of this year Henry demanded ſubſidies from his parliament, in order to carry on a war with Lewis, the young king of France, who had made various depredations in different parts of the continent. The ſubſidies were accordingly granted, and a powerful army ſoon raiſed; but the expedition was fruſtrated by the neglect of the miniſter, who neither iſſued the proper writs to the Cinque Ports, nor took the uſual methods for aſſembling a ſufficient number of tranſports.

But Henry was determined not to be diſappointed in his deſigns, and accordingly, in the ſpring of the following year (A. D. 1230) having collected a powerful army, with a proper number of tranſports, he embarked for the continent, attended by the earl of Britany, who had, ſome time before, paid a viſit to England. The king landed at St. Malo's, where the earl not only paid him homage, but ordered all the fortified places in his poſſeſſion to be delivered up to the Engliſh.

Henry marched with his forces from St. Malo's to Nantz, where he continued ſome time, in a ſtate of inaction. Encouraged by this puſillanimous conduct in the Engliſh monarch, Lewis advanced, at the head of his army, within four leagues of Nantz, and laid ſiege to Ancennes, which the cowardly Henry ſuffered him to take without making one effort for its relief. The French army continued approaching towards Nantz, took ſeveral caſtles in ſight of the Engliſh army, and proceeded within a ſmall diſtance of the gates of the city.

But neither the inſults of the French, nor the entreaties of his friends, could rouſe Henry; and Lewis, ſeeing no likelihood of an action, returned to Paris, in order to form a reconciliation with his diſcontented nobility, at whoſe deſire the Engliſh monarch had invaded his dominions.

After the departure of Lewis, the king drew his troops out of Nantz, and marched into Gaſcony by way of Poictou. Here he received homage from moſt of the principal nobility; and after ſtaying a ſhort time returned to Nantz, from whence he embarked for England, leaving his army under the command of the earls of Cheſter and Albemarle.

Theſe able generals were poſſeſſed of that courage and magnaminity to which Henry was a ſtranger. No ſooner was the king gone than they immediately took the field, and made an irruption into Anjou, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle of Gautier, and laid the town in aſhes. They then marched into Normandy, where they took and razed the caſtle of Pontarſu, and burnt the town; but the ſeaſon being too far advanced to make any farther progreſs, they returned loaded with booty to Britany, and there took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 1231. Early in the ſpring the French monarch took the field at the head of a powerful army, and marched towards Britany, with a deſign of making himſelf maſter of that part of the country: but the Engliſh generals defeated his intentions by intercepting all his carriages loaded with proviſions and military ſtores. Lewis, finding he had a powerful and reſolute enemy to contend with, and knowing a reſpite from war was the deſire of the French court, propoſed a truce for three years, which being agreed on and concluded, he marched with his army back to Paris, and the Engliſh generals returned to England.

A. D. 1232. On the 17th of March the king ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, of whom he demanded an aid to enable him to diſcharge the debts contracted by his late expedition to France; but the barons were ſo highly exaſperated at his puſillanimous and tyrannical conduct, that they peremptorily refuſed complying with his requeſt.

Among other acts which procured Henry the hatred of his barons, as well as the clergy at large was, his implicit obedience to the commands of the Roman pontiff. The greater part of the principal benefices in England were poſſeſſed by Italian prieſts; and the prelates and lay patrons were prohibited from preſenting natives till all the foreign clergy were ſufficiently provided for. It is, therefore, little to be wondered that theſe partial and arbitrary proceedings ſhould excite a general clamour throughout the kingdom. It was conſidered as a national inſult, and ſeveral aſſociations were formed for delivering the realm from ſuch ſhameful oppreſſions. The principal leader of the confederates was Robert de Twenge, a knight in the north of England. He had long beheld the tyrannical proceeedings of the king and pontiff with deteſtation, but on being deprived of the patronage of a church, he determined to take ample revenge on the foreign prieſts. He accordingly aſſumed the name of William Witham, and encouraged his followers to ſtrip the houſes of the Italian clergy, and diſpoſe of their effects. They continued this practice for ſome time without oppoſition, and the foreign eccleſiaſtics, not daring to appear, took refuge in the convents. Being informed of theſe violent proceedings, the pope wrote in a very lofty ſtile to Henry, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of his ſubjects, and reſtore the Italian clergy to their benefices. The puſillanimous Henry was alarmed at theſe menaces of the pontiff, and dreaded the effects of a papal cenſure. He ordered a ſtrict inquiſition to be made in the principal parts of the kingdom, where thoſe riots had prevailed; and had the mortification to find, that they had been ſupported and encouraged by men of all ranks; even Hubert de Burgh, the chief juſticiary, did not eſcape ſuſpicion. At length, Robert de Twenge, (who ſcorned to diſown an action, which he thought juſtifiable, or let any innocent perſon ſuffer on his account) appeared in the royal preſence, attended by five knights, and boldly declared himſelf the leader of the confederates, who had ſtripped the houſes of the foreign prieſts; alledging, that the injuries he had received were the ſole motives for his proceedings. Pleaſed with this ingenuous confeſſion, the king granted him a free pardon, and procured a reſtitution of his right to the patronage in queſtion.

The voluntary and ingenuous confeſſion of Twenge clearly removed the ſuſpicion that had been entertained of Hubert; but notwithſtanding this, the inconſtancy of Henry furniſhed the enemies of that ſtateſman with an opportunity of procuring his ruin. Excited by the remonſtrances of Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter (who hated Hubert, becauſe he had been active in oppoſing his deſtructive councils) the weak king, inſenſible to all his ſervices, perſecuted him with ſuch fury, that he was obliged to take ſanctuary in a church, and at laſt ſave himſelf by flying to the continent.

A. D. 1233. After the departure of Hubert, the biſhop of Wincheſter, a Poictevin by birth, ſo powerfully ingratiated himſelf in the king's favour, that he was permitted to direct all public affairs at his own diſcretion. In conſequence of this the court was filled with his own countrymen, on whom he conferred every important and advantageous office in the diſpoſal of the crown. Theſe proceedings ſoon produced a general diſcontent throughout the kingdom, which the weak king conſidered only as a confirmation of that rebellious ſpirit the biſhop repreſented to be the characteriſtic of the Engliſh nobility, who, on that account, were denied all acceſs to the king, and treated by the miniſter with the moſt diſtinguiſhed contempt.

It is little to be wondered at that ſuch conduct in the king and his miniſter ſhould increaſe the flame of diſcontent already ſufficiently kindled. But at length the patience of the Engliſh nobility was exhauſted by the inſults and injuries they received from theſe inſolent ſtrangers; in conſequence of which they formed themſelves into a body, and deputed the earl marſhal to lay their grievances before the king. In conformity to their requeſt the earl demanded an audience, which being granted, he informed Henry of the complaints of the people, and beſought him not to continue laviſhing his favours on foreigners, to the great neglect and injury of his natural ſubjects; adding, that if he treated their remonſtrance with neglect, both himſelf and the reſt of the Engliſh nobility ſhould think it their duties to withdraw themſelves from his councils.

The haughty and imperious biſhop of Win-

cheſter, who was preſent at this audience, prevented the king from making any reply, by tyrannically and preſumptuouſly telling the earl, "it was the higheſt degree of inſolence in him, "or any other ſubject, to pretend to dictate to "his majeſty on whom he ought to confer his favours: that both the king and his father had "been ſo ill treated by the Engliſh, that the only "expedient of procuring his own ſafety was that "of truſting to foreigners; and that if their "number in the kingdom was not already ſufficient to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to their "duty, large reinforcements ſhould be procured "from the continent."

Aſtoniſhed at this ſuperlative arrogance, the earl retired without returning any anſwer, and immediately joined the confederacy in order to concert meaſures for checking that deſpotic power, which the king, by the violent counſels of his worthleſs miniſter, ſeemed deſirous of aſſuming. Henry was alarmed at the confederacy of the barons, and the biſhop, to gain time, adviſed him to call a parliament at London. But the barons refuſed to attend, and even threatened to deprive Henry of his crown if the Poictevins were not baniſhed the kingdom. In conſequence of this another parliament was called, when the barons obeyed the ſummons, but they all appeared in armour, and were attended by a prodigious number of followers.

A. D. 1234. Henry now ſaw his danger, and was deſirous of coming to a reconciliation with his enraged barons; but the artful prelate found means to remove his fears, and encouraged him to oppoſe them by bringing over the earls of Cornwall and Cheſter to the royal party. In conſequence of this the eſtates of ſeveral of the confederates were confiſcated, without any trial by their peers, and given to the Poictevins, who were already become ſo odious to the Engliſh.

A. D. 1235. The king and his infamous miniſter continued their violent proceedings for ſome time, till at length Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury determined to interpoſe, and, if poſſible, remove the grievances of the people. He accordingly, attended by his ſuffragans, went to the palace, and demanded an audience of the king; which being granted, he deſcribed, in the moſt pethetic manner, the dreadful effects of thoſe ruinous meaſures which he had purſued at the inſtigation of his miniſters. Having ſaid this, he formally accuſed the biſhop of Wincheſter, as the author of thoſe pernicious councils, which had diffuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent throughout the nation; and, after giving a long detail of the grievances of the people, inſiſted that the king ſhould remove from his councils a miniſter ſo odious to all his ſubjects; adding, that if ſo reaſonable a requeſt was refuſed, he would excommunicate both him, and all who oppoſed ſo neceſſary a reformation. This ſpirited remonſtrance, and the threat at the cloſe of it, produced the deſired effect; the biſhop of Wincheſter being immediately removed from all his employments, and the inſolent Poictevins baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1236. The remonſtrance of the archbiſhop of Canterbury had, to all appearance, convinced Henry of his error in preferring foreigners to his Engliſh ſubjects. But this conviction was of ſhort duration. Henry ſoon after married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, and again threw himſelf into the arms of foreigners. William de Savoy, biſhop of Valence, and uncle to the new queen, became his principal favourite, and to him he committed the ſole adminiſtration of all public affairs.

This indiſcreet conduct of the king greatly alarmed the Engliſh nobility, who dreaded a revival of the late times of miniſterial inſolence and oppreſſion, and determined to exert all their power to put ſtop to the career of this foreign minion. They began with preſenting dutiful addreſſes to the king, at the ſame time remonſtrating, with becoming ſpirit, againſt thoſe meaſures, which they apprehended to be deſtructive of the public intereſt, and that union which ſhould always ſubſiſt between an Engliſh king and his ſubjects. But they did not ſucceed in their attempts. Valence ſupported his power, and foreign influence grew every day more prevalent at court. The miniſter, who was offended with the Engliſh barons for their late ſpirited remonſtrances, ſpared no pains to render them ſuſpected by the king, and to remove the moſt active among them from his perſon and government. The ſeals were demanded from the biſhop of Chicheſter, who had filled the high office of chancellor with the moſt unblemiſhed integrity; but the prelate, on receiving the king's meſſage, nobly replied, "That having received the ſeals by order of parliament, he would reſign them by order of that aſſembly only."

A. D. 1237. The wants of Henry's foreign and needy courtiers had now exhauſted his treaſury, and he was obliged to call a parliament in order to obtain a ſupply. The members being aſſembled, they were told, "that the chief reaſon "of their being called together was, to deſire them "to grant an aid, which ſhould be collected and "diſpoſed of, for the neceſſary uſes of the ſtate, "by ſuch perſons as themſelves ſhould think pro-"per to commiſſion for that purpoſe." But Henry had ſo often broke his promiſes, that the parliament were no longer to be deceived. They therefore returned for anſwer, "That they had "often granted the king aids, without receiving "any marks of his affection: that ſince his acceſſion to the throne very large ſums had been "exacted from his ſubjects, which were wholly "laviſhed on foreign favourites, to the great im-"poveriſhment of the ſtate, and diſgrace of his "own character." In anſwer to this reply, Henry pleaded the expences of his late marriage, which, he ſaid, had principally exhauſted his treaſury; and then promiſed, upon his honour, that if they would grant him only a thirtieth part of their moveables, he would never again injure or oppreſs any baron in his kingdom.

From theſe aſſurances, together with Henry's farther promiſe of obſerving inviolate the articles of the Great Charter, the parliament were induced to comply with his demand. But they ordered the money ariſing from the tax to be depoſited in certain abbies, churches and caſtles, as a fund adapted to the neceſſities of the ſtate; and annexed to the grant for levying it the following condition: "That the king ſhould no longer hearken to the "ſuggeſtions of foreigners, who had already op-"preſſed and impoveriſhed the nation, but be go-"verned, for the future, by his own natural-born "ſubjects."

But the faithleſs Henry no ſooner obtained the ſupply requeſted, than he immediately returned to his former meaſures, by ſhewing as much fondneſs for foreigners as ever; and, to ſecure himſelf a party ſufficient to oppoſe the power of his barons, made application to the pope for a legate to be ſent into

into England, under whoſe protection he might ſecurely violate his recent engagements, which neceſſity had compelled him to enter into with his people.

A. D. 1238. The arrival of the legate greatly alarmed the Engliſh, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury warmly expoſtulated with Henry for ſuffering him to come into the kingdom without any apparent neceſſity, and without the knowledge of the parliament and clergy. But Henry, knowing the authority of the pope to be ſuperior to that of the archbiſhop, paid no regard to his remonſtrances. He ſeized the monies that had been depoſited in the curches and convents by the parliament for the ſtate, and ſquandered it, with the utmoſt profuſion, on ſtrangers and favourites. His brother the earl of Cornwall, at the head of the nobility upbraided him for this ſhameful breach of faith and honour; but this had no more effect than the remonſtrances of the archbiſhop: Henry treated them with contempt and ſeemed determined in ſpite of every oppoſition, to continue his illegal and unjuſtifiable proceedings.

A. D. 1239. But though Henry relied entirely on the power of the pope for ſupport againſt the reſentment of his barons and clergy, the inconſiſtence of his conduct was ſo amazing, that he ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the emperor Frederic II. then at open war with the court of Rome. Gregory IX. who then filled the papal chair, was highly offended at what he termed the inſolence of his vaſſal, and ordered the legate to make the moſt ſevere remonſtrances. The puſillanimous monarch was alarmed, and, to avert the cenſure of the vatican, ſuffered the ſentence of excommunication againſt Frederic to be publiſhed in all the churches of England; though that prince had married the princeſs Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry.

A. D. 1240. This year Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, finding it impoſſible to obtain any redreſs from the king for the grievances of the people, left his ſee, and retired to Burgundy, where he ſoon after paid the debt of nature, and was interred in the abby of Pontigny.

About this time alſo died, in a very advanced age, Llewellyn, prince of Wales, leaving his principality to his ſon David.

A. D. 1241. The great encouragement which Henry continued to give to foreigners induced Peter de Savoy, one of the queen's uncles, to pay a viſit to England. On his arrival he received the honour of knighthood in Weſtminſter-abbey, and was ſoon after created earl of Richmond. But Peter, perceiving how diſguſtful his preferment was to the Engliſh nobility, behaved with great moderation, and took all poſſible care to avoid giving them offence. However, through his intereſt his brother Boniface was raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, which had continued vacant ever ſince the departure of the late archbiſhop.

A. D. 1242. The weak, but yet tyrannical Henry, had now, from the ſtrange inconſiſtency of his conduct, entirely loſt the affections of his ſubjects. The barons were juſtly incenſed againſt the rapacious foreigners who waſted the royal treaſure, governed the kingdom, and treated the laws of England with contempt. The parliament, therefore, refuſed to grant their monarch any ſupplies, upon which the tyrannical king had recourſe to the moſt illegal methods for ſupplying his neceſſities. He exacted loans, demanded benevolences, and uſurped the power of diſpenſing with the laws, becauſe the pope ſcrupled not to diſpenſe with the canons of the church whenever the intereſts of the holy ſee required it. Theſe violent proceedings occaſioned univerſal murmurs among the people: the barons formed aſſociations; and the judges were alarmed at the conduct of the king. "Alas! exclaimed one of them on the "bench, in what a corrupt age do we live! The "civil court is vitiated in imitation of the eccle-"ſiaſtical; and the river is poiſoned from that "fountain."

A. D. 1243. Henry was now deſirous of aſſiſting the count de la Marche, who had married his mother Iſabella, againſt Lewis IX. of France. The count had given Henry the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſucceſs; telling him that all the old tenants of his family in France would immediately join his ſtandard, together with the king of Arragon, and the count of Thouloufe. Pleaſed with the proſpect of recovering his old dominions on the continent, and wreſting from Lewis the territories which Philip had taken from his father, Henry ſummoned a parliament, in order to procure the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying his arms into France. But he had the mortification to find his requeſt denied, the parliament abſolutely refuſing to grant him any aſſiſtance for carrying on the war. Henry, however, found means to raiſe the neceſſary ſums at exorbitant intereſt, and paſſed over to the continent at the head of a conſiderable body of troops. But he was equally deſtitute of military and civil talents. His army was defeated at Tillebourg; after which he abandoned Poictou, and returned with diſgrace to England.

A. D. 1244. In the beginning of this year arrived one Martin, nuncio from the pope, with orders to demand from the clergy a thouſand marks, in order to aſſiſt him in carrying on the war with the emperor of Germany. Martin was inveſted with more ample powers than had been given to any legate before, and his oppreſſion and inſolence exceeded every thing yet experienced from the court of Rome. Theſe proceedings ſpread an univerſal alarm throughout the kingdom; and the barons reſolved to lay before the general council (then aſſembled at Lyons) the intolerable opreſſions of the holy ſee.

In the mean time Martin purſued ſuch arbitrary and unjuſt methods to extort money from the clergy, that the whole nation was exaſperated to the higheſt degree; and it was reſolved, in an aſſembly of the barons, that if he would not depart the kingdom peaceably, he ſhould be driven from it by force. In conſequence of this reſolution, the barons aſſembled in arms, under pretence of holding a tournament; and choſe Fulk Fitz-Warren to carry their reſolutions to the nuncio. They could not, indeed have fixed upon a more proper perſon, Fulk himſelf having ſuffered ſeverely by papal exactions.

Thus commiſſioned Fulk immediately repaired to the houſe of the nuncio, and being introduced into his preſence, told him, with a ſtern and reſolute air, that he muſt inſtantly prepare for his departure from England. The nuncio, little accuſtomed to ſuch diſreſpectful addreſſes, aſked him by whoſe authority he dared to ſpeak to him in ſo inſolent a manner? "By the authority of a "body of Engliſh knights now in arms," anſwered Fulk, "who ordered me to tell you, that "if either you yourſelf, or any of your follow-"ers, remain in England more than three days,

"every one of you ſhall be cut to pieces. Act "as you pleaſe; but remember it is an Engliſh "knight that delivers you this meſſage." Martin was too well acquainted with the character of the Engliſh to contemn a menace ſo peremptorily delivered. He immediately complained to Henry, and deſired his protection. But the king, who had for ſome time beheld the exactions of the pope with concern, told him his robberies and oppreſſions had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment in every part of the kingdom, that he was hardly able to protect himſelf againſt his own ſubjects, who were thoroughly incenſed againſt him for having countenanced his rapacious proceedings.

This reply convinced the nuncio of his dangerous ſituation, and he determined to abandon a kingdom where his life was in the utmoſt danger. He accordingly got a paſſport from Henry, and embarked with all poſſible expedition for the continent; but it was thought neceſſary to ſend a proper guard with him to the ſea-ſide, to protect him from the reſentment of the juſtly incenſed populace.

During theſe tranſactions the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived at Lyons, and laid their complaints before the council, where the pope himſelf preſided in perſon. They repreſented, that the benefices enjoyed by the Italian clergy in England amounted to ſixty thouſand marks a year, a ſum that exceeded the annual revenue of the crown. They accuſed the pope of frequently cancelling his own acts, by clauſes of *non obſtante* inſerted in his bulls; a clauſe abſolutely deſtructive of all the rights of patrons, and all the liberties of the Engliſh church. They expatiated on the perpetual extortions of the nuncios and legates, and various other oppreſſions to which the Britiſh clergy had been ſo long expoſed. The pope was confounded at theſe allegations, and gave an evaſive anſwer. He feared the power of the council, and was willing to ſooth the Engliſh ambaſſadors. He accordingly promiſed them redreſs, and cauſed two bulls to be iſſued out for that purpoſe. Mention was made in the council of the ſuperior right of ſovereignty, which the late king had granted to the holy ſee. In conſequence of this, the earl of Norfolk inſiſted, that neither that prince, nor any other, had the leaſt right, without the conſent of his barons, to ſubject the kingdom to a foreign ſervitude. This noble oppoſition had a powerful effect, the court of Rome not inſiſting afterwards on this unprofitable claim, which the diſtance of the place, and the national character of the Engliſh, rendered impoſſible to ſupport.

A. D. 1246. But the pontiff was far from diſcharging the promiſes he had made to the Engliſh ambaſſadors; for ſome time after the council of Lyons broke up, he renewed all his exactions. This perfidious conduct exaſperated the Engliſh; and a parliament was ſummoned at London, in order to take into conſideration the moſt proper meaſures for removing the grievances of the people. Accordingly, a ſtate of the hardſhips ſuffered by the nation from papal tyranny was drawn up, and after being ſigned by the king, biſhops, and temporal lords, ſent to the court of Rome, and ſatisfaction demanded from the pontiff. But inſtead of meeting with any redreſs, the ambaſſadors were treated with contempt; in conſequence of which, on their return to England, the king immediately prohibited any farther payment being made to the pontiff. This was a meaſure highly agreeable to his ſubjects: but Henry, wanting firmneſs to ſupport it, ſoon relapſed into his former indolence, and ſuffered the pope to continue his extortions.

A. D. 1248. Henry now gave a freſh inſtance of his unhappy attachment and partiality to foreigners, by propoſing the marriages of ſome young ladies of Provence with ſeveral of his nobility. This propoſition was made at a time when his finances would hardly defray the ordinary expences of his houſhold, ſo that he was obliged to convoke a parliament in order to obtain a ſupply, but the barons were ſo irritated at his perſevering in countenancing foreigners, that they peremptorily refuſed complying with his requeſt.

No circumſtance worthy of notice occured from this time till the year 1251, when Henry was alarmed at the proceedings of Alexander II. king of Scotland, who, though a minor, had made depredations on the Engliſh territories. He therefore advanced into the north at the head of a numerous army; but before he could proceed to hoſtilities, an embaſſy arrived with propoſals for an accommodation. Theſe propoſals were accepted, and a match concluded between princeſs Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Henry, and the young king of Scotland. The next day the marriage ceremony was performed at York in preſence of Henry and the queen-mother of Scotland, attended by many of the principal nobility of both kingdoms. Alexander received a bond from Henry for five thouſand marks as a marriage portion, after which the two kings took a friendly leave of each other, Henry returning to London, and Alexander to his own country.

A. D. 1253. Pope Innocent IV. was one of the moſt implacable pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair. The inveterate hatred he conceived againſt Frederic, emperor of Germany (with whom he had been ſome time at war, and who was now no more) did not ſubſide with the death of that monarch; it devolved on his grandſon Conrade, the lawful heir of the crown of Sicily, but whoſe ſucceſſion was ſet aſide by the perfidious arts of his uncle Mainfroy.

The pope was convinced his own forces were inſufficient to oppoſe Mainfroy, and therefore, in order to gratify his thirſt for revenge, as well as repleniſh his coffers, ſent a nuncio into England, to offer the crown of Sicily to Richard earl of of Cornwall. But that nobleman, though exceeding fond of power, had prudence ſufficient to perceive, that the ſole deſign of the court of Rome was nothing more than the acquiſition of a large ſum of money, and therefore declined the offer. But Henry had not the ſagacity of his brother: he accepted it for his ſecond ſon Edmund, and gave the pope unlimited credit for expending the ſums neceſſary for the reduction of Sicily. Edmund was accordingly treated with the honours of royalty; and no means of extortion or oppreſſion omitted by the pope, in conjunction with Henry, to obtain money from the Engliſh, under pretence of eſtabliſhing prince Edmund on the throne of Sicily.

The papal army began the war with ſome ſucceſs; but Mainfroy, determined to riſk his fate on the event of one deciſive action, boldly advanced againſt the Roman forces. In conſequence of this a deſperate battle enſued, which was ſupported, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length the pope's army was totally defeated, and himſelf threatened with being be-

beſieged in his capital. The haughty pontiff could not brook this reverſe of fortune: the violence of his paſſion threw him into a fever, which, in a ſhort time, put a period to his exiſtence. He was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who purſued the ſame meaſures with his predeceſſor, and undertook to place Edmund on the Sicilian throne.

A. D. 1254. The weak but ambitious Henry had ſubjected himſelf to all the demands of the pontiff in order to graſp this phantom of ſovereignty for his ſon Edmund; but he now found himſelf more embarraſſed than ever. The parliament refuſed to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying this ridiculous project into execution; and the whole weight fell upon the clergy. This was not, however, effected, without a noble ſtruggle from the eccleſiaſtics; for when Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, aſſembled the prelates, and propoſed their ſigning obligatory notes porportioned to the benefices of each individual, the biſhop of London declared, he would ſooner loſe his head than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful an act of tyranny. He was ſeconded by the biſhop of Worceſter; and the whole aſſembly unanimouſly declared, that the clergy of England would not ſubmit to be enſlaved by the pope. The nuncio complained of this refuſal to Henry, who threatened the biſhop of London with his reſentment; but the prelate, far from being intimidated replied, with a noble intrepidity, "That he knew the king and the pope "were his ſuperiors; but if they deprived him "of his mitre, he would ſupply its place with a "helmet." This generous ſtand in ſupport of the liberties of the Engliſh church, exaſperated the haughty Ruſtan; who finding it would be impoſſible to prevail on them in a body, determined to wreak his vengeance on each in particular. He accordingly commenced proſecutions againſt individuals for pretended faults, and obliged them to make an atonement, by paying very conſiderable ſums. The prelates appealed to the pope; and Alexander, dreading the conſequences of driving the Engliſh clergy to deſpair, ordered his nuncio to deſiſt from his proſecutions.

A. D. 1255. Henry now determined to make another attempt for procuring a ſubſidy from his barons. He accordingly convened the parliament for that purpoſe, when the archbiſhop of Meſſina arrived with letters from the pope, preſſing the nobility, in the moſt earneſt manner, to comply with the requeſt of their ſovereign. But all attempts were in vain: the parliament, after mature deliberation, unanimouſly refuſed to grant the ſubſidy.

In conſequence of this Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, declared, in an aſſembly of the prelates, that the demands of the pope upon Henry amounted to above one hundred and fifty thouſand marks; and that if the clergy ſtill refuſed to comply with his requeſt, he would immediately make a demand of the whole debt, and lay the kingdom under an interdict till it was paid. The barons knew if this threat was carried into execution, it would expoſe both the church and ſtate to the moſt imminent danger; in conſequence of which they aſſented to ſupply the exorbitant ſum demanded.

During theſe tranſactions the conqueſt of Sicily advanced ſo ſlowly that Henry, finding it would be impoſſible to raiſe the ſums neceſſary to ſatisfy the demands of the pontiff, renounced all pretenſions to the crown of Sicily, and Manifroy preſerved the royal dignity without any farther oppoſition.

A. D. 1257. Though Richard, earl of Cornwall, had wiſely refuſed the offer made by the pope with regard to the crown of Sicily, he was far from being proof againſt ambition. He had amaſſed immenſe riches by his frugality, and was conſidered as the moſt wealthy prince in Europe. The German electors, deſirous of ſharing in the treaſures of this powerful Engliſhman, offered to elect him king of the Romans. Pleaſed with the thoughts of this addition of dignity and power, Richard went over to Germany, attended by a number of the Engliſh nobility, and was ſoon after crowned with great pomp at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A. D. 1258. In the beginning of this year Henry ſummoned a parliament to meet at London, when Harlat (the new nuncio) produced a bull from the pope, enjoining the biſhops to pay the tenths granted to the king by his holineſs, under pain of excommunication. The king ſeconded the demand of the nuncio, and preſſed the members to aſſiſt them with a ſupply. But the barons were far from granting his requeſt: they reproached him with his acts of rapine and injuſtice, and with his hatred of the Engliſh nation, from whom, they ſaid, he ought to bluſh to require any aid or ſubſidies, while he preferred ſtrangers, and made his native ſubjects groan under the moſt dreadful oppreſſions. Four of their brethren were deputed by the biſhops to make warm remonſtrances with regard to his conduct in general, and the uncanonical elections which had been made to vacant dignities in particular. Henry acknowledged their complaints were juſtly founded: but the remonſtrances of the barons were not to be anſwered, and they inſiſted on a ratification of the great charter. It was in vain for the king to make any oppoſition. His brother Richard, whoſe power was very extenſive, was abſent in Germany, and the barons defied all the cenſures of the Vatican. Henry therefore ſubmitted to neceſſity, and the great charter was ratified, Henry ſwearing to obſerve inviolably every article contained in it. But no oaths were binding to Henry: the ſame indolence, the ſame infatuation for foreigners again returned, and the articles of the charter were violated whenever the intereſt of the court, or the ambition of his minions, rendered it neceſſary.

A. D. 1259. The barons were ſo incenſed at the baſe and perfidious conduct of the king, that they formed themſelves into an aſſociation; and a parliament being called at Oxford, they came to the aſſembly, attended by their military tenants, properly armed, and headed by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, who had ſome time before married the king's ſiſter, and was made governor of Guienne.

The appearance of the barons with their military attendants greatly alarmed Henry, who, on entering the aſſembly, aſked, with ſome emotion, whether he was their priſoner? The earl marſhal replied, he was not; but that it was the determined reſolution of the whole aſſembly to baniſh his foreign favourites from the kingdom, and redreſs the grievances of the nation. The earl added, that if he would agree to theſe reaſonable demands, and give authority for that purpoſe to perſons of character and capacity, they would grant the ſupplies neceſſary for giving weight and dignity to the crown.

Henry now perceived it would be in vain to oppoſe the power of the barons, and therefore agreed

agreed to ſubmit to any regulations they ſhould think fit to propoſe. In conſequence of this the barons conſtituted a council of twenty-four, whom they inveſted with an unlimited authority for reforming the ſtate, and Simon Montfort was elected preſident. Henry took a ſolemn oath before the whole aſſembly that he would maintain and ſupport whatever ordinances they ſhould iſſue for that ſalutary purpoſe. The plan of government had been digeſted at a previous meeting of the principal barons; ſo that a ſet of regulations were immediately produced, the ſubſtance of which was to the following effect:

1. That the king ſhould confirm the great charter, which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve, and ſo often violated.

2. The important office of chief juſticiary ſhould be beſtowed upon a perſon of talents and integrity, who ſhould adminiſter juſtice to the poor and the rich without favor or partiality.

3. That the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and other public miniſters, ſhould be annually choſen by the council of twenty-four.

4. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhould be committed to the care of that council, who ſhould entruſt them to ſuch perſons as were well affected to the ſtate.

5. That any perſon, of what degree or order ſoever, who ſhould oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be decreed by the council of twenty-four, ſhould be puniſhed with death.

6. That three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be regularly held every year, to enact ſuch laws as ſhould, from time to time, be found neceſſary for the good of the people.

Theſe articles (diſtinguiſhed by the title of "The Statutes or Proviſions of Oxford") were unanimouſly approved of by the parliament, and confirmed by the king, who ſolemnly ſwore ſtrictly to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of his power.

Having ſigned theſe articles, Henry made not the leaſt doubt but the parliament would grant him a large ſubſidy. He was, however greatly miſtaken; for the conſideration of the ſupplies was poſtponed, and ſome of his principal foreign favourites (who were conſidered as the chief authors of the public calamities) were baniſhed the kingdom. Nor was this all: even the officers of the houſhold were removed, and their places filled with perſons in the intereſt of the council. At the ſame time they obliged every individual in the kingdom to take an oath to obey their mandates, telling them, it was "for "the greater glory of God, the honour of the "church, the ſervice of the king, and the advantage of the kingdom."

Thus did the barons take into their own hands the government of the nation; and the king ſoon perceived he was no more than a mere cypher in the adminiſtration. The council, however, were under diſagreeable apprehenſions from the great credit and power of the king's brother, Richard king of the Romans, whom they knew was now about paying a viſit to England. They therefore diſpatched the biſhop of Worceſter to the continent, to inform him that he would not be permitted to land in England unleſs he firſt promiſed to take an oath to obſerve the ſtatutes of Oxford. Incenſed at their inſolence, and exaſperated at the degrading treatment of his brother, Richard ſwore he would never take the oath they wanted to impoſe upon him; and that he would viſit England when, and as often as he pleaſed, without ſubmitting to give them any reaſons for his actions. But being ſoon after informed, that the barons had taken ſuch precautions, by marching troops to the ſea-coaſts, and fitting out a powerful fleet, that it would be impoſſible for him to land in England without their conſent, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, than engage in a fruitleſs oppoſition, and therefore took the oath required; upon which the barons gave him permiſſion to come to England.

A. D. 1260. The barons continued to direct the affairs of government, for ſome time, with tolerable ſatisfaction to the people, till at length it was perceived that the meaſures they took were more calculated to promote their own intereſt than that of the ſtate. In conſequence of this a general murmur took place, and the knights of the ſhire implored the aſſiſtance of prince Edward to undertake the defence of the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The prince accordingly ſent a meſſage to the barons, inſiſting on their finiſhing, without delay, the reformation they had undertaken; otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf obliged to exert all his power to procure redreſs for an injured people.

The barons were alarmed at this ſpirited remonſtrance, and a new code of laws was publiſhed: but it ſoon appeared that the whole was nothing more than the common laws of England, with ſome trifling alterations. So glaring an impoſition exaſperated the people; and the animoſities which now broke out between the barons themſelves, gave them hopes that the tyranny of the nobles would ſoon have an end. The earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the two moſt powerful barons in the whole confederacy, became profeſſed enemies to each other. Theſe diviſions greatly weakened the ſtrength of the barons; and Leiceſter retired into France, under pretence of being no longer able to act with ſuch an adminiſtration.

Leiceſter, however, had views little ſuſpected by the barons at the time of his relinquiſhing the adminiſtration. He was in hopes of increaſing the power of his party by gaining over the French monarch to his intereſt. But in this he was greatly miſtaken. The throne of France was then filled by Lewis IX. (generally called St. Lewis) a prince who delighted not in the diſtreſſes of other nations; but was deſirous of healing, rather than increaſing the wounds which the Engliſh conſtitution had received. He was endowed with all the piety of an anchorite, as well as the virtues of a king. His liberality was not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with the wiſeſt œconomy. He knew how to reconcile a profound policy with an exact juſtice. He was prudent and firm in council, intrepid but cool in war, and as compaſſionate as if he had always been unhappy. From a prince of this character England had nothing to fear; he deſired not to uſurp the territories of his neighbours, and was ſo far from taking advantage of the troubles of England, that he laboured to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among the contending parties, whoſe diviſions threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. He even entertained a doubt with regard to the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed againſt John in the court of peers in France; and had formed a deſign of reſtoring to Henry all the provinces that had been wreſted from his father.

A. D. 1261. The quarrel between two ſuch powerful noblemen as the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter gave Henry great hopes that his misfortunes

fortunes were drawing to a cloſe; and, perceiving that the diſpoſitions of his people had taken a turn in his favour, he determined to make one effort for recovering his authority. To effect this he applied to the pope, requeſting that he might be abſolved from the oath he had taken with regard to the Oxford Proviſions. The pope readily complied with his requeſt, in conſequence of which Henry determined to declare publickly the reſolutions he had formed, and for that purpoſe ſummoned a parliment to be held at London.

The aſſembly being met, Henry boldly told them, "That as they had not, on their parts, performed their promiſes, with regard to paying his debts, and augmenting his revenues, when he ſigned the Proviſions of Oxford, he did not think himſelf obliged to keep the oath he had taken on that occaſion: that he was determined no longer to remain in the hands of a faction who had treated him more like a ſlave than their king, but he would immediately free himſelf from ſuch inglorious fetters, and aſſert the dignity of his own prerogative."

After having made this bold and unexpected declaration, the king, without giving the members time to make any reply, immediately quitted the aſſembly, repaired to the tower, and ſeized all the money in the mint. He likewiſe publiſhed a proclamation for removing the ſheriffs and other officers appointed by the council of twenty-four, and acted with ſuch vigour as ſeemed to be the effect of a fixed reſolution to ſupport his own independence. He informed his ſubjects that he had reſumed the reins of government, and would inviolably obſerve the two charters, notwithſtanding any falſe reports to the contrary. He then nominated a chancellor, chief juſticiary, and officers of his houſhold, in the room of thoſe who had been appointed by the council.

A. D. 1262. The reſolute conduct of the king irritated the barons, who having raiſed a conſiderable army under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, determined to purſue their claims to the government by force of arms. In conſequence of this, prince Edward, who had hitherto ſcrupled to break the oath he had taken to ſubmit to the council, reſolved to undertake the cauſe of his father, and, if poſſible, again eſtabliſh him in the ſovereignty. He was ſoon at the head of a powerful army, and joined by ſeveral of the barons, who thought they could not, as true Engliſhmen, continue any longer with Leiceſter and his party.

The two armies were in ſight of each other, and a deciſive battle was ſoon expected, when ſeveral of the moſt prudent perſons interpoſed their good offices to prevent the effuſion of human blood. But it ſoon appeared that the claims of the contending parties were not to be adjuſted; in conſequence of which it was agreed to refer the deciſion to St. Lewis, in whoſe wiſdom and equity both parties placed an equal confidence; and the reference was confirmed by the oaths of the king, the prince and the barons.

In conſequence of this determination meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to the continent; and both parties waited with anxious expectations for their return. Lewis accepted the office of arbitrator, and having heard, with the utmoſt attention, the whole matter fairly debated, together with the allegations of both parties in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Amiens, delivered the following award: "That the ſtatutes of Oxford with all the proceedings that followed in conſequence of thoſe acts, ſhould be annulled: That the king ſhould enjoy all the rights and prerogatives, which were inveſted in the crown, before thoſe ſtatutes were enacted: That all the caſtles which they king had ceded to the barons as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, ſhould be reſtored; and that he ſhould enjoy the privilege of appointing his great officers of ſtate and government, equally from foreigners or natives." The barons were highly exaſperated at an award ſo contrary to what they expected; the conſequence of which was, that the negotiation was entirely broke off, and each party made preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

The royal army was divided into three bodies, one of which was commanded by the king in perſon, the ſecond by Richard king of the Romans, and the third by prince Edward. The earl of Leiceſter, being reinforced by a body of fifteen thouſand Londoners, marched immediately to Lewes, (where the royal army was encamped) with a full reſolution of hazarding a deciſive engagement. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who charged the van of the rebel army with ſuch impetuoſity, that the troops gave way, and a dreadful carnage enſued. He then fell upon the Londoners, routed them with great ſlaughter, and purſued them near four miles with the utmoſt fury. The abſence of the prince afforded Leiceſter an opportunity of changing the fortune of the day. He attacked the ſecond body of the king's forces, cut the greateſt part to pieces, and took the king of the Romans priſoner. The third body, commanded by Henry in perſon, made ſo noble a ſtand, that it was not broke till the evening; but the king's horſe being killed under him, and himſelf ſlightly wounded, he retired to the priory of Lewes with part of his followers, while others took refuge in the caſtle.

When young Edward returned from purſuing the Londoners, he was ſurprized to ſee the field of battle covered with dead bodies; and ſeveral of his principal followers were ſo intimidated, that they fled, with ſeven hundred of their beſt troops, to Pevenſey, and from thence paſſed over to France. The prince, however, who was a ſtranger to fear, thought only of retrieving the misfortune, and therefore immediately attacked the barons; but night coming on prevented a freſh engagement. Anxious for the fate of his father, the prince fought for him both about the town and caſtle without effect; but at length underſtood he was in the priory, which was then attacked by a conſiderable body of the rebel army. The royaliſts, however, made a noble defence, and the earl of Leiceſter's forces were at length obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Prince Edward, having ſtill the advantage of ſome excellent officers about his perſon, determined to try the fortune of another battle. Leiceſter had loſt near half his army, and was therefore deſirous of avoiding a freſh battle with a body of reſolute troops more experienced than his own. He knew a defeat muſt be fatal, and that no mercy could be expected ſhould he fall into the hands of the enraged monarch. Under pretence, therefore, of preventing the farther effuſion of human blood, he ſent mediators next morning to the prince, to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, offering to ſubmit his demands to ſuch arbitrators as the king ſhould approve; but, at the ſame time, inſiſted, that prince Edward, and young Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould be delivered, as hoſtages for the king's

king's performance of the conditions. This demand was abſolutely rejected by the king as inſolent and unreaſonable; it concealed, under the maſk of a deſire of peace, a treacherous deſign of making himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom.

Thus diſappointed, the earl, fearful of another engagement, had recourſe to menaces, and threatened to ſtrike off the heads of the king of the Romans, together with thoſe of all the priſoners of note in his hands, if the prince made any attack on his army. Edward, knowing the natural reſolution of Leiceſter, and fearful he might carry his threats into execution, was deſirous of coming to an accommodation, which being made known to the earl, he drew up the following articles:

"1. That prince Edward, and Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners, as pledges in the place of king Henry and Richard king of the Romans.

2. That all other priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and

3. That, in order to ſettle the terms of agreement, application ſhould be made to the king of France, who ſhould name ſix Frenchmen, namely, three prelates, and three barons. Theſe ſix to chuſe two others of their own countrymen; and theſe two to chuſe one Engliſhman, who, in conjunction with themſelves, were to be inveſted by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the ſettlement of the kingdom."

Theſe articles were ſigned by Henry, prince Edward, and all the chiefs of both parties; after which the king ſent orders for all the priſoners taken by his forces to be ſet at liberty. But the artful and ambitious earl never intended to perform his part of the agreement. After ſending the prince and young Henry to Dover Caſtle, he refuſed ſetting his priſoners at liberty, retained Richard in cuſtody, and ſhut up the king in the priory of Lewes.

A. D. 1263. Leiceſter now took the whole power of the government into his own hands. He diſpoſed of offices at his own pleaſure, and had recourſe to every method he could project for raiſing money to ſtrengthen his party. He ſummoned a parliament of his own partizans, in which aſſembly it was enacted, that every act of royal power ſhould be exerciſed by nine perſons, who were to be choſen and removed by the ſuperior authority of three others; namely, himſelf, the earl of Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter.

By this eſtabliſhment the ſceptre was, in reality put into Leiceſter's hands, as he had the entire direction of the biſhop of Chicheſter, and conſequently commanded all the reſolutions of the council of three. But it was not likely that ſuch a plan of government could be of any long continuance. The queen who had been ſome time in France, hearing of the tyrannical proceedings of Leiceſter, raiſed a conſiderable army to oppoſe him; and Lewis himſelf, who beheld with deteſtation, the perjuries of the earl, favoured her enterprize. The ambitious Leiceſter was alarmed at receiving intelligence of the queen's intentions, and diſpatched a number of troops to guard the coaſt, and prevent her forces landing. The troops were embarked, and ſet ſail for England, but the winds were ſo contrary, and the ſea ſo tempeſtuous, that they were all diſperſed, and the whole deſigns of the queen rendered abortive.

The Roman pontiff, who ſtill favoured Henry, and was highly exaſperated at the behaviour of the barons, ſent cardinal Guido to England as legate, with orders to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt the earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter and Norfolk, by name, and all others in general who joined in the oppreſſion and captivity of their ſovereign. But Leiceſter took effectual methods to prevent the conſequences of the papal cenſures. On the arrival of the legate, knowing his buſineſs, he threatened him with immediate death ſhould he dare to pronounce the ſentence; in conſequence of which the legate was ſo intimidated that he immediately quitted England, and returned to the continent.

A. D. 1265. The conduct of the earl of Leiceſter was now become ſo tyrannical and arbitrary, that he was generally deſpiſed by the people, and even the earl of Glouceſter, who had remonſtrated with him on the impropriety of his behaviour, but without effect, deſerted his cauſe. The nobles, who were ſtill in the intereſt of Henry, put themſelves under the protection of Glouceſter. The people complained loudly of the ſhameful breach of the convention made at Lewes; and demanded that prince Edward, and the other priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty, in conformity to the articles of that treaty.

The imperious and tyrannical Leiceſter now found it would be impoſſible to divert the gathering ſtorm, without having recourſe to ſome artifice to deceive the Engliſh. He accordingly ordered a parliament to meet at London, but fixed that aſſembly on a more republican baſis than any that had ever been ſummoned ſince the foundation of the Engliſh monarchy. Beſides many barons and eccleſiaſtics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered the ſheriffs to return two knights from every ſhire, and the ſame number of deputies from every borough. The meeting of this aſſembly, which happened on the twentieth of January (A. D. 1266.) is generally eſteemed the epocha of the houſe of Commons in England. It is indeed, certain that this is the firſt time any mention is made of repreſentatives being ſent by the boroughs to parliament.

In this aſſembly, which was exceeding numerous, the gallant prince Edward, who had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the fatal battle of Lewes, was declared free and at full liberty, after ſtipulating to deliver up all the caſtles poſſeſſed by the barons in the intereſt of the royal party, and neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce any foreign troops. But Leiceſter never intended to ſet the prince at liberty; he was ſtrictly guarded by the emiſſaries of that nobleman, and continued only a priſoner at large.

The barons now ſaw there were no hopes of reſtoring tranquillity to the nation. The tyranny of Leiceſter was more dreaded than that of Henry had been formerly. The earl of Glouceſter perceived his own danger; for every thing that oppoſed the deſpotiſm of Leiceſter was ſacrificed at the altar of his ambition. Glouceſter therefore retired for ſafety to his eſtates on the borders of Wales; and Leiceſter followed him to Hereford at the head of an army, carrying with him both the king and the prince.

While the earl of Leiceſter was at Hereford, Glouceſter found means to open a negotiation with

young Edward, and a plan was formed for the prince's eſcape. A horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs was procured by Glouceſter, and conveyed to Edward by means of a truſty ſervant, and Edward Mortimer, at the head of a ſmall party, waited in a wood not far from Leiceſter's camp, in order to receive the prince, and convey him to a place of ſafety. Every thing being thus prepared, the prince, pretending to take the air with ſome of Leiceſter's retinue, made matches between their horſes, and rode ſeveral of them himſelf; till at length having ſufficiently tired and blown their horſes, he mounted the ſteed ſent him by Glouceſter, effected his eſcape, and fled to Mortimer.

The people were no ſooner informed of the prince's eſcape, then they flocked to his ſtandard from all parts, ſo that Edward ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army. He immediately took the field, and in order to prevent Leiceſter from retreating back to the capital, broke down all the bridges on the Severn.

Leiceſter, being informed of the proceedings of prince Edward, began to think himſelf in great danger, and therefore diſpatched an expreſs to his ſon, deſiring him to haſten from London with an army to his relief. But Edward was too vigilant, and too well informed of young Montfort's motions to ſuffer him to join his father. Knowing he had advanced at the head of his forces to Kenilworth, the prince marched to meet him, and a ſmart battle enſued, which terminated in favour of Edward, the greater part of the rebel army being cut to pieces, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

In the mean time the earl of Leiceſter with his forces, took the opportunity of croſſing the Severn in boats; and being entirely ignorant of his ſon's misfortune, advanced to Eveſham, expecting every hour to be joined by the forces from London.

After the defeat of young Montfort, the prince divided his army into three bodies, one of which advanced along the road to Kenilworth, carrying before them the banners that had been taken from young Montfort's army; while himſelf, at the head of the ſecond diviſion, made a circuit, in order to attack Leiceſter's army in another quarter. This ſtratagem, for ſome time, deceived Leiceſter; he took the firſt diviſion for his friends; but perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the excellent diſpoſition of Edward's troops, exclaimed, "They have learned from me their military order." The greater part of the army of Leiceſter made but a feeble reſiſtance; the Welſh, who formed the van, unable to ſupport the furious attack of Edward, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, while Glouceſter at the head of another diviſion, charged the main body with equal fury. Leiceſter, however, maintained the battle with amazing intrepidity, till his horſe being killed under him, he demanded quarter, which was refuſed, and he, with his ſon Henry, fell among the ſlain. The troops, finding themſelves deprived of their leaders, were ſo diſpirited, that they made no farther reſiſtance, but immediately threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to the conquerors.

After this victory the gallant prince Edward eaſily ſubdued the remains of the rebel party; and the far greater part of the caſtles garriſoned by the rebels readily ſubmitted, and opened their gates to the king. Adam Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himſelf for ſome time in the foreſt of Hampſhire, and committed depredations in that neighbourhood. Edward led a body of forces againſt him, and attacked the camp of the rebels with the utmoſt fury. The valiant leaders met, and a ſingle combat enſued between them. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt ended in favour of Edward, Gourdon being wounded, thrown from his horſe and taken priſoner. But Edward knew how to eſtimate valour, even in an enemy: he procured his pardon, granted him his friendſhip, and Gourdon ſerved him faithfully the remainder of his life.

A. D. 1268. The rebellion being now totally ſuppreſſed, and tranquillity reſtored to the kingdom, Henry ſummoned a parliament, at which was preſent the pope's legate, who informed the aſſembly that the pontiff had reſolved to publiſh a cruſade in every ſtate that profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; and exhorting the Engliſh to ſupport an enterprize calculated to promote the honour and glory of the church.

In conſequence of this declaration from the legate, Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, and their couſin Henry, received the croſs from the hands of the legate; and their examples were followed by the earls of Glouceſter, Warrenne and Pembroke, together with many others of the principal nobility in the kingdom.

A. D. 1270. While prince Edward was making the neceſſary preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land, Lewis the French king (who had alſo engaged in the cruſade, and ſtrongly ſolicited Edward to haſten his departure from England) embarked his forces, and landed near the ruins of Carthage, with a deſign of reducing the city of Tunis. Edward reached the camp of Lewis, but had the misfortune to find that great prince, a ſhort time before, had paid the debt of nature, from the intemperance of the climate, and the great fatigues he had undergone. He was ſucceeded on the throne of France by Philip, ſurnamed the Hardy, a prince who poſſeſſed great merit, though much inferior to that of his father.

But the death of Lewis did not intimidate Edward, who continued his courſe to Paleſtine, where he ſignalized himſelf by the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour. He revived the honour of the Engliſh name in thoſe parts, and ſtruck the Saracens with ſuch terror, that they had recourſe to the infamous deſign of taking him off by aſſaſſination. The villain employed to execute this inhuman deſign, was admitted ſeveral times into the prince's preſence, under pretence of negotiating a treaty between Edward and the governor of Joppa. One day, finding the prince alone ſitting on a couch unarmed, he approached him, and offering him ſome letters, took the opportunity of drawing a concealed dagger, which he endeavoured to ſheathe in the prince's breaſt; but Edward fortunately warded off the blow. He received, indeed, a conſiderable wound in the arm, but that misfortune did not prevent him from ſeizing the villain, and, having wreſted the dagger from his hand, plunged it into his heart. The wound was however dangerous, being made with a poiſoned inſtrument; and the prince's life was in the moſt imminent danger; but by the great ſkill and care of an Engliſh ſurgeon, a cure was happily effected in a very ſhort time.

A. D. 1271. The abſence of prince Edward was attended with thoſe pernicious conſequences which had been dreaded from the time of his departure from England. The king was now grown old and infirm, and the barons, not having a proper perſon to controul them, oppreſſed the com-



Wale delin. Richardson sculp.

EDWARD *Prince of Wales* SON *of* HENRY III. *killing the* SARACEN ASSASSIN,
who had envenomed him with a Poisoned Dagger in Palestine.

mon people with impunity, and gave ſhelter to bands of robbers, whom they employed to commit ravages on the eſtates of their neighbours. The populace of London likewiſe returned to their uſual licentiouſneſs; and Henry, unable to ſupport the weight of government, ſent a meſſenger to his ſon, requeſting his immediate return to aſſiſt him in ſwaying that ſceptre which was ready to fall from his enfeebled hands.

A. D. 1272. The cares and fears of Henry were now greatly increaſed by the death of his brother Richard, king of the Romans, who paid the debt of nature at Berkhamſtead on the ſecond of April. He was ſucceeded, as earl of Cornwall, by his ſon Edmund, who married Margaret, ſiſter to the earl of Glouceſter.

Soon after the death of Richard, the king ſummoned a general council at Northampton, whither he went himſelf, though at that time in a very weak ſtate of health. The cauſe of this meeting was, to enquire into the particulars of a riot that had happened at Norwich, between the inhabitants of that city and the monks, in which the cathedral with the monaſtery adjoining, was reduced to aſhes. After a full inveſtigation of the affair, it appeared that the citizens were the aggreſſors, in conſequence of which they were fined 3000 marks, and ſeveral of the moſt active among the rioters were ſentenced to be hanged.

The king was ſo irritated at theſe violent and outrageous proceedings, that he determined to ſee the ſentence which had been paſſed on the rioters put into execution. He accordingly went from Northampton to Norwich, and, after ſtaying twelve days in that city, came to St. Edmundſbury in his way to London, where he was ſeized with a diſorder that ſoon put an end to his life. His diſtemper increaſing daily, he was removed, by eaſy journies, to Weſtminſter, when, finding his end approaching, he ſent for the earl of Glouceſter, and exacted from him an oath, that he would preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and, to the utmoſt of his power, maintain the intereſt of his ſon Edward. He then ſent for ſome of the principal nobility, of whom he took a ſolemn farewell, and ſoon after expired, on the 16th of November, in the 65th year of his age, and 57th of his reign. His remains were, by his own deſire, interred near the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor, in the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, where his tomb (with his ſtatue in braſs) is ſtill to be ſeen.

The character of this prince is ſo fully diſplayed from the hiſtory of his life, that it is almoſt needleſs to deſcend to particulars. His genius was narrow, his temper capricious, his principles arbitary, and his meaſures oppreſſive; which, together with his attachment to foreigners, were the real cauſes of the troubles that diſturbed his reign, and proved deſtructive to the tranquillity of his ſubjects. He evinced two principles that are undeniable demonſtrations of meanneſs of ſoul: the former was a moſt preſumptive arrogance in proſperity, and the latter a moſt abject deſpondence in adverſity. But with all theſe vices and foibles, he had ſome virtues; he was noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance on public worſhip. He was alſo an affectionate huſband, and an indulgent parent.

Henry left iſſue two ſons, namely, Edward, who ſucceeded him, and Edmund earl of Lancaſter. He had alſo two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, ducheſs of Britany. Beſides theſe he had five other children, all of whom died in their infancy.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry III.

A. D.

1219 On the 17th of May the king was crowned a ſecond time at Weſtminſter.
This year the bones of St. Thomas-a-Becket at Canterbury were enſhrined with gold, ſet round with precious ſtones,

1220 The old abbey of St. Peter's Weſtminſter pulled down, and the preſent one begun to be erected, the king himſelf laying the firſt ſtone.

1225 A decree was this year made, by which the concubines of prieſts were denied chriſtian burial, and thoſe prieſts who kept concubines, if known, were to do penance.

1126 In the month of February this year happened a dreadful tempeſt of thunder, lightning and rain, which threw down ſeveral churches, and did other very conſiderable damage.

1232 The Rolls Chapel in Chancery-lane built for converted Jews.

1233 In the beginning of this year there happened a violent earthquake in England, which did great damage, and was ſucceeded by a dearth.

1236 The method of conveying water into the city of London by means of pipes firſt invented.

1242 This year happened a total eclipſe of the ſun.
Aldermen firſt elected in London.

1246 Tiles for covering houſes firſt uſed in England.

1248 On the 14th of February there happened a dreadful earthquake, which threw down many houſes in different parts, and did other conſiderable damage.

1249 The town of Newcaſtle deſtroyed by fire, and ſeveral churches and houſes thrown down in Somerſetſhire by an earthquake.

1250 A ſmart ſhock of an earthquake felt at St. Alban's.

1251 The citizens of London purchaſed for 500 marks the privilege of having their mayor ſworn in before the barons of the exchequer.

1253 Fine linen firſt made in England.

1255 All perſons who had fifteen pounds a year were obliged to be knighted, or pay a fine to be excuſed.
Tapeſtry firſt introduced in England by Eleanor wife of prince Edward.

1265 Burgeſſes and knights of the ſhires firſt ſummoned to parliament.

1268 This year the two companies of Goldſmiths and Taylors fought, and ſeveral were killed on both ſides. The ſheriffs appeaſed the tumult, and thirteen of the moſt mutinous were hanged.

1269 The bones of Edward the Confeſſor enſhrined with gold

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

EDWARD I*. furnamed LONGSHANKS.

Accession and coronation of Edward I. He marches against the Welch, and makes a treaty of peace with Llewellyn their prince. The Jews severely punished for adulterating the coin of the kingdom. Edward again marches against the Welsh, and totally reduces their country. Goes over to the continent, and, on his return, punishes the judges for having acted corruptly during his absence. The Jews plundered of their property, and banished the kingdom. Death of Queen Eleanor. The succession to the throne of Scotland being disputed, reference is made to Edward, who declares in favour of Baliol, a descendant of William. Baliol, having a complaint exhibited against him by the earl of Fife, is obliged to plead his own cause at Westminster. Edward marches against the Scots, and obtains a complete victory; upon which Baliol resigns his crown to Edward, who sends him prisoner to the Tower. Quarrel between the king and clergy. Edward goes over to the continent to recover Guienne, which had been taken from him by Philip king of France. The two kings come to an accommodation, and Edward marries the sister of Philip. Insurrection in Scotland. Battle of Falkirk, and reduction of the Scots. Robert Bruce claims the sovereignty of Scotland, and is crowned king. Edward sends a body of forces against him, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, who obtains a complete victory, and Bruce is obliged to save himself by flight. The king marches with an army into Scotland, takes lady Mary Bruce, sister to the fugitive king, prisoner, whom he orders to be shut up in a wooden cage, and publicly exposed on the walls of Roxburgh castle. Bruce again takes up arms, and defeats the English forces commanded by the earl of Pembroke. Death and character of Edward.

A. D. 1272. ON the death of Henry III. the crown of England devolved on his elder son Edward, who, at the time of his father's demise, was displaying his natural courage and military prowess in the fields of Palestine. The absence of Edward at so critical a time might have been productive of disagreeable consequences had not the general esteem due to his uncommon merits in some degree supplied the place of his presence. Immediately after the decease of Henry the council of state proclaimed him king, and the nobility and principal people of the kingdom swore fealty to his person and government.

While Edward was in Palestine he obtained several signal victories over the Saracens; but finding his forces too few in number to make a complete conquest over such numerous armies, he listened to offers of peace made by the sultan of Babylon, with whom he concluded a truce for ten years, ten months, and ten days. Having signed this treaty, he embarked his forces, and passed over to Sicily, where he received advice of the death of his father, and soon after that of his eldest son, who died at Acre in Palestine. Edward expressed much less grief for the loss of the latter than the former; upon which the king of Sicily appearing astonished, he told him "the loss of a son might be repaired, but that of a father was irreparable."

A. D. 1273. After staying a short time at the Sicilian court, Edward took his leave, and set out for England. In his way he passed through Chalons, where he was invited, by the prince of that province to a tournament. Edward, who was ever ambitious of glory, and happy in having the opportunity of signalizing his courage and address in arms, readily accepted the invitation: but the honour he acquired excited envy, and what was intended only to give proof of military skill, had like to have been productive of the most fatal consequences. The French knights, finding themselves foiled in every attempt, made a furious attack upon the English: but fortune still favoured Edward: the French were repulsed and the English obtained the palm of victory. This, however, was not determined without a considerable effusion of blood; from whence some historians have called it "The petty Battle of Chalons."

As Edward was sufficiently satisfied in his mind that the peace of England was firmly established, he resolved, before his departure from the continent, to settle his affairs in that quarter in such a manner as to prevent being disturbed when he should take upon him the government of his English dominions. To effect this he repaired to the court of France, and was received by Philip with every mark of politeness and respect; after which he did homage to that prince for the territories he possessed in France. From Paris Edward repaired to Guienne, and put an end to the troubles which had, for some time, disturbed the peace of that province. He continued much longer here than he intended, in compliance with the earnest request of pope Gregory IX. who, having summoned a general council to meet at Lyons, was apprehensive that Edward's return to England might prevent the attendance of many of the bishops of that kingdom.

A. D. 1274. Edward, having settled his affairs on the continent, embarked for England, and landed at Dover on the 2d of August, from whence he proceeded to London, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. On the 19th of the same month he was crowned at Westminster by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of Alexander III. king of Scotland, the duke of Britany, and all the principal nobility of the kingdom.

Being thus fully established on the throne, Edward directed his attention to the pursuit of those measures which were most likely to produce honour to himself as a king, and happiness to his people as subjects. He made the great charter the rule

* There were three kings of the same name before William the Conqueror; but it has been customary to count only from the conquest. This prince was surnamed Longshanks, which additional epithet he obtained from the remarkable disproportion of his legs to the other parts of his body.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England*

EDWARD
I



Wale delin.

Born
June 16. 1230.

Crowned
August 19. 1274.

Grignion sculp —

Died
July 7. 1307.
in the 68th year of his age
and 35th of his reign.

rule of his conduct, and obliged the barons to observe it with regard to their vaſſals. The licentiouſneſs of the nobles had long been the ſource of various calamities, both with reſpect to the crown and people. Edward, therefore, took care to curtail their power, and, without invading their real privileges, made them obedient to the laws of their country.

A. D. 1275. The kingdom had, for ſome time, been greatly infeſted with robbers, who defied the power of the civil magiſtrates. To remedy this evil, Edward appointed commiſſioners to make regular circuits through different parts of the kingdom, in order to take cognizance of crimes, and puniſh offenders. But theſe itinerant diſpenſers of juſtice executed their commiſſion with the moſt unjuſtifiable ſeverity, making no proper diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty. This ſpread an univerſal terror among the people, which being made known to the king he immediately recalled the commiſſioners, chaſtiſed them for their conduct, and diſmiſſed them from their employment.

A. D. 1276. The firſt military expedition in which Edward engaged after his acceſſion to the throne was againſt Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had been cloſely connected with the Montfort family, and now refuſed to repair to the court of Edward, and do him homage. This ſo exaſperated Edward that he determined, at all events to reduce his haughty vaſſal to obedience. Llewellyn was no ſtranger to the great power and abilities of Edward, and therefore thought it adviſeable, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf, to form a binding alliance with the remains of the Montfort family. He accordingly demanded Eleanor, daughter to the late earl of Leiceſter (who was at the court of France) in marriage. Philip readily complied with his requeſt, and Eleanor embarked for Wales, under the care of her brother Aumeri; but the veſſel being taken at ſea, the betrothed princeſs was ſent to the court of Edward, where ſhe was detained as a priſoner of ſtate; and her brother committed to Corf-Caſtle. Deputies ſoon after arrived from Llewellyn, offering to ranſom the princeſs, whom he aſſerted to be detained againſt the law of nations. But Edward refuſed to ſet Eleanor at liberty, unleſs Llewellyn would engage to make good the devaſtations that had been committed on the borders of England, and reſtore all the caſtles he had taken during the wars in the late reign. Llewellyn refuſed the conditions, in conſequence of which both parties made preparations for determining the diſpute by the ſword.

Early in the ſpring of the enſuing year Edward marched at the head of his army into Wales; and Llewellyn, perceiving it would be madneſs to meet the Engliſh in the open field, retreated to his woods and inacceſſable mountains, in order to harraſs the Engliſh troops. But Edward was not to be ſurprized: he cut a capacious road for his forces through a track of woods extending from the marches on the borders of Cheſhire to Caernarvonſhire, by which means his forces penetrated with eaſe into the heart of the country. Llewellyn retreated to Snowden, the uſual place of refuge when attacked by the Engliſh: but their faſtneſſes now were of very little conſequence. Edward ſeized all the paſſes, and prevented any proviſions from being carried to Llewellyn's army. Famine ſoon reduced the Welch prince to ſue for peace, and a treaty was concluded at Abercon-way, on the following conditions; "That Llewellyn ſhould pay fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, as a ſatisfaction for damages; that he ſhould quit for ever a track of land containing the whole country between Cheſter and the river Conway; and that he ſhould repair to the court of Edward and perform his homage." Edward, however, thought proper to remit the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds, and brought Llewellyn with him to London, where he did homage and ſwore fealty in the preſence of a great number of the prelates and nobility of England. The ceremony being over, Edward delivered up Eleanor, and the ceremony of the nuptials between that lady and the Welſh prince was celebrated with great magnificence, in the preſence of Edward, and many of the principal nobility of the kingdom.

A. D. 1278. This year there happened a circumſtance which ſhewed the ſeverity of Edwards's diſpoſition, and at the ſame time diſplayed the common prejudices of the times. Among other diſorders that had, for ſome time, prevailed in the kingdom, no one was more univerſally complained of than the adulteration of the coin, which had produced ſuch injurious effects, that foreign commerce was almoſt ruined. The Jews were ſuſpected of being the authors of this deſtructive practice, and little proof was neceſſary to convict them of the offence. Edward himſelf was ſtrongly prepoſſed againſt thoſe people, and, with an ill-judged zeal for chriſtianity (naturally augmented by an expedition to Paleſtine) determined to puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity. Accordingly, no leſs than 280 Jews were hanged in one day at London, beſides great numbers, who ſuffered in different parts of the kingdom. Many of the moſt wealthy were ruined by the confiſcation of their houſes and property; and though Edward ordered one half of the money which was raiſed in this cruel manner to be ſet apart for thoſe who would renounce their religion, very few accepted the offer: they could not think of embracing a religion, which they conſidered as the ſource of thoſe barbarities that had been exerciſed on them by its profeſſors.

No material circumſtances occurred from this period till the year 1281, when freſh diſturbances took place between Llewellyn, prince of Wales, and the king. The former ſtrictly obſerved the conditions made in the late treaty with the Engliſh monarch, but the officers of Edward had committed ſo many acts of violence and oppreſſion on the Welſh, that they applied to their prince for protection. Llewellyn made repeated remonſtrances to Edward; but without effect. In conſequence of this the Welſh, exaſperated at ſuch unjuſt treatment, determined either to obtain relief by force of arms, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

David, brother to Llewellyn, had long ſerved the crown of England with the utmoſt fidelity; but being juſtly exaſperated at the oppreſſions of his countrymen, joined his brother, offering to head the army, and venture his life in defence of thoſe liberties of which they had been ſo unjuſtly deprived by the tyrannical Engliſh. This offer was joyfully accepted, and the two brothers ſoon found themſelves at the head of a conſiderable army; the iſſue of which was that they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, and ſeverely retaliated that ſeverity on the Engliſh which had been ſo cruelly exerciſed on their countrymen.

As ſoon as Edward was informed of theſe proceedings he determined to march into Wales, at the head of a powerful army, and lay the whole

country waſte with fire and ſword. In the mean time the archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, exerted all his intereſt to bring about an accommodation, and made ſeveral equitable propoſals at the requeſt of Llewellyn and his brother, for ſheathing the ſword of deſtruction, and preventing the horrid devaſtation that muſt enſue, if the bloody ſtandard of war ſhould be carried into the country of thoſe diſtreſſed and injured people. But all his labours were in vain. Edward was determined to put a final period to the government of Wales, and exterminate all the remains of its ancient independence.

A. D. 1282. This reſolution being taken, Edward, in the beginning of the ſpring, marched into Wales at the head of his forces, which he had no ſooner entered than Llewellyn and his brother retired to their faſtneſſes in Snowden, where they waited for the opportunity of falling on the Engliſh when embarraſſed among the woods. But this ſcheme inſtead of anſwering their expectations turned out to their diſadvantage; for Edward, who had learned experience from his former expedition, ſecured all the avenues through which it was poſſible for them to eſcape, and threw a bridge of boats over the river Menay, oppoſite to Bangor. Before the work was entirely compleated three hundred men at arms, under the command of lord Latimer and Lucas de Thany, a Gaſcon, paſſed the river to amuſe the enemy, while the main body of the army croſſed the bridge. The Welſh, who were well acquainted with the nature of the river, and knew the water would ſoon ſwell and cut off their retreat, did not for ſome time offer to moleſt the Engliſh in their paſſage; but when about fifteen hundred were landed, they ruſhed down from the mountains with the moſt horrid ſhrieks, and fell upon the Engliſh with ſuch fury and reſolution, that they were immediately routed, and the greater part put to the ſword. Fluſhed with ſucceſs at this conqueſt, the Welſh began to think themſelves invincible, more eſpecially as they had been told by their bards that the period was arrived for the accompliſhment of the prophecy of the great Merlin, who had foretold, that one of the race of Llewellyn ſhould ride through the ſtreets of London with a crown on his head. But this ridiculous notion (though well adapted to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times) proved deſtructive to the Welſh.

The Welſh now divided themſelves into two bodies, one of which was to continue in Snowden under the direction of David, while the other, under Llewellyn, was to march againſt the main body of the Engliſh. This reſolution being taken, the prince advanced into Radnorſhire; but being unexpectedly met by a detachment of the Engliſh, his army was totally defeated, and himſelf killed by the hand of one Adam de Frampton, who cut off his head, and carried it to Edward, then encamped at Conway.* Thus fell the famous Llewellyn, a prince deſcended from one of the moſt antient royal families in Europe, and with him expired the ſmall remains of Welſh independence.

The Welſh were no ſooner informed that their prince was dead than a general conſternation prevailed throughout the whole army. They made farther efforts to ſupport the falling ſtate of their country, the greater part throwing down their arms, and ſubmitting themſelves to the Engliſh. David retired to the woods and faſtneſſes of the mountains, where he continued ſome time in the greateſt diſtreſs; but was at laſt ſeized by his own countrymen in one of his retreats, and conveyed a priſoner to Edward, who ordered him to be ſent in chains to Shrewſbury. The captivity of David put an end to all oppoſition: the Welſh nobility immediately delivered up their caſtles, and the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1283. Edward now ſummoned a parliament to meet at Shrewſbury, in order to determine the fate of the captive David. The iſſue of this trial was, that the unfortunate prince, inſtead of being conſidered as the defender of the liberties of his country, was condemned as a traitor to be hanged and quartered; a ſentence which was executed with many circumſtances of diſtinguiſhed cruelty.

But the death of David was not the only act of cruelty that took place at this time: the bards, or Welſh poets, were alſo devoted to deſtruction. Edward well knew that nothing had a more powerful influence to keep alive the ideas of military valour, and antient glory among the people than the traditional poetry of the bards, more eſpecially when aſſiſted by the power of muſic, and jollity of feſtivals. He therefore got together all the Welſh poets, and, from a policy equally cruel and unjuſt, ordered them all to be put to death.

After taking theſe unjuſtifiable meaſures, Edward, in order farther to ſecure his new conqueſt, built two caſtles, one at Aberconway, and another at Caernarvon; and having ſettled the civil government of Wales, it was ever after annexed to the crown of England.

A. D. 1284. In the beginning of this year queen Eleanor was delivered of a prince at Caernarvon (afterwards Edward II.) on whom the king immediately beſtowed the inveſtiture of that principality; and ſince which time the principality of Wales has given title to the eldeſt ſons of the kings of England.

Having ſettled all affairs to his ſatisfaction in Wales, Edward, about the middle of December, went to Briſtol, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and held a parliament. He ſtaid in that city till the middle of February following, when he repaired to London, from whence he had now been abſent near three years.

A. D. 1285. Edward now directed his attention towards removing many abuſes which had been practiſed in London during his abſence. George Brockſley the then mayor, was turned out of his office for having taken bribes from the bakers, to connive at their ſelling bread ſhort of weight: beſides which he took away the charter of the city, and put in another mayor by his own authority. At the ſame time licence was given to merchant-ſtrangers to rent houſes and keep ſhops; whereas before they were only importers of goods, and the Engliſh with whom they lodged, acted as brokers to ſell the goods for them.

A. D.

* Edward immediately ſent the head of Llewellyn to London, where it was conveyed through the ſtreets upon the point of a lance in a cart, crowned with a ſilver circle, in contempt of Merlin's prophecy. It was afterwards placed on a pillory in Cheapſide, from whence it was conveyed to the Tower of London, crowned by way of deriſion, with a wreath of ivy, and, by order of the king, fixed on the point of a high ſtaff erected for the purpoſe on the top of that fortreſs.

A. D. 1286. Theſe abuſes being removed, and tranquillity firmly eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom, Edward paſſed over to the continent, in order to mediate a peace between Alphonſo, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately ſucceeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in the crown of France. He continued there near three years; and during the greater part of the time was employed in this intricate negotiation, which was at laſt happily terminated by the labours of the Engliſh monarch, whoſe power was dreaded, and whoſe abilities were revered in moſt parts of Europe.

A. D. 1290. While Edward was on the continent great diſorders had taken place in England, owing to the mal-practices of the judges. In conſequence of this the king, on his return, determined to examine very ſtrictly into their conduct, and, for that purpoſe, ſummoned a parliament to meet at London. Before this aſſembly the judges were tried, when only two (viz. John de Martingham and Elias de Bokingham, both clergymen) were found innocent. The proofs brought againſt the reſt were ſo clear that they made no defence, in conſequence of which they were all removed from their office, and heavily fined.

Among other acts paſſed during the ſitting of this parliament, was one for baniſhing all the Jews, who had rendered themſelves odious to the nation by their uſury and extortion. They were ordered to depart the kingdom before the firſt of November on pain of death, and all their wealth, except ſuch ſums as were neceſſary to defray the expence of their voyage, confiſcated to the king's uſe. But many were not ſuffered to eſcape even with ſo ſmall a pittance of their fortune; ſome being murdered by the ſeamen in their paſſage; while others, after being plundered of what little they poſſeſſed, were inhumanely left deſtitute on ſome inhoſpitable ſhore.

This year Edward ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in the death of his beloved queen Eleanor, the fond partner in all his dangers and diſtreſs in Paleſtine. She paid the debt of nature at Holmſby in Lincolnſhire, on the 29th of November, leaving the king overwhelmed with the moſt poignant grief. Her remains were carried to Weſtminſter, and interred in the abbey with great funeral pomp; and at every place where her body reſted in the way to London (and where ſolemn dirges were ſung for the repoſe of her ſoul) Edward cauſed grand croſſes, on which her arms were engraven, to be erected to her memory. The moſt perfect of theſe now remaining is that at Waltham, which though greatly injured by time, is exceeding noble, and gives a ſufficient idea of the taſte of architecture at the time it was erected.

Soon after the death of Queen Eleanor, an event happened which attracted the attention of the whole kingdom, and was productive of circumſtances that particularly diſtinguiſhed the remainder of Edward's reign. Alexander III. king of Scotland, had been unfortunately killed by a fall from his horſe in the year 1286, leaving no male iſſue. Margaret, daughter to Eric king of Norway, and grand-daughter to Alexander, was the only lineal deſcendant from the royal family of Scotland. This princeſs, then an infant, and known by the name of The Maid of Norway, was recognized ſucceſſor by the ſtates of Scotland. Edward, who was great-uncle to the Norwegian princeſs, now flattered himſelf that an opportunity offered for uniting the two kingdoms; and accordingly propoſed a marriage between his ſon, the prince of Wales, and the Maid of Norway. The friendſhip which had for ſome time prevailed between the two nations greatly facilitated this project, ſo favourable to the grandeur and welfare of both kingdoms. The eſtates of Scotland were pleaſed with the offers of Edward, and the marriage articles were drawn up, agreed to, and ratified. In conſequence of this the biſhop of Durham was appointed queen's lieutenant in Scotland, and two of the Scottiſh commiſſioners (the earl of Warrenne and the dean of York) embarked for Norway, to ſettle every thing relative to the marriage: but in their return with the young princeſs, they were unfortunately overtaken by a ſtorm, and driven into one of the Orkney Iſlands, where ſhe died in the month of October, A. D. 1290. Thus were all the hopes formed on this coalition ſuddenly deſtroyed, and Scotland involved in all thoſe calamities that conſequently attend a diſputed ſucceſſion.

A. D. 1291. The principal competitors for the Scottiſh crown were Robert Bruce and John Baliol, both deſcended in the female line from the brother of that William who had been taken priſoner by Henry II. The Scots were, at this time, little qualified to diſcuſs the claims of theſe two competitors; in conſequence of which the Scottiſh parliament reſolved to refer the diſpute to the king of England, who had already ſhewn himſelf an able and impartial arbitrator in ſeveral contentions between different princes of Europe, and who was ſufficiently powerful to compel the unſucceſsful claimant to ſubmit to his deciſion.

Edward was highly pleaſed at being appointed arbitrator to the diſpute between the two contending parties for the crown of Scotland, as it furniſhed him with an opportunity of attempting to effect a project he had long formed, namely, of eſtabliſhing a right of ſuperiority over that kingdom. He ſought with the utmoſt diligence for proofs of his intended claim in all the antient hiſtories; but the only circumſtance that was ſubſtantial, and which had the leaſt appearance of plauſibility, was the homage paid by William to Henry II. though Richard I. had renounced his homage.

Furniſhed with this proof, Edward advanced to Norham, a town on the northern banks of the Tweed, at the head of a powerful army to give weight to the unexpected claim he intended to make. On his arrival, he invited the parliament of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to his camp; where the chief juſticiary told the aſſembly, "that the king had taken the greateſt "pain to collect proofs from all the antient re"cords and chronicles, to determine this impor"tant truth, namely, that the kings of Scotland "had been dependent on the Engliſh monarchs "from time immemorial, and had accordingly "done them homage, except when they had ta"ken advantage of the inteſtine commotions of "the nation, or the reign of ſome weak prince, to "withdraw their allegiance. The king was there"fore intitled to decide this diſpute, not in virtue "of the reference made to him, but in the quali"ty of liege lord of the kingdom."

The whole aſſembly were aſtoniſhed at this unexpected declaration: but it was in vain to make any reſiſtance. They therefore begged to have ſome time allowed them to give in their anſwer, as many of the prelates and nobility of Scotland were abſent, whoſe advice was neceſſary in a point of ſuch importance. Edward conſented to indulge them with three weeks for this purpoſe; and iſſued

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safe conducts for all the nobility of Scotland to repair to Norham on the day appointed for giving in their answer. No objection being made by the barons to Edward's claim, the king addressed himself to the two competitors, requiring their acknowledgment of his superiority. Bruce was the first to acknowledge it; while Baliol, afraid of giving offence to the Scottish nation, consented with some reluctance.

Edward, having thus far obtained his ends, demanded that the principal castles in Scotland should be immediately put into his possession; telling them it would be in vain for him to pronounce any determination between the contending parties for the crown, without having it in his power to enforce it. This demand was complied with; and Edward after naming commissioners to enquire into the claims of the competitors, and promising to make his decision the ensuing year, returned to England.

A. D. 1292. The most celebrated lawyers and learned men in Europe were now consulted on the important question relative to the person who should succeed to the Scottish throne. After long debates and several adjournments, they unanimously gave their answer in favour of Baliol; in consequence of which Edward pronounced him the proper claimant to the Scottish throne, and he was immediately put in put in possession of that kingdom. All the English garrisons were withdrawn, and Baliol did homage and swore fealty to Edward at Norham. After this Baliol set out to take possession of his new dignity, and, in the middle of December was crowned at Scone with the usual formalities, and all the nobility of Scotland swore allegiance to him. After the ceremony was over Baliol went to Newcastle upon Tyne, where he repeated his homage to Edward as superior lord of his kingdom.

A. D. 1294. In this year an event happened which fully convinced the Scots of that state of vassalage into which they had fallen by the policy and artifices of the English monarch. A burgher of Berwick, complaining of an injury he had received from some English commissioners sent into Scotland, Edward ordered the cause to be tried in England by his judges. The council of Scotland, considering this order as a breach of promise in Edward, who had assured them that any offences committed in their kingdom should be cognizable only to their own courts, sent a remonstrance to the English monarch. But, instead of receiving that satisfaction they expected, Edward told them, "the "cause should be tried in England, as it did not "belong to vassals to punish those who represented "the person of their sovereign."

This authoritative and peremptory answer was exceeding disagreeable to the Scots; but they were much more mortified at the indignity soon after shewn to their new king, who was obliged to appear personally before Edward, in his court at Westminster, to answer a complaint exhibited against him by the earl of Fife, for seizing certain estates with which he had been invested by Edward's particular order. At this trial Baliol was obliged to relinquished the seat of honour before filled by the kings of Scotland in the English courts, and to plead his own cause at the bar as a common defendant. This compulsive submission was highly disagreeable to Baliol, who, notwithstanding his natural supineness of his temper, determined, if possible, to shake off so ignominious a dependence. He therefore left the court of London without taking leave, after which Edward seized all the estates he possessed in England.

A. D. 1295. The designs of Edward in treating Baliol with such indignity, was to engage him in rebellion, that he might have a pretence for making an entire conquest of Scotland. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered for accomplishing his wishes. Baliol, irritated at the treatment he had received from Edward, secretly concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip the Fair, then king of France, which being made known to Edward, he summoned Baliol to perform the duty of a vassal, and cited him to appear before the English parliament. But Baliol refused the citation, and having procured a dispensation from his oath of fealty, he renounced his homage and bid defiance to the English monarch.

Exasperated at the conduct of Baliol, Edward immediately raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 4000 horse, at the head of whom he marched to the northward, in order to chastise the Scottish monarch for his disobedience and presumption. The Scots army was more numerous than the English, being composed of 40,000 infantry, and 500 horse; but they wanted both discipline and experience, and, what was still of more consequence, dissentions prevailed among the leaders. From these alarming appearances several of the Scottish nobility (among whom were Robert Bruce and his son, the earls of Marche and Angus) prognosticated the ruin of their country, and made their submission to Edward.

The English army passed the Tweed at Coldsteam without opposition: soon after which Berwick was taken by assault, and about seven thousand of the garrison put to the sword. The earl of Warrenne was then dispatched at the head of 10,000 men, to besiege the castle of Dunbar, defended by the flower of the Scottish army. Baliol, knowing the importance of this fortress, determined to venture a battle for its relief; and Warrenne, being informed of his intention, marched to meet him. The Scots, being badly armed and disciplined, could not support the furious charge of the English: they were, in a short time, routed with great slaughter, no less than 20,000 being left dead on the field of battle. The next day the castle surrendered to Edward, who then joined his army, and pursued his conquests without any farther opposition from Baliol's forces. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Sterling submitted after a feeble resistance; and all the southern parts of the kingdom were soon subdued by the English.

The pusillanimous Baliol, finding himself unable to resist the great power of Edward, resolved to make his submission. He accordingly appeared before the king at Brechin (a town about 40 miles from Edinburgh) mounted on a very sorry steed, holding a white rod in his left hand, and his sword in the right, the latter of which he presented, in the most humiliating manner, to the English monarch. The next day (July 10, A. D. 1296) his submission was drawn up in form, as also an instrument, by which he resigned his kingdom to Edward, to be disposed of according to his pleasure; and which instrument was not only signed by himself, but also the principal barons of Scotland.

After making this mean submission, and formally resigning his crown into the hands of the conqueror, Baliol was sent prisoner to the tower of London, and two years after submitted to a voluntary banish-

baniſhment to France, where, without making any attempts for the recovery of his throne, he died in a private ſtation.

Having thus ſubdued Scotland, Edward, in order to ſecure his acquiſition, ordered the ſtates to aſſemble at Berwick, where the principal noblemen and governors of caſtles ſwore fealty to him, and delivered up all their fortreſſes into his hands. The great ſeal of Scotland was now broken, and another, with the Engliſh arms, made in its ſtead, which was delivered to the care of Walter de Agmondeſham. At the ſame time the king appointed Hugh de Creſſingham treaſurer, W. de Ormeſby juſticiary, and John, earl of Warrenne, guardian of the Scottiſh realm: and that he might not leave theſe vanquiſhed people the leaſt particle of the liberty they had hitherto enjoyed, Edward ordered the crown and ſceptre of Scotland, with all the reſt of the regalia, to be carried to England; as alſo the famous marble ſtone, on which the kings of Scotland had, for many ages, been ſeated, when they received inauguration.*

Having adjuſted all affairs to his ſatisfaction in Scotland, Edward returned with his army to London; and ſoon after ſummoned a parliament from whom he requeſted a ſupply for enabling him to wreſt Guienne out of the hands of Philip of France, who had perfidiouſly made himſelf maſter of that province. The barons and burgeſſes very readily complied with his requeſt, but he met with a ſtrong oppoſition from the clergy. The archbiſhop of Canterbury had procured a bull from pope Boniface VIII. (who had lately ſucceeded Celeſtine in the papal chair) prohibiting the princes of Chriſtendom, under the penalty of excommunication, from levying, without his conſent, any tax on the clergy; and reſtraining, under the ſame penalty, all eccleſiaſtics from ſubmitting to ſuch impoſitions.

Being unacquainted with the meaſures taken by the archbiſhop, Edward was aſtoniſhed at the clergy refuſing their aſſiſtance towards the ſupply, but his aſtoniſhment was greatly increaſed on their publiſhing the pope's bull as a reaſon for their conduct. Edward, however, not chuſing to purſue haſty and raſh meaſures, adjourned the parliament to the 14th of January, hoping that a little reflection would render the clergy more conformable to his demands.

A. D. 1297. The parliament re-aſſembled on the day appointed, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the moſt dignified eccleſiaſtics of the kingdom, attended. Edward renewed his demand, but inſtead of his requeſt being complied with, the archbiſhop, in the name of the whole body, told him, "That the clergy owed obedi-"ence to two ſovereigns, namely, their ſpiritual "and temporal; but their duty bound them to a "much ſtricter attachment to the former than the "latter." Irritated at this ſpeech, Edward told "them, "that as they refuſed to aſſiſt the civil "power, it was unreaſonable for them to expect "any protection from the laws;" and with this anſwer they were diſmiſſed.

Edward now reſolved ſeverely to puniſh the clergy for their refractorineſs and diſobedience. He accordingly iſſued out orders to all his judges, to receive no cauſe brought before them by any eccleſiaſtic; but to hear and decide all cauſes in which they were defendants. He likewiſe locked up all their granaries and barns, and prohibited any rents being paid them by their tenants.

Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the clergy in general, ſeveral of whom complied with the king's requeſt, and received the royal protection; but the archbiſhop of Canterbury grew more obſtinate from perſecution. He ordered the pope's bull to be publiſhed in all the churches of his dioceſe, and convened a ſynod of his ſuffragans at St. Paul's cathedral. But Edward, aware of his deſign, iſſued out a writ, prohibiting him, under pain of impriſonment, from denouncing any eccleſiaſtical cenſure either againſt himſelf, his miniſters, or his ſubjects.

The violent proceedings of the king produced the moſt fatal conſequences to the clergy. Their houſes and convents might, indeed, have afforded them ſafe retreats, but they were in want of ſubſiſtence; and whenever they ventured abroad, were robbed and abuſed by every ruffian. The people, who had hitherto beheld them with a kind of religious awe, now looked upon them with contempt, and laughed at their ſufferings. The archbiſhop himſelf was robbed of his equipage and furniture, and at laſt reduced to board himſelf with a ſingle ſervant, in the houſe of a poor clergyman. This ſituation was not to be endured: experience convinced them, that a deprivation of the advantages of citizens was the greateſt calamity; and they accordingly became ſolicitous to ſatisfy both the king and the ſtate. But in order to avoid an open diſobedience to the poſitive injunctions of Boniface, inſtead of granting the king a fifth of their moveables, they agreed to depoſit an equivalent ſum of money in ſome church or convent; from whence he might draw it at his own diſcretion.

Thus was this violent conteſt between the king and his clergy happily terminated. But the ſupplies obtained were far from ſufficient to anſwer the deſigns formed by Edward of taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy; in conſequence of which (ſo bent was he to execute his deſign) that he had recourſe to meaſures very oppreſſive to his people. He impoſed a tax of 40s. on every ſack of wool exported; ſeized cattle and other commodities for the ſupply of his army; and required the attendance of every proprietor of land poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, even though he was not a tenant of the crown.

Theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings occaſioned a general murmur throughout the kingdom, and was injurious to the intended expedition of Edward. The forces he had raiſed were now aſſembled on the ſea coaſt ready for embarkation, under the command of Humphrey, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareſchal of England. Theſe two noblemen (who had countenanced the complaints of the people) now

* The Scots paid the higheſt veneration to this ſtone, which they conſidered as the true palladium of their power. They, therefore, conſidered the loſs of it as an indubitable proof of the utter extinction of their monarchy, agreeable to a Latin diſtich engraven on it, the tranſlation of which runs thus:

Or fate's deceiv'd, and Heav'n decrees in vain,
Or where they find this ſtone, the Scots ſhall reign.

This ſtone, which was incloſed in a wooden chair, had been placed at Scone by Kenneth II. as a monument of the victory which he obtained over the Picts near the monaſtery of that place. It was firſt brought out of Spain into Ireland by Simon Breccus; from Ireland into Argyle, and from thence to Scone, from which place Edward cauſed it to be conveyed to Weſtminſter, where it ſtill remains.

now took the opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment at the arbitrary meaſures purſued by the king. They affirmed that their offices obliged them only to attend his perſon in the wars, and therefore refuſed to lead the army he had directed. A violent altercation enſued; and the king, turning himſelf to the conſtable, exclaimed, "By God, Sir earl, you ſhall either go, or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied the conſtable, "I will neither go nor hang." Having ſaid this he immediately left the army, together with the mareſchal, and about thirty others of the moſt principal barons.

The conduct of theſe noblemen convinced Edward of the improper meaſures he had purſued for obtaining his ends; in conſequence of which he endeavoured, by purſuing conciliative methods, to regain the affections of his people. He careſſed his nobility, reconciled himſelf to the clergy, and made a public apology for his conduct, which he told them had ariſen from the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate.

But the barons, in general, were far from being ſatisfied with this condeſcenſion in the king, who had no ſooner landed on the continent with his forces, than the conſtable and mareſchal ſent meſſengers to him, inſiſting on an authentic confirmation both of the Great Charter, and the charter of Foreſts. Edward was very deſirous of putting it off till his return; but the parliament (which had been aſſembled at London by his order) joining with the two earls, and the charters being ſent over, he confirmed them in the preſence of all the prelates and nobility that accompanied him in his expedition.

A. D. 1298. The earl of Flanders had joined in league with Edward againſt Philip; but he woefully experienced the power and reſentment of that monarch, who had already taken Liſle, St. Omer's, Courtray and Ypres, and many more of the principal places in his dominions were threatened with the ſame fate. But the arrival of Edward, at the head of a powerful army put a ſtop to the farther conqueſts of Philip. Inſtead of attempting to come to action, the two kings concluded a truce for two years; and agreed to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of pope Boniface. The ſentence given by the pontiff was entirely in favour of Edward and his ally, as he not only commanded a reſtitution of Guienne, but alſo the places which had been taken from the earl of Flanders. Philip (who had formed an alliance with Baliol previous to his being defeated by the Engliſh monarch) was deſirous of including him and the Scots in the treaty; but this was abſolutely refuſed by Edward. At length the two monarchs adjuſted their differences by abandoning their reſpective allies, Edward detaching himſelf from the earl of Flanders, and Philip from the Scots. The ſentence of Boniface was, however, regarded, and the treaty cemented by contracts of a double marriage; that of Edward himſelf with Margaret, the ſiſter of Philip; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, the daughter of that monarch.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent the Scots made an attempt to recover their antient liberties, to which they were induced by the ſevere treatment of thoſe whom Edward had appointed to the government of that kingdom. Warrenne, earl of Surry (to whom the chief authority had been delegated) was, indeed, a man of prudence, virtue, and abilities; but his ill ſtate of health obliged him to return to England. At his departure, the reins of government were intruſted to William de Ormeſby, chief juſticiary, and Creſſingham, the treaſurer. The former was diſtinguiſhed by the rigour and ſeverity of his temper, and the latter by his avarice. Inſtead, therefore, of making uſe of moderate and lenient meaſures, they treated the Scots as a conquered people, and made them feelingly ſenſible of the ſervitude into which they were fallen. This exaſperated the whole nation, and they determined either to ſhake off the yoke or periſh in the attempt.

The Scots were encouraged in their deſign by one William Wallace, a perſon of good fortune, and deſcended from a noble family, who, ſeeing the diſtreſſes of his countrymen, engaged to undertake the recovery of their liberty, or periſh in the attempt. He was of a gigantic ſtature, had prodigious ſtrength, and was poſſeſſed both of courage and diſintereſted magnanimity. This hero had retired to the woods to avoid the vengeance of the government, and put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of men, who, like himſelf, had fled from the tyranny of the Engliſh. With theſe partizans (who had equal courage with himſelf) he planned his enterprizes with ſo much prudence, that he was always ſucceſsful, and the fame of his exploits ſoon increaſed the number of his followers.

Wallace now determined to make an attack upon the governors, and accordingly advanced, at the head of his followers, towards Scone, where they then reſided. But Ormeſby and Creſſingham, being informed of their deſigns, and dreading the conſequences, fled to England, and were followed by all the principal officers who had been appointed as aſſiſtants in the government of Scotland.

The departure of the Engliſh governors greatly elated the Scots, who immediately flew to arms, and repaired in prodigious numbers to the ſtandard of Wallace; and ſome of the principal barons (among whom was Sir William Douglas) openly countenanced his party.

Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the earl of Surry, who, at the head of a conſiderable army, marched againſt the Scottiſh forces, and came up with them at Irvine, before they were ſufficiently formed. On the appearance of the Engliſh, the Scottiſh nobility, thinking it would be in vain to oppoſe them, made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained a pardon. This, however, did not intimidate Wallace, who retired with his forces, and took poſt on a hill in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The earl of Surry continued his march, and diſcovered the enemy on the oppoſite bank of the Forth; but, at the ſame time, perceived the danger of attacking them in this advantageous ſituation, eſpecially as the bridge over the Forth was ſo narrow, as hardly to admit two men a-breaſt. Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotſman of birth and family, but a firm adherent to the Engliſh, deſired a party of five hundred horſe, and a proportional body of foot, might be put under his command; promiſing to paſs the river at a ford a few miles above, and to fall on the rear of the enemy, in order to divert their attention while the main body of the army paſſed the bridge. This prudent deſign was, however, rendered abortive by the impatience of Creſſingham, who being irritated both by perſonal and national animoſity againſt the Scots, urged the general to attack them immediately; exclaiming loudly againſt all delays, as expenſive, and diſhonourable to the king.

The earl of Surry conſidering theſe reflections as

as cenſures upon his own conduct, ordered the army to paſs the bridge immediately. But he paid dearly for his raſhneſs. Wallace let as many of them paſs as he was confident he could conquer; and then attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were all cut to pieces or puſhed into the river, where they periſhed. Near five thouſand men fell in the action, and among the reſt Creſſingham himſelf, who being found among the ſlain, the Scots flayed his dead body, and made ſaddles and girths of his ſkin. The remainder of the Engliſh army were ſo diſpirited at the deſtruction of their countrymen, whom they could not aſſiſt, that the earl of Surry thought it adviſeable not to make any farther attemps againſt the enemy; and accordingly returned, with the remains of his army, to London.

Elated with this ſucceſs, the Scots flocked from all parts of the kingdom to join the ſtandard of Wallace, who was immediately declared regent of the kingdom, Baliol being then an exile in France. He immediately led his forces towards the borders of England, where he was ſure of finding ſubſiſtence, the diſorders of war, added to unfavourable ſeaſons, having occaſioned a famine in Scotland. The caſtles of Berwick and Roxburgh made but a feeble reſiſtance, and opened the Scots a free paſſage into Northumberland. Wallace firſt led his victorious troops againſt Carliſle; but not being able to take that city, he ravaged the country as far as Durham, and then returned loaded with ſpoils and honours.

During theſe tranſactions in the north Edward returned from the continent, and determined to puniſh the Scots for their diſobedience during his abſence. But as a neceſſary and prudent ſtep, previous to the carrying his deſign into execution, he thought it adviſeable, by conceſſions and promiſes, to gain the general affection of his ſubjects. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a parliament at York, and ordered the two charters, together with the additional ſtatutes in favour of public liberty, to be read and publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the common people. This was accordingly performed with great formality; and the biſhop of Carliſle ſolemnly denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all violators of theſe charters. The king likewiſe returned to the citizens of London the privilege of chuſing their own chief magiſtrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of the reign of the late king.

A. D. 1299. Edward ſoon found the good effects of theſe popular proceedings. The people flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters, and in a ſhort time he found himſelf at the head of an army abundantly ſufficient to repel the inſurgents, and reduce them to ſubjection. On the other hand, that union, which alone can render an army powerful, was wanting among the Scots, and diviſions and envy took place. The noblemen deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, inſtead of looking upon the patriotic virtues of Wallace with admiration, and joining in the ſervice of their country, threw the moſt ungenerous reflections upon his conduct, and even charged him with having formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. Wallace ſaw the fatal conſequences that muſt attend theſe diviſions, and generouſly reſigned his authority, retaining only the command of a body of men who refuſed to follow any other leader. The liberty of his country, not a deſire of power, had called him from his retreat, and he willingly ſacrificed the latter to preſerve the former.

On the reſignation of Wallace, the command of the army was given to the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenock; both eminent for their birth and fortune. Theſe two generals marched at the head of their forces to Falkirk, where they determined to wait the attack of the Engliſh. They drew up their army in three bodies, the front of which were compoſed of pikemen, and the intervals filled with archers. But, dreading the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh cavalry, they endeavoured to ſecure their front with paliſadoes tied together with ropes.

In the mean time Edward had marched, at the head of his forces, into the enemy's country, and coming within ſight of the Scottiſh army, determined to finiſh the war by one deciſive action. He accordingly divided his army into three bodies, conformable to that of the enemy, and led them to the charge. The attack was begun by the Engliſh archers, who poured a dreadful ſhower of arrows upon the enemy. The Scottiſh bowmen, unable to ſupport the fury of the Engliſh, were driven from the field of battle with great ſlaughter. The Engliſh archers purſued their advantage; and pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, threw them into diſorder, which was improved by the cavalry, and a general rout enſued, attended with the moſt dreadful carnage. Some hiſtorians tell us that no leſs than fifty or ſixty thouſand periſhed, while others have reduced the number to twenty thouſand. But however this be, it is certain the Scots never ſuffered a greater loſs, nor ever experienced a defeat more pregnant with deſtructive conſequences.

The only general among the Scots that kept his troops together was Wallace, who retiring behind the Carron, marched leiſurely along the banks of that ſmall river, which protected him from the enemy. Robert Bruce (who was with Edward) appeared on the oppoſite bank, and requeſted a ſhort conference. He began with reproaching Wallace for taking up arms againſt Edward, one of the moſt powerful princes, and the beſt general of the age: at the ſame time inſinuating, that Wallace himſelf had formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. Wallace warmly diſclaimed every ambitious intention; declaring, that the miſeries of his country alone rouſed him to arms. Adding, that he had neither any right to expect, nor any inclination to ſeize the ſceptre of Scotland. "To you," added he, "your country owes her afflictions. You left her overwhelmed with miſeries, and I undertook the cauſe you ſo baſely betrayed; a cauſe I mean to ſupport while I have ſtrength to weild a ſword; nor ſhall I envy you a life of eaſe and pleaſure in the court of a foreign tyrant. You may, my lord, have, indeed, a juſt title to the crown, and might wear it with honor to yourſelf, and advantage to your country; but you ſeem to prefer the chains of ſervitude to freedom, and the ſmiles of deſpotiſm to the calls of honor."

Struck with the noble ſentiments of Wallace, Bruce repented having joined Edward. He ſaw his own conduct in a very different point of view, and determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of joining thoſe patriotic chiefs, who had ſo nobly ſupported the cauſe of their country. Bruce now returned to the Engliſh army, which was ſoon after diſbanded; and Wallace at the head of the poor remains of his forces, retired into the northern parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 1300. Unable to face the Engliſh, and deſirous, if poſſible, of ſupporting the liberties of

of their country, the Scots implored in vain the protection of Philip, that monarch having, in the late treaty with Edward, abandoned them to the fury of the conqueror. Thus disappointed they made application to pope Boniface, which produced a contention between his holiness and Edward relative to the superior right of sovereignty over the Scottish dominions. This dispute lasted two years, and the claims of each were attended with equal absurdities. At length Edward summoned a parliament at Lincoln in order to give a final answer to his holiness. After some debates a letter was written to the pope, in the name of the barons of England, in which it was observed, that the right of sovereignty over Scotland had always been annexed to the crown of England, and that Scotland had never depended, with respect to temporals, on the see of Rome: that the parliament would never suffer the king to put his right in litigation, or send ambassadors to Rome on that subject, though himself might be disposed to pay such a compliment to his holiness; and therefore they desired he would desist from all attempts to infringe on the prerogatives of the kingdom. This letter which was signed by no less than one hundred and five barons, had such an effect with the pope that he not only relinquished his claim, but even ordered the clergy of England to give a tenth of their revenues for three years to Edward for carrying on the Scottish war, on condition of his receiving a part of the money himself.

A. D. 1303. Though the Scottish forces had met with so dreadful a defeat at the battle of Falkirk, yet they were far from being totally subdued. The remains of that army were joined by fresh forces in the mountainous parts of the kingdom, and they again attacked the territories of the English. An army of ten thousand men was likewise formed under Cummin (appointed regent on the resignation of Wallace) who advanced as far as Biggar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

In consequence of these proceedings, John de Segrave (whom Edward had left guardian of Scotland) assembled all the English forces in that kingdom to oppose the Scots; but perceiving it would be difficult to procure the necessary quantity of provisions for their subsistence in a body, he separated them into three divisions: the first of which was commanded by himself in person, the second by his brother, and the third by Sir Robert Neville.

Cummin, knowing of this disposition, determined to take advantage of it, and advanced under covert of the night, to attack Segrave's division, which lay at Roslin, about sixteen miles from the Scottish camp. As soon as the dawn appeared, the English discovered Cummin's army marching to attack them, but it was too late to make the necessary preparations against them; the Scots fell on before they could form themselves in order of battle and obtained an easy victory: a few only escaped, by flying to their second division, whom they informed at once of their misfortune, and the approach of the enemy. The brother of Segrave immediately drew up his men, led them on to revenge the deaths of their countrymen, and a bloody battle ensued. The Scots, elated with success, charged with the utmost fury; while the English, fired with resentment, made a noble resistance. The battle continued for some time doubtful, but at last terminated in favour of the Scots, and the English were obliged to retreat with considerable loss.

By this time the third division, under the command of Sir Robert Neville, appeared;—and the Scots, already exhausted with fatigue, and their ranks considerably thinned by the two former actions, would willingly have declined the engagement. They pleaded the excessive labours they had already undergone; pointed to their wounds, and desired to retire while it was yet in their power. But Cummin, who knew a retreat was now impossible, reminded them of the cause for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the English, the glory of their ancestors, and the disgrace of slavery. His arguments prevailed, and having furnished the followers of his camp with the arms of the vanquished, they mounted the horses they had taken, stood the shock of a third engagement, and with the utmost difficulty obtained the victory. This event, however, was not wholly inglorious to Neville: he rescued Segrave, who had been taken prisoner in the first engagement, and retreated in excellent order. After this victory, the Scots made themselves masters of Stirling castle, and appointed one Oliphant (an officer celebrated both for his courage and military abilities) commander of that fortress.

A. D. 1304. The success of the Scots now sufficiently alarmed Edward, who determined severely to revenge the disgrace of his forces, and for that purpose appointed Roxburgh as the place of rendezvous for his army. Every precaution was taken to ensure the success of this expedition, and to prevent any want of provisions, a numerous fleet was fitted out with orders to sail along the coast, and attend the march of the army with proper supplies.

The English forces being assembled at Roxburgh, Edward advanced into the heart of Scotland, at the head of an army that would have rendered all opposition in the open field, a mere species of madness: so that the Scots had no other resource than to fly for safety to the woods and fastnesses of their country. The only opposition Edward met with was from two or three castles; but all the rest opened their gates on the first summons. In this successful manner he led his army from one extremity of Scotland to the other: his vigilance preserved his troops from surprise, and his fleet supplied them with plenty of provisions. Even the intrepid Wallace, though he followed the English armies, found few opportunities for displaying his valour. The conduct of Edward, rendered all opposition abortive, and he soon made a total subduction of the whole country.

A. D. 1305. The conquest of Scotland being now compleatly obtained, Edward directed his attention towards settling the government; and, in order to render the Scots more submissive, conferred on several of the nobility particular marks of his favour. Ten persons, two from each order of bishops, abbots, earls and barons, and two for the community of the gentry, were chosen as deputies to the parliament summoned to meet at London, in order to settle the administration in a manner at once both permanent and advantageous to all parties. The conferences were accordingly opened, and after a consultation of twenty days, the civil establishment of Scotland was fixed in the following manner: "eight justices to be appointed to regulate the affairs of government; and the natives of both kingdoms rendered equally capable of filling the posts of power and trust in Scotland. John, earl of Britany, was appointed guardian of that kingdom, and the officers of chancellor, chamberlain,

berlain, and judges, were filled partly by Engliſh and partly by Scots." It was alſo agreed. "That the Scottiſh laws ſhould be aboliſhed; and that a parliament ſhould be ſummoned, on the guardian's arrival in Scotland, in which the laws of king David ſhould be revived, together with the amendments and additions made to them by ſucceeding kings: that the guardian, with the concurrence of his council, ſhould have full power to make ſuch alterations and amendments, as ſhould ſeem moſt conſiſtent with the good of the kingdom, and the ſafety of the ſubject, without conſulting the king: but if any difficulty ſhould ariſe, which required a more mature deliberation to remove, the whole ſhould be properly ſtated, and ſent by the deputies from the ſtates of Scotland to the Engliſh parliament, where the queſtion ſhould be finally determined."

The government of Scotland being thus eſtabliſhed, and the parliament diſſolved, Edward iſſued out a general pardon to all the Scottiſh nobility, who had carried arms againſt him, the brave Wallace excepted, whom the king inſiſted ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. This diſtinguiſhed warrior ſtill continued in arms at the head of a few followers, and ſtill cheriſhed the expiring ſparks of Scottiſh liberty. But the publication of Edward's pardon cauſed a very conſiderable deſertion in his little party, and he was obliged to wander from one part of the country to another, in order to keep himſelf concealed from the vigilant eyes of his enemies. He continued this wandering courſe of life ſome time; but was at laſt betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his former friend, and ſent priſoner to London. Edward (whoſe natural bravery ſhould have induced him to cheriſh ſimilar qualities in an enemy) was ſo enraged at ſome violences committed by Wallace during the fury of the war, that he ordered him to be tried as a rebel and traitor, and being found guilty and condemned, was carried to Tower-hilll, and there ſuffered death by decapitation.

A. D. 1306. The Scots were greatly irritated at the ſevere puniſhment inflicted on the brave Wallace, and meditated revenge. They were already diſguſted at the many innovations introduced into their country by the ſword of a conqueror, and only wanted a chief of determined reſolution, to aſſiſt them in the execution of their deſign to ſhake off the ſhackles of ſlavery and dependence. Nor was it long before a general of the greateſt merit appeared. Robert Bruce, deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, determined if poſſible, to obtain that ſovereignty, which had been ſo long poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. He well knew that after his ſubmiſſion to Edward, he ſhould never be able to appear with any advantage, while the illuſtrious Wallace (then the idol of the common people) ſurvived; but the death of that chief removed the only obſtacle to his ambition. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce's father for the Scottiſh crown, died alſo about the ſame time. This incident united the two parties, which had before divided Scotland, and greatly encouraged Bruce to attempt the deliverance of his country from the yoke of ſlavery. Bruce was now at the court of Edward, and opened his mind to Cummin then in Scotland, who approved of his deſign, and promiſed his aſſiſtance; but reflecting coolly on the enterprize, he changed his opinion, and informed Edward of Bruce's intentions. The king, however, ſuſpecting the diſcovery of Cummin proceeded from envy, omitted to ſecure the perſon of Bruce, till, by concurring circumſtances, he ſhould be convinced of the truth of his aſſertions.

In the mean time the earl of Glouceſter knowing what had paſſed between Cummin and the king; thought it would be imprudent either to converſe with Bruce, or give him the neceſſary information he could wiſh in a letter; he therefore ſent him, by a ſervant, a pair of gilt ſpurs and a purſe of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed for him. Bruce readily perceived the meaning of this ænigmatical preſent, upon which he immediately quitted the court, and effected his eſcape.

Bruce repaired with all haſte to his native country, and ſoon after his arrival preſented himſelf at a meeting of the Scottiſh nobles, whom he informed of his deſigns, and exhorted to join in the noble attempt, to break the chains of ſervitude, and revenge the inſulted rights of their countrymen. The nobles liſtened to his remonſtrances, and declared their reſolution of ſeconding his patriotic deſigns, and aſſerting the undoubted rights of the nation, againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin, who alone oppoſed this general determination, repreſented the attempt as pregnant with deſtruction; telling them it was madneſs in them to oppoſe the power of the Engliſh, while that power was in the hands of a prince of ſuch uncommon vigour and abilities. He added, that nothing but the moſt rigorous puniſhments could be expected, if they again broke their oaths of fealty, and ſhook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, who plainly foreſaw the probable failure of all his ambitious projects from the oppoſition of Cummin, followed him, on the diſſolution of the aſſembly, to the cloyſters of the Grey Friars, and, giving him a violent blow, ſtruck him to the ground. Sir Thomas Kirkpatric, one of Bruce's friends, who was by, aſked him if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo" replied Bruce. "And is that a mat-" "ter, (cried Kirkpatric) to be left to conjecture? I " will ſecure him." He immediately ran to Cummin, and drawing his dagger, ſtabbed him to the heart.

Bruce had now gone too far to recede. No pardon could be expected from Edward; ſo that both he and his party had no other alternative than either to conquer, or periſh in the attempt. Bruce improved every moment, by haſtening into different parts of the kingdom to rouze his countrymen to arms, and perſuade them to ſhake off the galling yoke of ſlavery. The Scots embraced with ardour the pleaſing hopes of recovering their liberty. Their courage was ſtimulated by oppreſſion, and thy determined to conquer or die. In conſequence of this the Engliſh were again driven out of that kingdom, except thoſe who had taken refuge in places of ſtrength; and Bruce was crowned king of Scotland, with the uſual ceremonies, in the abbey of Scone.

As ſoon as Edward was informed of theſe proceedings, he immediately diſpatched the earl of Pembroke, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, into Scotland, to check the progreſs of the inſurgents. Bruce had collected a conſiderable number of forces, but they were raw and undiſciplined, and conſequently unable to withſtand the attacks of veteran troops. They were encamped at Methven near Perth, without ſuſpecting the approach of an enemy. While they were in this ſtate of ſuppoſed ſecurity, the earl of Pembroke ſuddenly attacked them in the night, and a def-

a desperate battle ensued. Bruce behaved with great magnanimity: he was thrice dismounted from his horse, and as often recovered himself: but all his efforts were in vain, being obliged to submit to superior fortune, and seek his safety by flight. This disaster struck the Scots with terror, and the greater part deserting their leader, Bruce retired to the Western Isles, in hopes some future period would be more propitious to him in the attempt of restoring the antient liberty of his country.

A short time after this defeat, Edward himself arrived in Scotland at the head of a powerful army, and, dividing his forces into two bodies, sent one to the northward under the command of the prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. The prince made himself master of the castle of Kildrummey, and soon after took the countess of Buchan, and the lady Mary Bruce, sister to the fugitive king, prisoners. These two ladies Edward, from a disingenuous motive of revenge, ordered to be shut up in wooden cages, and exposed as public spectacles to the insulting populace; in consequence of which lady Bruce was put into a cage and hung over the battlements of Roxburgh castle, while the countess of Buchan was put into another, and hung over the castle of Berwick. The brothers of Bruce with other Scottish noblemen, were put to death. After the prince had performed this expedition, he met his father at Perth, and they both proceeded with their forces to the city of Carlisle.

A. D. 1307. It was generally supposed that Bruce had fallen among the slain at the battle of Methven: but the English were in this mistaken; for he now appeared at the head of a small body of men, and committed the most dreadful ravages upon those inhabitants who were in the interest of the English. Edward, equally alarmed and exasperated, immediately dispatched the earl of Pembroke at the head of a considerable body of forces, to attack the insurgents in their retreat; but Bruce, who was well acquainted with the nature of the country, led the earl into an ambuscade and totally defeated his forces.

This gleam of success greatly animated the Scots, insomuch that Bruce, soon found his army increased to several thousands, by which he became a dangerous, because a desperate enemy.

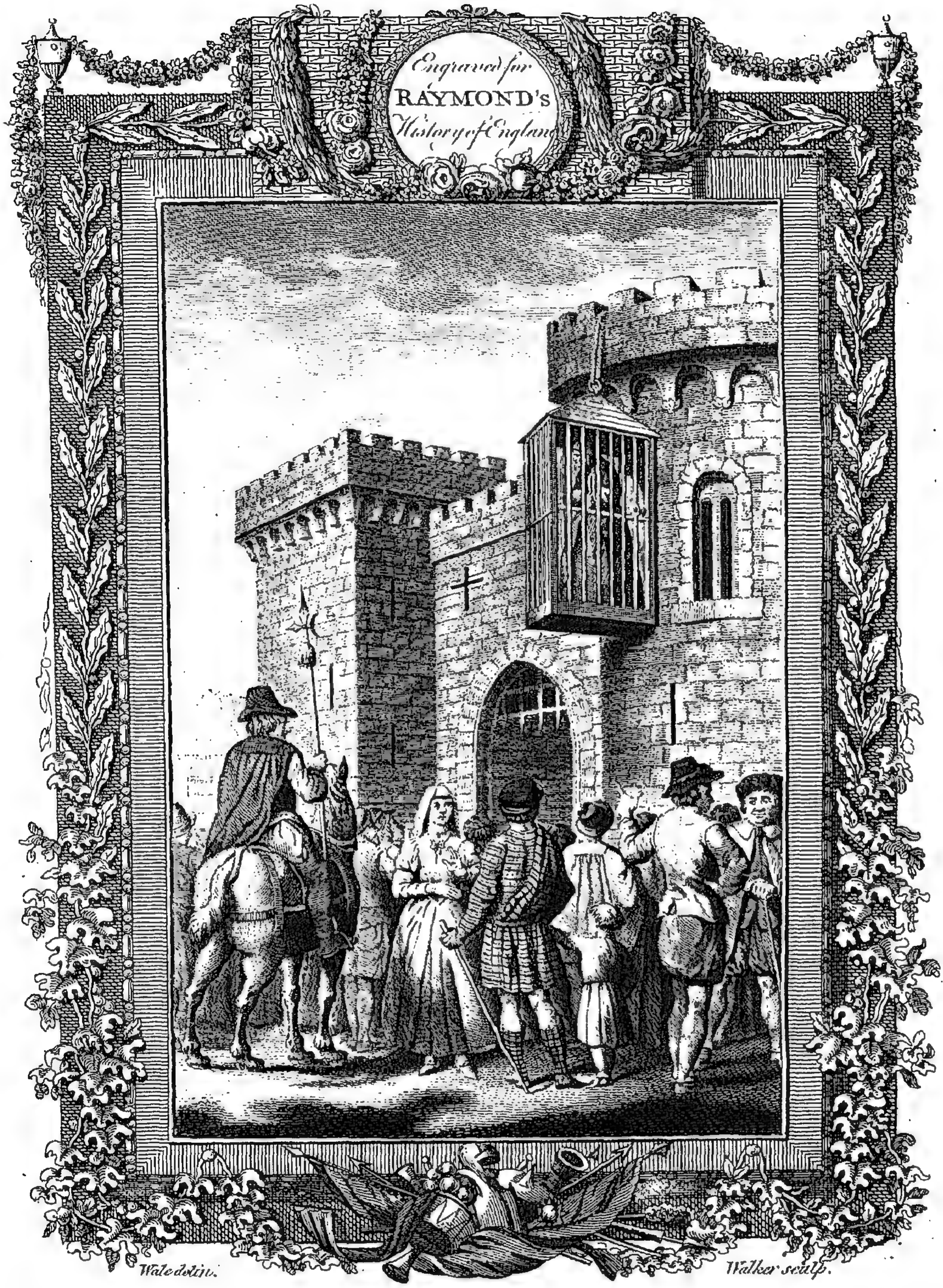
Edward now determined to take a most severe revenge on the Scots; even, if possible, to the very extirpation of their name; but death cut short all his designs, and saved the Scottish nation from the precipice of destruction. The king had, for some time, been afflicted with a dysentery, which greatly weakened him; but notwithstanding this he marched at the head of his forces from Carlisle, on the 3d of July, and proceeded as far as a place called Burgh on the Sands in Cumberland, where his disease having greatly increased from the fatigues of his march, he was obliged to halt. He continued to grow worse and worse every day, till at length, finding his end approaching, he sent for his eldest son prince Edward, and delivered to him the following among other injunctions: 1. That he should pursue the war against Scotland with the utmost vigour, till the whole country was subdued; "Carry my ashes "before you, (said he) the rebels will never be able to support the sight of them." 2. That he should never recall Piers Gaveston *. 3. That he should bury his body in Scotland; and, 4. That he should send his heart to the Holy Land, with 30,000l. sterling, which he had long reserved for the support of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Having given these directions to his eldest son, he called for the rest of his children, and after taking a solemn leave of them, together with the principal officers then about him, soon after paid the debt of nature, on the 7th of July, in the 69th year of his age, and 35th of his reign.

Edward was in person tall and comely, his features regular and elegant, with eyes keen and piercing, and had an aspect that equally commanded reverence and esteem. Though tall he was yet robust, and excelled most of his cotemporaries in bodily strength and activity. His shape was somewhat disproportioned on account of the too great length of his legs, from whence he received the name of Longshanks; but this blemish was attended with some advantage, as it gave him such a seat on horseback, that he could not easily be dismounted.

With respect to the character of this prince, he was certainly possessed of many virtues, though, at the same time, it must be acknowledged he had some vices. His ambition, and a desire of increasing the power of his kingdom, seem to have been his ruling passion. In pursuit of these he scrupled not to pursue measures inconsistent with the liberties of his people. The equity of his enterprize against Scotland has been justly questioned; but when it is remembered, that the union of the two kingdoms must have been attended with the most solid advantages to both, we shall, perhaps, be more inclined to praise than censure his conduct. At the same time, it must be confessed, that if his character should be thought exceptionable in this particular, his country obtained the most permanent advantages from his activity, his courage, his policy and his prudence. He restored authority to the government, maintained the laws against all the efforts of his turbulent barons, and executed justice with severity on all who disturbed the domestic peace of the kingdom. His merit as a legislator was so great, that he is often called, "The English Justinian;" because, in his reign, the laws acquired a great perfection, and justly deserved the name of Establishments. He settled the jurisdiction of the several courts; and he first established the office of justice of peace. His conduct with regard to the clergy was more politic; he saw their power, and was desirous of preventing its increase. Their possessions were unalienable, and perpetually augmenting: he therefore prohibited them from making new acquisitions, by passing the statute of mortmain. But the undertaking that will always render

* Piers Gaveston was a native of Guienne, and possessed few talents; but still he was capable of attracting the regard of weak and inferior minds. His great address in all the genteel exercises constituted his chief merit, while his vices were numerous, and of the most destructive nature. This foreigner obtained the particular favour and friendship of young Edward, over whom he gained such an ascendency, that the prince was totally directed by his maxims, and pursued such of his vices as forbode destruction to the state. This was too obvious to the king, who, to prevent future bad consequences, a short time before his death, banished Gaveston the kingdom, and, with his dying breath, made his son promise never to recall him.



LADY BRUCE, *Sister of Robert Bruce King of Scotland, confined in a* CAGE *& exposed on the Battlements of Roxburgh Castle by order of* EDWARD I. *King of England.*

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

EDWARD II



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Caernarvon Castle April 25. 1284.

Crowned February 25. 1308.

Murdered in Berkeley-Castle, September 21. 1327.

render the name of this great legiſlator dear to the Engliſh, was his eſtabliſhing the Houſe of Commons, by ſummoning two deputies from every borough, conformable to the example of the earl of Leiceſter. By this means the boroughs became of importance in the ſtate; and the mechanics and tradeſmen, whom the feudal ſyſtem had placed in a deſpicable point of light, acquired the honor of being one of the branches of the legiſlature; trade was encouraged, and men of property thought it no diſgrace to engage in the commerce of their country.

Edward had, by his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, four ſons, but Edward, his heir and ſucceſſor, was the only one that ſurvived him. By his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, he had two ſons, namely, Thomas, created earl of Norfolk, and mareſchal of England; and Edmund, who was created earl of Kent by his brother after he aſcended the throne.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Edward I.

A. D.

1275 An earthquake happened in England, which affected moſt parts of the iſland; and, among other accidents, the church of St. Michael on the Hill, near Glaſtonbury in Somerſetſhire, was entirely thrown down.

1276 An act was made whereby all Jews were compelled to wear a badge.

1279 Two hundred and eighty Jews hanged in London, for adulterating the coin of the kingdom.

1288 As the king and queen were together in an apartment of the palace, a flaſh of lightning ſtruck in at the window, and killed two of the ſervants in waiting, but their majeſties received no other injury than being greatly frightened.

1299 The palace at Weſtminſter entirely deſtroyed by an accidental fire.

1300 This year an act was made by the common-council of London for preventing impoſition in the ſale of different kinds of proviſions, when the reſpective articles of poultry to be ſold in the city were fixed at the following prices:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
A fat cock	0	1½	A plover	0	1
Two pullets	0	1½	A ſwan	3	0
A fat capon	0	2½	A crane	3	0
A gooſe	0	4	Two woodcocks	0	1½
A mallard	0	1½	A fat lamb, from Chriſtmas to Shrovetide	0	6
A partridge	0	1½	All the reſt of the year	0	4
A pheaſant	0	4			
A heron	0	6			

CHAP. III.

EDWARD II. ſurnamed of CAERNARVON.

Edward recalls his favourite Gaveſton, and confers on him diſtinguiſhed favours. Goes over to the continent, and marries Iſabella, daughter of Philip of France. Returns to England, and is crowned with his new queen at Weſtminſter. Gaveſton behaves with great inſolence, upon which the barons inſiſt on his being baniſhed the kingdom. The king ſeems to comply, but inſtead of ſending him to a foreign country, appoints him lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Edward is compelled to delegate his power to the nobility, who make an ordinance for the abſolute baniſhment of Gaveſton. The king oppoſes his barons, and reinſtates his favourite. The nobles beſiege Gaveſton in Scarborough Caſtle, and cauſe him to be put to death. An accommodation takes place between the king and his barons. Edward marches againſt the Scots. Battle of Bannock-burn, and conſequences thereof. The king attaches himſelf to the two Spencers, who, at the inſtigation of the barons, are baniſhed the kingdom; but ſoon after recalled by Edward. The barons take up arms, but are ſubdued, and the earl of Lancaſter, with ſome others of the confederates, put to death. Edward concludes a truce with the Scots. The queen, diſguſted at Edward's partiality to the two Spencers, goes over to France with the young prince her ſon, and joins ſome of the Engliſh barons againſt her huſband. She returns to England at the head of a powerful army. The king goes to Briſtol, and from thence embarks for Ireland. The two Spencers put to death. Edward is driven by contrary winds into Wales, where he for ſome time conceals himſelf, but is at length betrayed, taken priſoner, and confined in Kenelworth Caſtle. The queen convokes a parliament in order to dethrone her huſband, which accordingly takes place. Edward delivers up the enſigns of royalty, and the nobility renounce their allegiance, upon which young Edward is appointed ſucceſſor to the throne. The queen and Mortimer conſpire againſt the life of the depoſed king, and cauſe him to be moſt cruelly murdered. Character of Edward II.

A. D. 1307. AT the time of the late king's death, the face of public affairs wore a pleaſing aſpect, and from the mild diſpoſition of his ſucceſſor, the people had formed the moſt pleaſing ideas of enjoying both happineſs and tranquillity under his government. But they ſoon found that all their expectations were built on a chimerical foundation, and that their prince was born to obey minions and favourites, not to govern a great kingdom, and ſupport the authority of that crown and dignity with which he was inveſted.

Scarce had the late king paid the debt of nature, when the impolitic and weak Edward purſued meaſures in direct violation of the promiſes made to his expiring parent. The firſt thing he did was, to recall his deteſted favourite Gaveſton, whom he created earl of Cornwall, and to whom he committed the government of the kingdom. Not ſatisfied with this, he beſtowed upon him as a gift, the very ſum which the deceaſed prince had, by his laſt will, appropriated to the ſupport of the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem, and to crown all, gave him his neice Margaret in marriage.

In the mean time a parliament was ſummoned at Northampton, in order to regulate the late king's funeral, together with the marriage and coronation of young Edward. At this meeting a ſum was granted to defray the expences of theſe ceremonies, and an ordinance was paſſed that the baſe coin, which was ſuppreſſed in the late reign, ſhould be again current throughout the kingdom.

The late king had requeſted that his remains ſhould be depoſited in Scotland, and young Edward ſolemnly promiſed that his requeſt ſhould be complied with; but he made no farther heſitation to violate this promiſe than he had done the other engagements made with his dying parent. The body was removed from Carliſle to Waltham, from whence

whence it was conveyed to Weſtminſter, and there interred with great ſolemnity, on the 18th of October.*

During theſe tranſactions the war in Scotland was totally neglected. Bruce, who had retired to his faſtneſſes on the approach of the late king, now appeared boldly in the plains, fell upon the county of Galloway, and reduced it to his obedience. In conſequence of this the earl of Britany was ſent, at the head of a powerful army, to ſtop his career; upon which Bruce, finding it would be in vain to contend with a force ſo ſuperior to his own, once more retired to the mountains and moraſſes of that country.

A. D. 1308. In the beginning of this year Edward went over to the continent, in order to conſummate his marriage with Iſabella, daughter to Philip of France, to whom he had long been betrothed. Edward landed at Boulogne, where he did homage to Philip for Guienne and the next day his marriage was ſolemnized with great ſplendor. After ſpending ſome days with the kings of France, Navarre, Germany and Sicily, (who were preſent at the marriage) Edward returned with his conſort to England, and on the 25th of February, they were both crowned at Weſtminſter.

Previous to the performance of this ceremony, a circumſtance occurred which greatly alarmed Edward. The barons, exaſperated at the inſolence of Gaveſton, who affected to treat them with contempt, refuſed to aſſiſt at the coronation, unleſs Gaveſton was baniſhed the kingdom. Edward promiſed to redreſs all their grievances provided they would not force him to delay the ceremony; and the barons, in return, agreed to ſuſpend their reſentment. But to what a pitch of indignation was they raiſed, when, on the day of the coronation, they beheld the inſolent favourite, with the moſt faſtidious pomp, carrying the crown of St. Edward before the king. This was an aggravation ſcarce to be borne, and it was with ſome difficulty that one of the barons was prevented from ſacrificing the inſulting minion to his reſentment.

A powerful party was now formed againſt the inſolent Gaveſton, at the head of whom was Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to the king, and at once the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject in the kingdom. The confederate barons continued daily to increaſe till the meeting of the parliament, when they appeared with a numerous armed retinue, inſiſted upon the baniſhment of Gaveſton, and prevailed on the biſhops to threaten him with excommunication if he did not immediately quit the kingdom.

Edward was now ſenſibly alarmed, and thinking all oppoſition would be in vain, ſeemed to comply with their demands; but, inſtead of ſending him to a foreign country, as the barons expected, he appointed him lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and even accompanied him as far as Briſtol on the way to his new government.

A. D. 1309. The weak Edward could not reſt quiet without the company of his favourite; and therefore, fearleſs of the conſequences, recalled Gaveſton, who on his return, reſumed all the ſame inſolence and oſtentation which had procured him the univerſal deteſtation of the people. The barons were now more provoked than ever; and they determined to put it out of the power of the king himſelf to protect ſo hated a minion.

It was not long before an opportunity offered for carrying their deſign into execution. The king ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, when the barons aſſembled, attended by an army of their retainers, and after remonſtrating with Edward on his abſurd attachment to the infamous Gaveſton, compelled him to ſurrender his authority into the hands of twelve perſons, whom they appointed to direct the affairs of government.

A. D. 1311. Under the direction of theſe twelve the kingdom was governed near a year and a half, when a parliament being ſummoned on the 8th of Auguſt, a ſet of ordinances were produced by the barons, which were to have the force of ſtatutes, and which were readily ſigned by the king. Theſe ordinances were twenty-ſix in number, the moſt material of which were the following: That all evil counſellors ſhould be removed from the king's perſon, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his ſiſter the lady de Veſay, who had obtained grants from the king diſhonourable to the dignity and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown. That whereas Piers Gaveſton had given evil council to his majeſty, removed all perſons of integrity and abilities from the public offices, and ſupplied their places with his own weak and worthleſs creatures, embezzled the king's treaſure, impoveriſhed the realm, by obtaining unreaſonable grants, and procuring blank charters, which he filled up according to his own pleaſure, protected robbers, arrogated to himſelf the royal power and dignity, and formed aſſociations inconſiſtent with the laws of the land; he ſhould, for theſe miſdemeanors, abjure the kingdom for ever before the firſt of November; and if found in any part of his majeſty's dominions after that day, ſhould be treated as a public enemy. That the king ſhould not leave the realm, nor declare war againſt any prince or potentate, without the conſent of the barons. That on his quitting the kingdom with their conſent, a guardian of the realm ſhould be appointed by the parliament, who ſhould alſo nominate the chief officers of the ſtate, of the houſhold, of the revenue, and of juſtice, as well as the keepers of foreſts, the eſcheators on both ſides the Trent, and, in a word, all perſons employed under the crown in any part of his Majeſty's dominions. That all perſons in office ſhould take an oath to obſerve theſe

* It was depoſited on the north ſide of the ſhrine of St. Edward, under a tomb of grey marble, with the following inſcription: *Edwardus Primus, Scotorum malleus, hic eſt*, 1307, *Pactum Serva*. That is, "Here lies Edward I. the Scourge of the Scots. 1307. Obſerve Engagements."

It is remarkable that the tomb of this king was opened ſo lately as in the month of May 1774, the cauſe of which was as follows: the Society of Antiquarians having found it mentioned in a book called *Rymer's Fœdera*, that Edward I. ſurnamed Long-ſhanks, was interred in a ſtone coffin, incloſed in a ſtone tomb, in Edward the Confeſſor's Chapel, and that a ſum of money was allowed to preſerve the tomb, determined to gratify their curioſity by endeavouring to diſcover the truth of it. Accordingly they applied to the dean of Weſtminſter for leave to open the tomb, who readily complied with their requeſt. At the time appointed for opening the tomb, the dean, with about fifteen of the ſociety, attended, when, to their great aſtoniſhment, they found the royal corpſe to appear as repreſented by the hiſtorian. He had on a gold and ſilver tiſſue robe, over which was a very handſome one of crimſon velvet, both of them quite freſh; and the jewels that were about him appeared exceeding bright. He had in one hand a ſceptre and dove, and in the other a ſceptre and croſs, which meaſured near five feet in length. The crown on his head being raiſed, the ſkull appeared bare, but the face and hands ſeemed perfectly entire. He meaſured in length ſix feet two inches.

theſe ordinances; and that one biſhop, two earls and as many barons, ſhould be choſen in every parliament, to receive the complaints againſt the king's miniſters, and others who ſhould violate theſe ordinances, and to puniſh offenders at diſcretion.

Though Edward had ſigned theſe ordinances with great readineſs, yet he ſecretly determined not to obſerve them. No ſooner was the parliament diſſolved, than he repaired to York, and iſſued out a proclamation, repealing the article relative to the exile of Piers Gaveſton, "as being unjuſt, and contrary to the oath taken by the king at his coronation." In conſequence of this Gaveſton was reinſtated, in direct oppoſition to the very article which had been ſigned by the king for his baniſhment.

A. D. 1312. Exaſperated at the conduct of Edward, and dreading the reſentment of the powerful minion, the barons flew to arms, and beſieged Gaveſton in Scarborough-caſtle. The king uſed his utmoſt efforts to raiſe an army for the relief of his favourite; but he was held in ſuch univerſal deteſtation, that the people refuſed joining the royal ſtandard. In the mean time Gaveſton, ſenſible of the bad condition of his garriſon and the want of proviſions, thought proper to capitulate. In conſequence of this it was agreed that he ſhould ſurrender himſelf a priſoner for two months, during which time means ſhould be uſed for bringing about an accommodation; but if the terms propoſed by the barons ſhould not be accepted, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he ſurrendered. The earl of Pembroke, being now maſter of the perſon of the favourite, conducted him to the caſtle of Dedington, near Banbury, where he left him (probably by conſent of the reſt of the barons) under pretence of having ſome buſineſs of importance to diſcharge in London. But before he returned, Gaveſton was carried off by the earl of Warwick, who, in conjunction with the earls of Lancaſter, Arundel and Hereford, cauſed him to be beheaded by the hands of the common executioner.

As ſoon as Edward was informed of the death of his favourite, he vowed revenge againſt the perpetrators of ſo unjuſtifiable and inhuman an act; and even threatened to exterminate the whole body of his nobles, whom he conſidered as being acceſſary to the horrid deed. But, on cool reflection, he altered his mind, and agreed to come to terms of accommodation with them on condition of their publickly aſking him pardon on their knees. This was readily conſented to, and performed, and with theſe vain appearances of exterior ſubmiſſion the king was ſo well pleaſed, that he forgave them their paſt offences, which, with his favourite Gaveſton, were now buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1314. The attention of Edward was now directed towards the Scots, who, taking advantage of the diſputes between the king and his barons, had made inroads into the northern counties, and committed the moſt horrid ravages on the innocent inhabitants. Edward, determined to ſuppreſs theſe violences, raiſed a powerful army, at the head of whom he marched with all expedition into the north. The Scottiſh forces under the command of Bruce were very inferior in numbers to thoſe of Edward, in conſequence of which he endeavoured to ſupply by art what was wanting in ſtrength. Perſuaded that this important conteſt was to decide the fate of his kingdom, he choſe the field of battle with the utmoſt prudence, and made the moſt judicious preparations he could project for receiving the Engliſh. He poſted himſelf at a place called Bannock-burn, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, having on his right flank an hill, and on his left a moraſs. In the front of his camp ran a ſmall rivulet, the banks of which, as well as the bed of the ſtream, he filled with ſharp ſtakes; and cauſed deep pits to be dug a little beyond the oppoſite bank, into which ſharp ſtakes were alſo ſtuck, and the whole covered over with turf. The van of the Engliſh army reached the neighbourhood of the Scottiſh camp in the evening of the twenty-fourth of June, and a ſmart ſkirmiſh enſued between two parties of cavalry. The Engliſh were led by Henry de Bohun, a younger brother to the earl of Hereford, and the Scots by Bruce in perſon. The conteſt was very bloody; but at laſt decided in favour of the Scots, by the valour of Bruce, who rode up to Bohun, and cleaving his head with a battle-axe, in ſight of both armies, he fell dead to the ground.

The Engliſh were ſo diſpirited at the loſs of their leader, that they retreated to the main army, and night coming on the general attack was poſtponed till the next morning, when the Engliſh troops prepared for the dreadful conflict. The wings, compoſed of cavalry, were commanded by the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, and the king himſelf led the center, or main body. Bruce drew up his forces, which conſiſted chiefly of foot, in three lines, with a body of reſerve. The center was commanded by himſelf, the right wing by his brother Edward, the left by Randolph, and the body of reſerve by Sir James Douglas.

Thus were preparations made on each ſide for coming to action, but juſt as both parties were ready to engage, a diſpute took place between the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, with regard to beginning the attack upon the enemy. The firſt claimed it by cuſtom and the latter as conſtable of England. The earl of Glouceſter, therefore, (determined not to ſubmit to his opponent) broke the rank, and, impelled by all the ardour of youth, ruſhed on to the attack, and fell among the covered pits, by which means his whole body of forces was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and himſelf fell a victim to his own temerity.

This imprudent ſally of the earl of Glouceſter proved fatal to the Engliſh army. Several of the pits made by the Scots had been diſcovered during the ſkirmiſh the preceding evening; and the king, in order to prevent a ſimilar misfortune, gave orders for a body of infantry to take a circuit round the moraſs, and attack the main body of the Scottiſh army in flank; and during the confuſion it was natural to expect from ſo ſudden an attack, the cavalry were to have forced the paſſage of the rivulet, and fallen ſword in hand on the embarraſſed enemy.

The fate of Glouceſter was hardly determined, when the body of infantry, having made the preſcribed circuit, fell with the utmoſt fury on the wing commanded by Randolph, and galled them ſo ſeverely with repeated ſhowers of arrows, that they were thrown into diſorder. Sir James Douglas perceived the confuſion, and fell ſuddenly upon the rear of the Engliſh with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were routed with great ſlaughter. The main body of the Engliſh, however, marched up with great reſolution to attack the enemy; when they obſerved on the heights towards their left the appearance of another army marching leiſurely to ſurround them. This was nothing more than a

number of waggoners and ſumpter boys, whom Bruce had ſupplied with military ſtandards, which at a diſtance gave them the appearance of a numerous body of forces. The Engliſh, not diſcovering the deception, were ſtruck with a panic, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation, in conſequence of which Bruce obtained a complete victory. The booty acquired by the Scots was prodigious; beſides which they took ſeveral perſons of diſtinction priſoners, who paid dearly for their ranſom. Edward himſelf had ſcarce time to reach Dunbar caſtle, before Sir James Douglas appeared at the head of four hundred horſe, hoping to intercept him if he attempted to eſcape to Berwick by land; but the king eluded his vigilance by going to that town by water.

The victorious Bruce diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his humanity and generoſity after having conquered his enemies as he had done in the battle by his bravery and prudence. He treated all his priſoners with the greateſt tenderneſs; ſent the bodies of the earl of Glouceſter and lord Clifford to the Engliſh monarch at Berwick; diſmiſſed ſome perſons, for whom he had formerly a particular regard, without ranſom; exchanged the earl of Hereford, and other noblemen, for his wife, daughter and ſiſter, the earl of Mar, and the biſhop of Glaſgow, who had remained priſoners ever ſince the battle of Methven; and, laſtly, cauſed the dead bodies left on the field of battle to be decently interred.

A. D. 1315. The defeat of the king's forces at the battle of Bannock-burn gave no concern to the barons, who, on the contrary, founded hopes of their own future grandeur from that diſaſtrous event. No ſooner did the king return, than they inſiſted on a renewal of their ordinances, and the earl of Lancaſter was placed at the head of the miniſtry.

The weak and infatuated Edward, ſenſible of his own incapacity for holding the reins of government, now attached himſelf to a new favourite. This was Hugh Deſpenſer, or Spencer, a young man of high rank, deſcended from a noble family, and an Engliſhman by birth. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs neceſſary to engage the affections of Edward; but wanted that prudence and moderation which could alone have ſupported him in the pre-eminence to which he was advanced. Had the oppoſition of the barons, however, been founded on virtue, and directed only to ſupport the honour of their country, theſe defects would have been conſidered as abundantly ſupplied by the talents and experience of the father of this new favourite, and who had alſo acquired a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration. He was a nobleman venerable for his age, and during his whole life had been reſpected for his wiſdom, valour and intrepidity. But envy now obſcured all his merits; his paſt ſervices were forgotten; and he was, together with his ſon, devoted to deſtruction.

A. D. 1316. The turbulent barons firſt indicated their diſſatisfaction at the king's new favourites by abſenting themſelves from parliament; but this not producing the deſired effect, they determined to have recourſe to more powerful methods for completing their deſigns. It was not long before an opportunity offered, which gave them a pretence for attacking the miniſters. Edward, among other favours beſtowed on the younger Spencer, gave him a barony, which it was pretended had reverted to the crown. This tranſaction was conſidered by the barons as a proper ſubject to work on, the conſequence of which was that the whole kingdom was thrown into a general ſtate of commotion. Theſe diſturbances continued near five years, when the earl of Lancaſter, and ſeveral other barons, flew to arms, and peremptorily demanded the baniſhment of the two Spencers. The king refuſed to comply; upon which they marched to London, and preſented to the parliament an accuſation againſt the favourites. In conſequence of this they were both condemned to baniſhment, and, ſubmitting to their ſentence, all diſturbances ſeemed happily to ſubſide.

A. D. 1321. In the beginning of this year a circumſtance happened which rouſed Edward from his natural ſtate of indolence. The queen having occaſion to paſs by the caſtle of Leeds belonging to lord Badleſmere, one of the confederate barons diſpatched ſome of her ſervants to deſire a night's lodging in the caſtle; upon which the requeſt was not only denied, but they were even refuſed admittance, and ſome of them killed by the ſervants of the governor. This outrageous behaviour was reſented by all parties, and the king levying an army, made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, and put the governor, with ſeveral of the garriſon to death. The conduct of the king on this occaſion was approved even by the turbulent barons themſelves; in conſequence of which Edward (who was too apt to be over elated at the moſt trifling ſucceſs) thought it a proper opportunity of attempting the recovery of his prerogative. He accordingly ventured to recall the two Spencers, whoſe ſentence he declared to be illegal and unjuſt, as being paſſed without the conſent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the barons aſſembled in parliament. Adding, "that he was bound by the Great Charter to receive the petitions of the Spencers, becauſe he was obliged to do juſtice to all his ſubjects."

A. D. 1322. The aſſociated barons were highly enraged at this proceeding of Edward, and, being ſtill in arms, determined to preſerve their power by the force of the ſword; in conſequence of which the king marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army, and continued his rout as far as the borders of Wales. But the forces of the barons were not ſufficient to meet thoſe of the king in the open field. They therefore had recourſe to the Scottiſh monarch, with whom they concluded a treaty, promiſing to recognize his title to the crown of Scotland; and that prince in return, ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with a body of forces.

The earl of Lancaſter, encouraged by the hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance from Scotland, and joined by the earl of Hereford at the head of his retainers, determined to oppoſe the king's forces, and accordingly poſted himſelf at Burton upon Trent, in order to diſpute the paſſage of that river. But no ſooner did the royal army appear than Lancaſter was intimidated, and retreated towards Borough-bridge, in order, if poſſible, to reach the borders of Scotland. Unfortunately for the earl, Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carliſle, ſuſpecting his deſign, poſted himſelf, at the head of a body of troops, to oppoſe his paſſage over a ſtream, ſo that Lancaſter found himſelf reduced to the wretched alternative of venturing an engagement, or ſurrendering himſelf a priſoner to Harcla. He choſe the former; but the earl of Hereford being ſlain in the firſt attack, the barons troops fled

with

with great precipitation, and Lancaſter (with ſeveral of the principal barons) was taken priſoner. Harcla conducted the earl to the king at Pomfret, where he was tried by a court martial, and being condemned to death, was carried in an ignominious manner to an eminence in the neighbourhood, and there beheaded. Thus fell Thomas earl of Lancaſter, a prince of the blood, and one of the moſt powerful barons ever known in England; but whoſe turbulent temper hurried him into meaſures at once ſubverſive to the peace of ſociety, and the welfare of his country.

The earl of Lancaſter was not the only perſon who ſuffered death on this occaſion; about twenty other barons being afterwards tried and executed, ſome of whom were hanged, and others beheaded. Many made their eſcape into France, and others were thrown into priſon. Harcla was rewarded for his ſervices with a large eſtate and the earldom of Carliſle. But he did not long enjoy the royal bounty; for entering into a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Scotland, he paid the forfeit of his life as an atonement for his perfidy.

A. D. 1323. Elated with the ſucceſs of Edward over his turbulent barons, and giddy with power, the younger Spencer committed ſuch acts of violence as ſtill farther inflamed the hatred of the public againſt him. Freſh complaints were every day made to the king on his conduct; and Edward, deſpairing of making a ſucceſsful campaign againſt Scotland, while the nation was divided, concluded a truce with the Scottiſh monarch for thirteen years. By the articles of this truce it was agreed, that a free commerce ſhould be open between the two kingdoms: that no new caſtles ſhould be built, nor any old fortreſſes repaired: and, laſtly, that the truce ſhould remain in force, though the king of England, or lord Robert Bruce, ſhould die in the interim.

A. D. 1324. But though Edward had totally ſubdued his turbulent barons, and made a peace with the Scots, he did not remain long in a ſtate of quietude. Freſh troubles aroſe, and from a quarter he little expected. Charles the Fair of France (ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip) ſummoned Edward to do him homage for his province of Guienne. In conſequence of this the younger Spencer, who ſaw the conſequences that might attend his own authority during the king's abſence, would not conſent to his leaving the kingdom. The parliament therefore was conſulted, and it was the unanimous opinion of the whole aſſembly, that it was improper for the king to go abroad in perſon, but that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the court of France, requeſting that the homage might be delayed till a more convenient opportunity. This was accordingly done; but Charles refuſed to poſtpone the ceremony and ſent a body of forces to attack Guienne.

It was now thought proper that queen Iſabella ſhould go to her brother's court, in order, if poſſible, to bring about an accommodation. She accordingly repaired thither with all expedition, and uſed her utmoſt influence to execute the buſineſs on which ſhe was ſent; but all her endeavours proved fruitleſs: Charles was peremptory, and inſiſted that Edward ſhould repair to Paris in perſon to perform his homage.

During the contention between Charles and Edward, queen Iſabella, who continued at her brother's court, projected a ſcheme for removing all difficulties, and at the ſame time putting it in her power to be amply revenged on the younger Spencer from whom ſhe had received ſome diſtinguiſhed inſults, and on that account long beheld him with the utmoſt deteſtation. She ſent meſſengers over to Edward, propoſing that he ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Guienne to his ſon, and that the prince ſhould be ſent to Paris to perform the duty of a vaſſal.

Edward and Spencer highly approved of the queen's propoſal, in conſequence of which the young prince was immediately ſent to the French court. But the king and his favourite ſoon perceived the blunder they had made, in truſting the perſon of the heir apparent to the crown in the hands of an ambitious woman, and at the court of a foreign monarch.

Iſabella, on her arrival in France, had found a great number of fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian party; and their common hatred to the younger Spencer ſoon cemented a ſecret friendſhip between them. Among the reſt was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron of the Welſh marches, and one of the leaders of the late rebellion. This young noblemen ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the affections of the queen, who made no heſitation at ſacrificing to a vicious paſſion all the ſentiments of honour and fidelity ſhe owed to her huſband. It was in vain that Edward ordered her to return to England: he ſent repeated meſſengers to her for this purpoſe, but ſhe ſent for anſwer that ſhe was reſolved to continue in France, till the two Spencers ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1325. Finding all lenient meaſures ineffectual, and that no arguments, however perſuaſive, would bring Iſabella to a ſenſe of her duty, Edward had recourſe to the pope, who wrote a very preſſing letter to the king of France, inſiſting, on pain of excommunication, that the queen of England ſhould be ſent back to her huſband. Charles was ſo affected at this menace of the pontiff, together with the ſhameful connection between Mortimer and his ſiſter, that he determined to ſupport her no longer. He accordingly ſhewed her the pope's letter, telling her he could not, either with honour or ſafety to himſelf, afford her protection, and that ſhe muſt immediately quit his dominions.

The artful Iſabella had, for ſome time, been apprehenſive of this event, and therefore took proper care to guard againſt its conſequences. She had affianced her ſon, the prince of Wales, to the daughter of William, count of Hainault and Holland; who, in return, promiſed her an aſylum in his dominions, and to aſſiſt her with a body of troops againſt her enemies. She therefore retired into Hainault, where ſhe was received with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and reſpect.

A. D. 1326. Every method was now uſed for raiſing an army to attend the queen and the young prince on an expedition to England; and about 3000 men in arms were collected for the purpoſe, under the command of John de Hainault, the count's brother. Iſabella however, did not build her hopes of ſucceſs on the number and valor of her troops in the intended invaſion of her huſband's dominions, but in the connections ſhe had formed with the diſcontented nobles. All the old Lancaſtrian faction were ready to join her; and the families of about twenty of the nobility, who had ſuffered with the late earl of Lancaſter, were the more zealous in their attachment, as they hoped, in conſequence of her ſucceſs, to be reſtored to the eſtates which had been forfeited in conſequence of the late rebellion. At the ſame time many of the principal

people

people in England had joined the queen's party. The king's brothers, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with other prelates, and ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons, approved of her meaſures; ſo that nothing was wanting but the appearance of the queen and prince, at the head of their foreign troops, to turn the whole force of the tempeſt againſt the unfortunate Edward.

The baſe and perfidious Iſabella, having collected her forces at Dort, embarked with her ſon for England, and landed in Suffolk on the twenty-fourth of September. She was immediately joined by the princes of the blood, with other factious nobles; and, to give her hoſtile appearance a favourable aſpect, iſſued out a proclamation, declaring that the ſole motive of her proceedings was, to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldock, their creature. This proclamation had the deſired effect; the ardour of the Engliſh was aſtoniſhing, and they flocked from all quarters to the queen's ſtandard.

Edward, who was then in London, applied to the citizens for aſſiſtance againſt the invaders of his country; but ſoon perceived that no reliance could be placed on them. He therefore ſet out for the weſtern parts of England, hoping that his ſubjects in that quarter of the kingdom would commiſerate majeſty in diſtreſs, and ſupport him againſt the unnatural rebellion of an implacable woman. But he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken: the people were unwilling to come to his ſtandard, and he formed the reſolution of paſſing over to Ireland, in hopes of meeting with that aſſiſtance there which was refuſed him in England.

No ſooner had Edward left London than the populace committed the moſt dreadful diſorders. They plundered the houſes and murdered the perſons of all who were obnoxious to them. Even the acknowledged virtues of the biſhop of Exeter could not protect him from their rage. He was dragged, like a felon, to the great croſs of Cheapſide, where his head was ſevered from his body. Moſt of the other cities followed the example of the capital, and, taking advantage of the national confuſion, committed every ſpecies of outrage with wantonneſs and impunity.

As ſoon as the queen was informed of the flight of Edward, ſhe diſpatched the earl of Kent, with John de Hainault, at the head of his mercenaries, in purſuit of him. They accordingly marched as far as Briſtol, but on their arrival at that city found the king had quitted it ſome days, leaving the elder Spencer in poſſeſſion of the caſtle. The earl of Kent immediately inveſted the place, and Spencer would certainly have defended himſelf to the laſt extremity had the garriſon been faithful to him; but they were infected with the diſloyalty of the times, mutinied againſt their commander, and delivered him up to the enemy. No reſpect was paid to this venerable old man, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year. All his former ſervices were forgot; and though they could alledge nothing againſt him but his loyalty to his maſter, he was condemned to death by the rebellious barons, and hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor.

In the mean time the king, purſuant to his reſolution, had embarked for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, endeavoured to conceal himſelf among the mountains of Wales. Iſabella was alarmed when ſhe heard her huſband was ſtill in his own dominions. She was fearful that his diſtreſſed ſituation might turn the tide of popular favour againſt her party; and it was therefore determined to ſeize the royal perſon. The difficulty of diſcovering his retreat was ſoon removed, by bribing the Welſh; and the king was taken at Caerfilly, in Glamorganſhire, with the younger Spencer, Baldock the chancellor, and a few domeſtics; all the reſt of his courtiers having deſerted him in his misfortunes. The king was committed to the care of the earl of Lancaſter, and confined in Kenelworth caſtle. The younger Spencer, without any form of trial, was executed, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity and inſult. Baldock, the chancellor, being a prieſt, could not, with ſafety, be ſo ſuddenly and illegally diſpatched. He was therefore conducted to London, and aſſaulted by the populace, who uſed him with the utmoſt cruelty, and threw him into Newgate, where he ſoon after expired.

Iſabella was now inveſted with the actual government of the nation; and the firſt uſe ſhe made of it was, to convoke, in the name of her huſband, a parliament, who were to dethrone him, and which was appointed to aſſemble on the 7th of January following. This buſineſs being done, ſhe went to keep her Chriſtmas at Wallingford caſtle, where, in the adulterous embraces of the infamous Mortimer, ſhe forgot every call of nature; loſt every ſenſe of ſhame; and ſeemed to forget that there exiſted ſuch a perſon as the then wretched Edward.

A. D. 1327. The parliament, according to appointment, met on the 7th of January; and on the 10th an impeachment was exhibited againſt the king; in which, though it was drawn by his moſt inveterate enemies, nothing but his confined genius or his misfortunes were alledged againſt him; malice itſelf not being able to find any particular crime that could be alledged againſt him. But this was of little weight in an aſſembly convoked for his deſtruction. The ſpirit of faction had annihilated juſtice. The impeachment being read in the preſence of the prince, ſeated on the throne, it was reſolved that young Edward ſhould aſſume the reins of government, and that Edward II. ſhould no longer be ſtiled king of England, but only Edward of Caernarvon.

This buſineſs being done, commiſſioners were appointed for carrying to Edward the reſolution of the parliament with regard to his depoſition. This deputation conſiſted of three biſhops, three earls, two abbots, and two knights for each county, together with Sir William Truſſel, one of the judges, who was nominated the nation's particular procurator. Theſe were inſtructed to uſe every argument they could deviſe to prevail upon Edward to make a voluntary reſignation of that power they were determined he ſhould no longer hold.

The biſhops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of the king's moſt inveterate enemies, were ſent to converſe with him before the commiſſioners arrived, in order to prepare him for the approaching change of his condition. Edward was ſufficiently convinced that his fate was determined when theſe two prelates appeared; and the manner in which they diſcharged their commiſſion was perfectly ſimilar to the reſt of their conduct. Inſtead of pouring the balm of conſolation into the breaſt of wounded royalty, they aggravated the pungent ſmart by a thouſand malicious inſinuations: and when they perceived Edward made the leaſt ſtruggle to maintain his dignity, by refuſing to confer with the deputies; they told him, "that if he continued obſtinate in refuſing to reſign, the parliament would involve his whole family in his guilt, exclude all his

his children from the ſucceſſion, and place another perſon on the throne of his anceſtors."

This menace awakened all the fondneſs of a father in the ſoul of the unfortunate Edward: he pauſed, dropped a tear to the remembrance of his fallen ſtate; conſented to admit the deputies to an audience, and retired to his chamber. As ſoon as he could collect his ſpirits, he entered the chamber of audience dreſſed in a mourning habit; but after the articles of impeachment againſt him were read, and the commiſſioners had demanded his immediate reſignation, he was unable to ſtand the ſhock; his ſpirits forſook him, and he had fallen to the ground, had not the biſhop of Lincoln ſupported him in this dreadful moment of conflicting paſſions. As ſoon as he recovered, he proceeded to the ceremony of reſignation, by delivering, with his own hands, to the commiſſioners, the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpoſe. And Sir William Truſſel renounced, in the name of the parliament and people, all future allegiance.

This melancholy ceremony being finiſhed, the commiſſioners returned to London, and young Edward was placed on his father's throne. But it was impoſſible to prevent theſe atrocious acts of violence from opening the eyes of a deluded people. The cruelty, perfidy and infidelity of the queen, joined to her impudent hypocriſy, in publickly bewailing with tears the misfortunes of the king, who owed them all to her execrable conduct, could not fail of exciting the indignation of the Engliſh. Her infamous commerce with Mortimer increaſed the public odium, and ſhe was looked upon with deteſtation by every friend to truth, virtue and fidelity.

The current of popular favour was now changed: the queen was conſidered as an object of horror, while the fate of the unfortunate Edward was univerſally deplored. A ſcene of majeſty in diſtreſs attracted the pity, compaſſion, and tears of the people. Even the earl of Lancaſter himſelf was touched with theſe generous ſentiments, and treated his royal priſoner with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect.

But the meaſure of Iſabella's wickedneſs was not yet full. It was not ſufficient to have dethroned and impriſoned her huſband, but ſhe alſo determined that his life ſhould fall a ſacrifice to her ſafety. Both ſhe and Mortimer well knew what would be the conſequence if Edward ſhould be again placed in the ſeat of power, and a reſolution was formed to add to their catalogue of crimes the guilt of murder. They therefore removed him from Kenelworth to Berkley-caſtle in Glouceſterſhire, where he was committed to the care of Sir John Gournay, and John de Maltravers, by whom he was alternately guarded.

Theſe two inhuman wretches treated the unfortunate king with every inſtance of indignity and cruelty they could invent. They hurried him about from one caſtle to another in order to elude the endeavours of his friends for his releaſe, and harraſſed him with every weight of grief they could poſſibly impoſe. Having by theſe means eluded the reſearches, and defeated the attempts of his friends, they brought him back to Berkeley-Caſtle, where they inflicted on him the moſt ſevere cruelties. But the natural ſtrength of Edward's conſtitution ſupported him under all theſe afflictions, till at length an order* was ſent from the queen and Mortimer to put an end to his life.

No ſooner did the two execrable monſters in human ſhape receive the horrid order, than they immediately proceeded to carry it into execution. They accordingly entered the king's apartment while he was aſleep, and ordering ſeveral ruffians, who attended them, to hold him faſt down on the bed, they thruſt a red-hot iron into his body, through a horn tube, in order to prevent any external marks of violence on his perſon; and in this manner ſoon put a period to his exiſtence.

The next day the cruel perpetrators of this horrid deed, willing to avoid ſuſpicion, and depending on the precautions they had taken, expoſed the body to the inſpection of the public; but though no wound or blemiſh appeared on any part of the body, yet the muſcles of his face were ſo diſtorted, as plainly to ſhew the dreadful agonies he had undergone; and many people, at a conſiderable diſtance heard the cries and groans he uttered, while undergoing thoſe excruciating torments which produced his death. The body, however, was interred (without any enquiry being made into the cauſe of the king's deceaſe) in the abbey of St. Peter at Glouceſter; but the regicides, inſtead of procuring thoſe rewards they expected for their diabolical cruelty, were obliged to conſult their own ſafety by flight.

Thus fell, by the hands of inhuman aſſaſſins, Edward II. king of England, in the 43d year of his age, and 20th of his reign.

Though this unfortunate monarch experienced the fate of a tyrant, yet, perhaps, it will be difficult to find, in the annals of hiſtory, a prince more innocent or more inoffenſive. But he was wholly diſqualified for the arduous taſk of government; and the troubles which fell on himſelf, and diſturbed the peace of the kingdom, during the greater part of his reign, aroſe from his making himſelf a dupe to baſe and ambitious miniſters. In ſhort, Edward was more weak than wicked, and fully atoned for the errors of his conduct by the length and ſeverity of his afflictions.

Edward II. left four children, namely, Edward, his eldeſt ſon, and ſucceſſor on the throne: John, afterwards created earl of Cornwall, who died at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to Edward Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Gueldres.

Remark-

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* This order was contained in a letter directed to his keepers, Maltravers and Gournay, and couched in ſuch artful and ambiguous terms, that though the perſons to whom it was directed ſhould take it in the literal ſenſe, yet it furniſhed them with an opportunity of exculpating themſelves, in caſe they ſhould be called to account for the horrid deed. The words contained in the letter were theſe:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt:

The tranſlation of which is as follows:

To ſhed king Edward's blood
Refuſe to fear I count it good.

Theſe fallacious and artful lines admit of either a good or bad, a peaceable or ſanguinary conſtruction; for if a comma is placed after the Latin word *nolite*, or the Engliſh word *refuſe*, the lines imply the criminality of entertaining any idea of the king's death; but if on the contrary the comma is placed after the Latin word *timere*, or the Engliſh word *fear*, the command to commit the murder appears poſitive.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Edward II.

A. D.

1315 A dreadful ſickneſs and famine happened in England, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

1320 The greateſt earthquake happened that had ever been known in England, by which many buildings, in different parts of the kingdom were levelled with the ground.

During this reign the order of the Knights Templars was diſſolved, by pope Clement V. who was inſtigated thereto by the cruel and vindictive diſpoſition of Philip the Fair, king of France. An ample teſtimony of the great piety and morals of theſe people was ſent from England to the pope; but without producing any good effect. The order was annihilated, the knights diſtributed into ſeveral convents, and their poſſeſſions transferred to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem.

BOOK IX.

From the Acceſſion of Edward III. to the Death of Henry IV.

CHAP. I.

EDWARD III. ſurnamed of WINDSOR.

Acceſſion and coronation of Edward III. War with Scotland. Edward is married to Philippa of Hainault. The earl of Kent, brother to the late king, beheaded. Edward takes the reins of government into his own hands. The infamous Mortimer tried, condemned and hanged. Prudent adminiſtration of Edward. Wars between the Engliſh and the Scots. David dethroned, and Baliol crowned king of Scotland. Edward enters into a treaty with Baliol, and aſſiſts him in reducing the Scots. Diſputes relative to the ſucceſſion to the crown of France. Edward embarks for the continent with a powerful army. Engages and defeats the French fleet. Siege of Tournay. Edward ſends a challenge to Philip of France. A ceſſation of hoſtilities takes place, and the king returns to England. Edward again goes over to the continent, and concludes a truce with the French monarch for three years. Farther wars with France. Tragical death of Jacob Van Ardevelt. The king goes again to the continent at the head of a powerful army. The famous battle of Creſſy. The Scots defeated, and David their king taken priſoner. Edward makes himſelf maſter of Calais. Inſtitution of the Order of the Garter. Battle of Poictiers. Remarkable condeſcenſion in the Prince of Wales (commonly called the Black Prince) to the French king, whoſe army was defeated, and himſelf made priſoner. A truce with France. The Black Prince makes his public entry into London, with his royal priſoner the king of France. David king of Scotland ſet at liberty. Edward again invades France, and after taking various places, agrees to a peace, and the French monarch is ſet at liberty. Edward the Black Prince marries Joan of Kent, and takes up his reſidence at Bourdeaux. The king of France returns to England and dies in the palace of the Savoy. Edward the Black Prince eſpouſes the cauſe of Peter of Caſtile, and reſtores him to his kingdom. Freſh wars with France. Edward on the death of his queen, attaches himſelf to a concubine named Alice Pearce. Richard, ſon to the Black Prince, declared heir to the crown, ſoon after which his father pays the debt of nature. Death and character of Edward III.

THE late king ſubmitted to the neceſſity of reſigning the enſigns of royalty on the 20th of January, which was no ſooner made known to the perfidious Iſabella and her infamous paramour, than they immediately cauſed young Edward to be proclaimed king, and on the 26th of the ſame month he was crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Young Edward poſſeſſed by nature all thoſe ſhining qualities which predict the glory of a reign, and the happineſs of a ſtate. But at the time he was advanced to that ſeat of power from which his father had been removed by the artifices of an ambitious woman, he was only fourteen years of age, and conſequently incapable of guiding the helm of government. A council of regency (conſiſting of twelve perſons, viz. five prelates and ſeven lay peers) was therefore appointed by the parliament to direct the adminiſtration of public affairs; and the earl of Lancaſter was choſen guardian and protector of the young king during his minority.

A. D. 1327. A truce had been concluded between the late king of England and Robert Bruce king of Scotland, but from the unſettled ſtate of the nation in conſequence of the depoſition of the former, Bruce made an attempt upon the caſtle of Norham. The governor, however, Sir Robert Manners, having received intelligence of his deſign, ſallied out with ſuch fury on the Scottiſh forces, that they were put to flight with great ſlaughter, and obliged to retire with precipitation into their own country. But this did not intimidate Bruce, who ſoon after collected an army of ten thouſand men, which he placed under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, with a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the northern counties of England.

Theſe were diſagreeable circumſtances to the Engliſh miniſtry, who were determined not to ſuffer ſuch inſults to paſs with impunity. Young Edward expreſſed the moſt earneſt deſire of leading his troops againſt the enemy, and chaſtiſing them for their inſolence. In conſequence of which, no objection being made to his requeſt, he marched to the northward at the head of 60,000 men, and found

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EDWARD III.



Wale delin.

Grignion sculp.

Born at Windsor November 15. 1312. | *Crowned January 26. 1327.* | *Died at Richmond June 21. 1377.*

found the enemy encamped on the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which was the river Were. This was a ſituation ſo very advantageous to the Scots, that Edward could not bring them to an engagement, in conſequence of which he diſpatched a meſſenger, challenging them to meet him in the open field, and terminate the diſpute by a deciſive battle. Douglas, highly exaſperated at this challenge, was deſirous of accepting it; but the motion was over-ruled by Murray, who thought ſuch a meaſure would be incompatible with their then ſtate of ſecurity.

Douglas uſed all the force of argument he could in order to bring on a general engagement with the Engliſh; but this proving ineffectual, he reſolved no longer to remain idle in his camp. He accordingly put himſelf at the head of two hundred horſe, paſſed the river in the night, and entering the Engliſh camp unperceived, advanced as far as the royal tent, with a deſign to ſurprize and carry off the king. But the attempt was rendered abortive by ſome of Edward's ſervants, who awaking in the critical moment, made a noble reſiſtance, and ſacrificed their lives in his defence. The king himſelf cut his way through the Scots, who had entered his camp, and eſcaped; and the Engliſh falling with great violence on the enemy, the greater part were ſlain; but Douglas himſelf, with a few followers, found means to retreat to his own army. The next night the Scots decamped and marched with ſuch expedition, that Edward, finding it would be impoſſible to overtake them, marched with his army to Durham, and from thence to York.

Edward had been long contracted in marriage to Philippa of Hainault, and he now determined to celebrate his nuptials with that lady. Accordingly ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the continent to bring over his intended bride, who arrived in London, (attended by her uncle John de Hainault, and a pompous retinue) on the 23d of December. She immediately proceeded to York, where the nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp on the 24th of January; but the ceremony of her coronation was not performed till ſome time after her arrival in England.

A. D. 1328. When Edward returned to London with his new conſort, he found great diſturbances had taken place owing to the conduct of Mortimer, who had uſurped the whole authority of government, and from his imperious proceedings, grew daily more obnoxious to the people. The king himſelf was highly incenſed, and determined to free himſelf from the power of a miniſter who ſeemed totally regardleſs of the honour and welfare of his country.

Mortimer, finding a material alteration in the behaviour of the king, was apprehenſive of danger; and therefore, while in his power, thought it neceſſary, at all events, to make peace with the Scots, to which he was induced by the advice of the perfidious Iſabella. He accordingly, in the name of the king, entered into a negociation with Bruce, whom he acknowledged as king of Scotland, and renounced the Engliſh claim of ſuperiority, on condition of his paying the ſum of thirty thouſand marks. But this peace was no ſooner made public than it excited an univerſal clamour throughout the kingdom, and the people expreſſed their reſentment in the moſt ſevere terms. They declared openly that it was neither honourable or neceſſary; that thoſe who concluded it had baſely ſacrificed both the blood and treaſure of the nation to private views; that the queen-mother (who, under pretence of her huſband's incapacity, had uſurped his authority) now ſufficiently diſcovered how unable herſelf was to have any direction in the affairs of government; and that the errors of the depoſed king had been inferior to thoſe committed ſince her being concerned in the public adminiſtration.

Mortimer was no ſtranger to his having incurred the general hatred of the people, and therefore began to dread the conſequences, more eſpecially when he was informed, that the earls of Kent, Norfolk and Lancaſter, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London and Wincheſter, with ſeveral powerful barons, had determined to impeach him before the parliament. He was ſenſible of the conſequences that muſt take place if a majority in that aſſembly ſhould favour the complainants, and exerted all his power to bring about a reconciliation. Nor did he endeavour in vain; the parties who meant to accuſe him appeared ſatisfied, on his promiſing that all grievances ſhould be removed during the enſuing parliament.

A. D. 1329. Though the ambitious and baſe Mortimer was obliged to temporize with the diſcontented barons, yet he was determined to be revenged on them for the treatment he had received; to effect which he ſingled out an object that might ſtrike his enemies with terror. The weakneſs of Edmund earl of Kent (brother to the late king) promoted his criminal intentions. A report had been ſpread, at the inſtigation of Mortimer, that Edward II. was yet alive, and confined in Corfe-Caſtle. The earl, who had always retained an affection for his brother (though he had joined the queen's party to drive the two Spencers from the kingdom) believed the report, and publicly declared his deſign of replacing him on the throne. But the treacherous Mortimer had no ſooner procured ſufficient proofs of his deſign than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and committed to that priſon where he had flattered himſelf he ſhould meet with his unhappy brother, whom he now diſcovered was no more, and that the report of his exiſtence was totally groundleſs.

A. D. 1330. As ſoon as the parliament met, which was on the 13th of March, the unfortunate earl of Kent was formally accuſed of high-treaſon, and, being found guilty, was ſentenced to be beheaded. Iſabella and Mortimer, apprehenſive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried the execution, and the earl ſuffered the next day after his ſentence was pronounced. So beloved, however, was he by the people, that when brought on the ſcaffold the common executioner refuſed to perform his office; nor could any one be found to ſupply his place till late in the evening, when the ſentence was executed by a felon from the Marſhalſea, who, as a reward for his ſervice, received a free pardon for all the robberie he had committed.

This cruel and perfidious act of Mortimer rendered him more univerſally deteſted than ever. All parties, forgetting their former animoſities, now conſpired the deſtruction of this inſolent and baſe miniſter. Edward himſelf, then in his eighteenth year, was deſirous of taking into his own hands the reins of government, and bringing to exemplary puniſhment a man who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the honour of his country, and the lives of the nobility, to his inſatiable thirſt of power. But it was abſolutely neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt precaution. Mortimer had ſo entirely engroſſed the adminiſtration of affairs,

moſt of the principal people were at his devotion. He was continually attended by a great number of armed knights and their followers, and had even ſurrounded the throne itſelf with his emiſſaries, who acted as ſpies on the behaviour of the king and his friends.

Theſe were difficulties that might have deterred a prince of leſs fortitude than Edward; but he was a ſtranger to fear, and determined, at all events, to carry his deſign into execution. He communicated his intentions to William Lord Montacute, and ſeveral other noblemen, all of whom promiſed their aſſiſtance, and it was determined to ſeize Mortimer during the ſeſſion of parliament, which was ſummoned to meet in a few days at Nottingham. In order to this, it was agreed, that Edward ſhould occupy the caſtle of Nottingham, which would enable them to carry on their deſigns with more ſafety and ſucceſs; but on their arrival, they found it already occupied by Mortimer, Iſabella and their attendants, one or two apartments only being left for the king. It was now ſufficiently evident, that it would be impoſſible to execute their deſign without the aſſiſtance of Sir William Eland, the governor of the caſtle. Lord Montacute was therefore ſent to gain him over to their party, which was effected with great facility, that gentleman joyfully embracing an opportunity of ſhewing at once his affection for the perſon of his ſovereign, and his deteſtation of thoſe, who by their infamous conduct, had brought their country to the brink of deſtruction. But at the ſame time, he informed Montacute that it would be impracticable for him to admit any aſſiſtance by the common entry, the caſtle being ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. He, however, recollected that there was a ſubterraneous paſſage formerly contrived as a ſecret outlet to the fortreſs, but then concealed by an heap of rubbiſh. Through this cavern therefore he undertook to conduct the confederates to Mortimer's apartment. The rubbiſh was accordingly removed, and the paſſage being clear, they proceeded till they came to the apartment of Mortimer, which they immediately entered, and having forcibly ſeized his perſon, ſent him under a ſtrong guard to the Tower of London.

The next day the parliament was broke up at Nottingham, and the members ordered to aſſemble at Weſtminſter in order to try the tyrannical Mortimer. At the ſame time a proclamation was iſſued out for all perſons who had any complaints to prefer againſt him, to appear before that aſſembly, in order to obtain redreſs for all their grievances. Nor was juſtice long deferred. The firſt buſineſs that engaged the attention of the national aſſembly was the impeachment of the tyrannical Mortimer. The accuſation was immediately drawn up, and conſiſted of nine articles, which contained many high crimes and miſdemeanors. Among others, he was accuſed of having uſurped the regal power from the council of regency appointed by the parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince; of having ſolicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting for his own uſe twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of having repaired to the parliament with an armed force, diſturbed their deliberations, and threatened ſeveral of the members with death. Theſe facts being all notorious, it was thought unneceſſary to call witneſſes: and Mortimer was condemned to ſuffer as a traitor, without being admitted to make his defence. The ſentence was executed on the twenty-ninth of November, at a place called the Elms, about a mile from London, where this once powerful nobleman was hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor. The queen was confined to her houſe in the neighbourhood of London, and her revenue reduced to four thouſand pounds per annum. The king conſtantly viſited her once or twice a year, during the remainder of her life; but ſhe never recovered the leaſt degree of power or authority in the ſtate.

A. D. 1331. Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, determined to purſue ſuch meaſures as might reſtore happineſs and tranquillity to his kingdom. The people had long formed the moſt pleaſing ideas of his great abilities for government; and the firſt acts of his adminiſtration convinced them their hopes were not formed on a chimerical baſis. He reſumed all the grants that had been made of the royal demeſnes during his minority, and rewarded thoſe who had aſſiſted him in ſeizing the ambitious Mortimer. He remitted the fines and confiſcations that had been awarded againſt thoſe barons who oppoſed the deſtructive meaſures of that miniſter; reverſed the ſentence of attainder that had been paſſed againſt the earl of Kent, reſtored his ſon to the family eſtate and honours, and his widow to the enjoyment of her jointure. He removed the ſheriffs that had been appointed by Mortimer, and placed others in their ſtead; diſpatched orders to the judges to adminiſter ſtrict juſtice to all perſons without delay, notwithſtanding any letters that might have been procured from the crown to the contrary, and purſued every other meaſure that appeared moſt conducive towards the well-governing of the nation.

But there were many other diſorders, beſides thoſe which had crept into the adminiſtration of public affairs, and which equally required the abilities and firmneſs of Edward to remove. The kingdom was infeſted with numerous bands of robbers, who, taking advantage of the late commotions, had ſet the power of the magiſtrates at defiance, and exerciſed, with impunity, their lawleſs depredations. They were even openly protected by the great barons, who employed them againſt their enemies. It was therefore previouſly neceſſary to deſtroy this alarming connection before the evil could be removed. Accordingly Edward exacted a ſolemn promiſe from his barons, aſſembled in parliament, to break off all connections with ſuch malefactors, as a diſgrace to nobility. He iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all juſts and tournaments, which ſerved as a plauſible pretence for aſſembling great numbers of armed men, to the diſturbance of the public tranquillity, and the terror of the peaceable inhabitants. After taking theſe neceſſary meaſures, he marched in perſon againſt the robbers; and by his courage and activity, the more powerful troops were broken and diſperſed; many were taken and executed, and great numbers flew for ſafety to the continent.

The example of the king was followed by all thoſe appointed to adminiſter juſtice. Theſe were indefatigable in diſcovering and purſuing criminals, whom they ſeverely puniſhed accordingly to their reſpective crimes. Thus was the great evil, which had ſo long ſubſiſted in a ſhort time removed,

moved, the ſafety of travellers ſecured, and peace and tranquillity reſtored to the kingdom.

A. D. 1332. In the beginning of this year a confederacy was formed by ſome of the Engliſh barons for placing Edward Baliol on the throne of Scotland, the cauſe of which, with the particulars attending it, are as follows. Robert Bruce died ſoon after the peace made between the Engliſh and Scots by Mortimer, leaving his ſon David, then a minor, under the guardianſhip of the earl of Murray. Among other articles in that treaty, it was ſtipulated, that both the Scottiſh nobility, who enjoyed lands in England before the commencement of the war, and the Engliſh, who enjoyed eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions. Edward ſtrictly performed his part of the treaty; but Robert had refuſed to follow the example of the Engliſh monarch. It would have been in vain for the Engliſh barons to have attempted any other method for redreſs but that of petition, while Robert ſwayed the Scottiſh ſceptre; but the feeble ſtate of the kingdom under a minority induced them to enter into an aſſociation for recovering their rights. Lord Beaumont, who was at the head of this confederacy, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and propoſed, as the moſt effectual method of obtaining juſtice, to invite Edward Baliol, ſon to John Baliol then in England, to make an attempt for recovering his father's throne.

Young Baliol, who, ever ſince the death of his father, had lived on his patrimonial eſtate in Normandy, little thought of ever attempting to revive the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland; but the propoſal was too flattering to be refuſed. He therefore readily engaged in the enterprize, and joining the diſcontented barons, they applied themſelves to ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to facilitate their deſigns.

As ſoon as the Scots were informed of theſe proceedings, they immediately made application to Edward for aſſiſtance; but the Engliſh monarch was too prudent to engage openly in the deſign, though he ſecretly encouraged the undertaking of Baliol, and blew the ſparks of civil diſcord into a flame. At this time Scotland was in a very feeble condition. Murray, the late regent, had ſome time paid the debt of nature; and lord Douglas (who, as well as Murray often led the Scots to victory) diſdaining a life of indolence and eaſe, had paſſed over to the continent, where he periſhed in a battle againſt the Moors.

Baliol and the diſcontented barons having raiſed a body of forces, embarked near Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, and in a few days reached the coaſt of Fife. On their approaching the ſhore, they perceived a body of the militia, commanded by Sir Alexander Seaton, drawn up on the beach to oppoſe their landing; but this, however, they effected by dint of reſolution, and fell on the Scottiſh forces with ſuch fury that they were totally defeated, and their general himſelf, with near a thouſand of his men, ſlain on the ſpot.

Elated at this firſt ſucceſs of their enterprize, the Engliſh marched to Dumfermling, where they ſeized a magazine of arms and proviſions. Here Baliol took a review of his little army, which he found fell ſhort of three thouſand men. But this did not intimidate him: he wanted neither valour nor activity; and therefore, leaving Dumfermling, marched at the head of his forces into the heart of the country, flattering himſelf with receiving aſſiſtance from the old partizans of his family.

In the mean time Donald earl of Marre, who had ſucceeded Murray in the regency, collected an army of near 40,000 men, and advanced to meet the enemy. But he was greatly inferior in military abilities to his predeceſſor, having neither prudence nor intrepidity; ſo that all his motions were ill-judged, and he obſerved no order in the encampment of his army.

Baliol being informed that the earl of Marre was encamped with his forces at a place called Gladſmuir, on the bank of the river Earn, determined to attack him, and hazard the fate of his enterprize in a ſingle battle. He accordingly marched with all expedition at the head of his forces and paſſing the ſtream of the ſmall river Duplin, fell ſo unexpectedly on the Scottiſh forces during the night, that they were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and driven from their camp with great ſlaughter.

From this ſucceſs the Engliſh flattered themſelves with having obtained a complete victory; but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, for early the next morning ſome of Baliol's officers aſcending an eminence to ſurvey the country, perceived the Scottiſh army (who had recovered from the panic into which they were thrown the preceding night) advancing towards them in three diviſions. In conſequence of this intelligence, the Engliſh immediately flew to arms, and, poſting themſelves in a narrow defile, reſolutely waited the approach of the enemy.

The Scots, exaſperated at their late defeat by ſo ſmall a body of forces in compariſon with their own, advanced to the attack with the utmoſt precipitation, without regarding ſome broken ground which lay between them and the Engliſh. But they were ſoon convinced of their folly; their ranks were diſordered, and the ſecond diviſion preſſing upon the firſt, threw the whole into ſuch confuſion, that they became an eaſy prey to the Engliſh. Above twelve thouſand of the Scots fell in the battle: and among them the flower of their nobility, particularly the regent himſelf, Robert Bruce, a natural ſon of the late king; the earls of Athole and Montieth; and the lords Hay, Keith, and Lindſey.

Theſe repeated ſucceſſes ſo animated Baliol that he advanced with his army to Perth, which he entered without oppoſition, and immediately repaired the fortifications. But he had hardly compleated this buſineſs, when the earl of Marche, and Sir Archibald Douglas, at the head of 40,000 men, inveſted the place by land, reſolving, if they could not reduce the place by any other means, to effect it by ſtarving the enemy. For this purpoſe they had collected a few veſſels, under the command of one John Crabbe, a Flemiſh ſailor, in order to block up the place by water. But this ſcheme was ſoon rendered abortive; for the Engliſh ſquadron, then lying at the mouth of the Tay to ſupply Baliol's army with proviſions, drove Crabbe from his ſtation, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the greater part of his ſhips.

From this overthrow the Scottiſh generals perceived it would be in vain to continue the blockade of Perth: they therefore abandoned the enterprize, made a retreat, and diſbanded their forces. In conſequence of this the greater part of the nobility and gentry of Scotland repaired to Perth, in order to make their ſubmiſſion to Baliol. The young king David and his queen were ſent to France, and, on the 27th of September, Baliol was crowned king of Scotland.

But Baliol did not long enjoy the crown he had ſo eaſily obtained; for having imprudently

diſmiſſed the greater part of his Engliſh followers, he was driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to ſeek protection in England.

A. D. 1333. Baliol had not long been in England, when the conduct of the Scots gave Edward juſt reaſon to break the peace which had been made with them by Mortimer, and to exert himſelf in favour of Baliol. Elated with their late ſucceſs againſt their new king, and allured by the hopes of plunder, the Scots broke into Cumberland, and laid great part of the country waſte with fire and ſword. In conſequence of this Edward immediately ſent Sir Anthony Lacy, with a conſiderable body of forces, to repel the inſurgents. This buſineſs he effected with great ſucceſs, the invaders being defeated, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat to their own country.

Douglas, the regent, was alarmed at the proceedings of Edward, and ſpared neither entreaties, excuſes nor ſubmiſſions, to divert the gathering ſtorm that threatened the deſtruction of his country. But all his efforts were in vain: Edward liſtened only to the voice of ambition.

Having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, Edward marched into Scotland, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of Berwick. That place was conſidered by the Scots as the moſt important in their country, and the regent had accordingly furniſhed it with a ſtrong garriſon under the command of Sir William Keith; while himſelf headed a numerous army on the frontiers, in order to penetrate into England, as ſoon as the caſtle of Berwick ſhould be inveſted by Edward. The ſiege continued near two months, when great part of the fortifications being demoliſhed, the garriſon agreed to capitulate, if not relieved in five days. Theſe terms were accepted, and a meſſenger diſpatched to Sir Archibald Douglas, informing him of the conditions, and preſſing him to march immediately to their relief, without which they muſt be compelled to give up the town, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the enemy.

The great importance of Berwick, and the impatience of his forces to be led againſt the Engliſh, determined Douglas to comply with the requeſt of the garriſon. He accordingly marched to their relief, and drew up his forces at the foot of Halidown hill, in ſight of the Engliſh camp. Douglas divided his army into four bodies, each of which was headed by one of the principal nobility of Scotland. The Engliſh were alſo drawn up in four ſeparate bodies, and both wings flanked with archers; and in this diſpoſition Edward waited the attack of the enemy, who began to aſcend the hill with great impetuoſity about five in the afternoon; but the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, the weight of their armour, the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows diſcharged from the bows of the Engliſh, and the large ſtones rolled down after them, ſoon checked their career. They ſuddenly made a halt; and their general, being that inſtant transfixed with an arrow, fell lifeleſs to the ground.

This incident threw the Scottiſh forces into the utmoſt confuſion, which being perceived by Edward, he determined to take advantage of it, and accordingly ordered lord D'Arcy, at the head of a body of light-armed infantry, to charge them in flank, while himſelf attacked their front with a detachment of veterans. The Scottiſh knights, in order to render the action more ſteady and deſperate, had diſmounted from their horſes, but they could not ſtand the ſhock of the Engliſh. A compleat victory was ſoon obtained by Edward, and ſuch of the Scots as eſcaped the ſword, were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. Near thirty thouſand of the Scots fell in the action, and all their knights were either ſlain or taken priſoners. The town and caſtle of Berwick immediately ſurrendered; and Edward, after leaving a conſiderable part of his army with Baliol, returned to England.

It was now impoſſible for the Scots to oppoſe the power of Baliol: the principal part of their nobility were loſt, their army greatly reduced, their king in France, and their regent ſlain. Submiſſion, therefore, was their only reſource. Baliol, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Berwick, marched with his forces through the principal parts of the country; and all the caſtles, except thoſe of Dumbarton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were deemed impregnable, opened their gates at the firſt ſummons.

A. D. 1334. In conſequence of theſe ſucceſſes Baliol, in order to place himſelf ſubſtantially in the ſeat of power, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 10th of February. In this aſſembly Baliol was acknowledged king, and the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to him: the ſuperiority of England was again recognized: Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland were declared to be for ever annexed to the crown of England; and the diſcontented Engliſh barons were put into immediate poſſeſſion of the eſtates they claimed in Scotland.

The proceedings of this aſſembly greatly irritated the Scots, who determined, as ſoon as poſſible, to purſue ſuch meaſures as might render them abortive. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered which encouraged them to attempt their deſign. Baliol, thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſecure on the throne, diſmiſſed his Engliſh troops, and ſent them to their own country; in conſequence of which the Scots immediately flew to arms, renounced their fealty to Baliol, ſwore allegiance to Bruce, and elected Sir Andrew Murray regent of the kingdom.

A. D. 1335. Several ſkirmiſhes took place between the forces under the command of Murray, and thoſe of Baliol, in moſt of which the former was victorious; and Baliol, finding his intereſt greatly decline, applied for aſſiſtance to the Engliſh monarch, who accordingly made preparations for again invading Scotland.

Having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, Edward proceeded to Berwick, from whence he purſued his march, without oppoſition, into the very heart of the country, the Scots having abandoned all the plains on his approach, and retired to their mountains and faſtneſſes. Knowing it would be in vain to purſue them, Edward marched to Perth, from whence he ſent a detachment of his forces, under the command of his brother John of Eltham and Sir Anthony Lacy, to ravage the weſtern counties, which were principally inhabited by the adherents of Bruce.

In the mean time the Scots who had retired to their mountains, having greatly increaſed in numbers, determined to hazard a battle, and leaving their faſtneſſes, marched with all expedition againſt the Engliſh. The two armies no ſooner met than a bloody engagement took place, which was maintained, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, prodigious numbers of the Scots were ſlain on the field of battle, and the reſt

reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

This defeat ſtruck ſuch a damp on the ſpirits of Bruce's adherents, that they determined not to make any farther oppoſition, but immediately ſubmit themſelves, and ſolicit the Engliſh monarch for a peace. Accordingly application was made to Edward, who, as the ſeaſon was then far advanced, liſtened to their requeſt, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the following conditions: "That the Scottiſh noblemen ſhould receive a free pardon for all former offences; that they ſhould enjoy their lands, honours and offices in Scotland, and be reſtored to their Engliſh poſſeſſions which had been forfeited: That all the privileges and franchiſes of the kirk and boroughs of Scotland ſhould continue unaltered and inviolable: That none but natives ſhould be put into the offices of that crown and kingdom, excepting in ſome particular caſes where their king, Edward Baliol, ſhould make uſe of his prerogative in favour of perſons of another nation." It was alſo agreed, "That Edward Baliol ſhould enjoy the crown of Scotland during his natural life; and that, at his death, it ſhould deſcend to David Bruce, who, in the mean time, ſhould reſide in London, and be maintained at the expence of the Engliſh monarch, in a manner conſiſtent with his dignity as heir to the Scottiſh throne."

Hoſtilities being thus terminated, Edward ordered the fortifications at Perth to be repaired, and the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling to be rebuilt. He alſo appointed the earl of Athol guardian of the northern parts of the kingdom; and, leaving a part of his forces for the protection of Baliol, returned with the remainder to England.

But the peace thus made with the Scots was of ſhort duration. They had, indeed, ſubmitted to Edward, but were far from being reconciled to their condition, and only watched for a favourable opportunity of ſhaking off a yoke to which neceſſity alone had compelled them to ſubmit. Nor was it long before this opportunity offered. The earl of Athol, inſtead of ſoothing the Scots, and applying lenients to heal the wounds of their country, treated them with rigour; and the caſtle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife had ſhut herſelf up, having ſtill refuſed to open its gates to the Engliſh, the guardian imprudently beſieged the fortreſs. This action awakened all the pride and anger of the Scots: the earl of Marche and Sir William Douglas haſtened immediately to the relief of the fortreſs, attacked the beſiegers with the utmoſt impetuoſity, routed them with great ſlaughter, and the earl of Athol himſelf fell among the ſlain.

Animated with this ſucceſs, the Scots inveſted ſeveral other caſtles; the ſtandard of war was again diſplayed, and forces were collected in every part of the kingdom. But before Edward could again march againſt them, the king of France interpoſed, and a truce was concluded till the ninth of May, in the enſuing year.

A. D. 1336. This truce was conſidered both by the Engliſh and Scots, as a prelude to a final peace, and accordingly conferences were opened in the beginning of the ſpring at Newcaſtle; but Philip de Valois (who then filled the throne of France, and had found the diſſentions between the Scots and Engliſh to his own intereſt) gave ſuch inſtructions to his envoys, that though they appeared as mediators between the contending parties, they omitted no opportunity of embarraſſing the parties concerned in the negociation, and rendering the intended treaty abortive. At length the French envoys told them, that their maſter would never abandon the cauſe of the unfortunate and injured David Bruce, but would ſupport him to the utmoſt of his power. Theſe promiſes ſo elated the Scottiſh deputies, that they inſiſted on terms which could not be accepted by Edward, who immediately broke off the treaty in great rage, and both parties made great preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

Edward had acquired ſuch popularity by having enacted ſeveral excellent laws for the promotion of commerce, and general welfare of his people, that the parliament readily granted him ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for carrying on the war againſt the Scots. Accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, and given the command to Henry, ſon of the old earl of Lancaſter, he ordered them to aſſemble at Berwick, a ſhort time before the expiration of the truce lately made with the Scots.

Having given theſe orders Edward ſummoned a parliament to meet at Northampton, in order to take into conſideration the neceſſary meaſures to be purſued for oppoſing the deſigns of the French monarch, who had not only ſent a body of forces to the aſſiſtance of the Scots, but had likewiſe threatened to invade England. During their deliberations Edward received advice that Murray, the regent, had taken the field, reduced the caſtle of St. Andrew's, and proceeded with his forces to inveſt that of Stirling. Alarmed at this intelligence, he immediately repaired to Berwick, where he was joined by his troops, and the next day marched to Perth.

As ſoon as Edward's arrival was known, the Scots made a vigorous aſſault upon the caſtle of Stirling, in which Sir William Keith the governor was ſlain; but being repulſed in this attempt with great loſs, and hearing that Edward was advancing to the relief of the place, they abandoned the enterprize, and retired to their faſtneſſes to avoid a general engagement.

Edward now took his rout through Athol to Inverneſs, and from thence to the ſhire of Murray, which he laid deſolate. The town of Aberdeen was reduced to aſhes, and Edward, after deſtroying the principal places in the northern parts of Scotland, returned with his army to Perth, where, after ſtaying a ſhort time, he left a part of his forces with Baliol, and returned to England.

A. D. 1337. Edward had, for ſome time, entertained notions of engaging in an enterprize of much greater importance than that of ſubduing the Scots, and was now determined, if poſſible, to carry his deſign into execution. He accordingly ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the 3d of March, when he declared his reſolution of invading France, and endeavouring to wreſt from Philip de Valois that crown of which he conceived himſelf to be the true heir as next in blood to the late king *.

Edward

* Charles the Fair, who died in 1328, having left no male children, Philip de Valois, his couſin-german, and firſt prince of the blood, was unanimouſly acknowledged his ſucceſſor. As Charles left ſeveral daughters great diſputes had taken place relative to the ſucceſſion, but it was at length decided, according to the Salic Law, that all females ſhould be excluded the

Edward was greatly encouraged in this reſolution by Robert d'Artois, a prince of the blood of France, who having been condemned in conſequence of a forgery he had committed, took refuge in England. This prince bore the moſt implacable hatred to Philip, and therefore uſed the moſt forcible arguments to prevail on Edward to declare war againſt France, in order to ſupport his title to that crown.

Philip, being informed of the advice given by Robert d'Artois to the Engliſh monarch, immediately iſſued out a proclamation, offering a reward for his perſon, and at the ſame time confiſcating all his poſſeſſions in France. He likewiſe declared that every vaſſal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, ſhould, if apprehended, be put to death. The meaning of this menace was eaſily conceived by Edward, who immediately made preparations for invading France, and removing Philip, whom he conſidered as an uſurper, from the throne of that kingdom.

In order to ſecure ſucceſs in the intended enterprize, Edward determined to form alliances with the princes of the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany; and therefore engaged in his ſervice the earl of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Guelders, and the princes of ſeveral other provinces. He, however, did not think this confederacy ſufficiently formidable: he was deſirous of obtaining the aſſiſtance of the Flemings, but ſome difficulties attended this acquiſition. The Flemings, who, by their arts and manufactures, had acquired riches and ſome ſhare of independence, had riſen in tumults, inſulted the nobility, driven their earl into France, and determined to free themſelves from every ſpecies of tyranny. The leader of theſe popular inſurrections was one Jacob Van Ardevelt, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed the people in a more arbitrary manner than any of their lawful ſovereigns. He never appeared in the ſtreets without a guard of fourſcore perſons, who, from the leaſt ſignal given by their leader murdered any perſon who happened to fall under his diſpleaſure. Whatever he thought proper to propoſe in the aſſembly of the ſtates was never contradicted, becauſe every member feared his power. Edward courted the aſſiſtance of this ferocious leader, who refuſed to join in the alliance, unleſs he would aſſume the title of king of France, in order to remove the ſcruples of the Flemings, who made ſome heſitation on account of their doubts relative to the legal ſucceſſor to the French diadem.

Edward agreed to the propoſal made by Ardevelt, who, in conſequence thereof, politely invited him to come over to Flanders. About the ſame time Edward received from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria the title of "Vicar of the Empire," that he might appear to have a right of command over the German princes.

Every thing now portended an immediate rupture between the crowns of France and England. Philip invaded Guienne, and Edward ordered the duke of Brabant to demand, in his name, the crown of France, conſtituted him his lieutenant-general of that kingdom, and iſſued a proclamation, commanding the French, whom he called his ſubjects, to pay him obedience. Philip, having raiſed a conſiderable army, determined firſt to direct his arms againſt the Flemings, and to reinſtate the earl of Flanders in the poſſeſſion of that country. But Edward ſent a large body of forces to join his new allies, under the command of the earls of Derby and Suffolk, in order to render the deſigns of Philip abortive. The Engliſh, on their arrival on the coaſt, were informed that Guy de Rickenbourgh, natural brother to the earl of Flanders, had taken poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cadſant, in order to cut off all communication by ſea to Bruges and Ghent. It was therefore reſolved to drive him from that advantageous poſt. Guy, who was prepared for the attack, gave them a very warm reception; but the Engliſh, after an obſtinate diſpute, made good their landing, when a bloody battle enſued, in which the earl of Derby was thrown from his horſe, and would, in all probability, have been killed or taken priſoner, had he not been reſcued by Sir Walter Manny, a valiant knight of Hainault, who, at the head of a body of horſe, charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury, and took Guy de Rickenbourgh priſoner. The loſs of their leader ſtruck the French with conſternation; they immediately fell into confuſion, and were routed with prodigious ſlaughter. This victory filled Ardevelt and his party with joy; and the Flemings ſent a meſſage to Edward, preſſing him to come over without delay, and head the allied army in perſon.

A. D. 1338. Edward, having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and taken every prudent meaſure he could for the ſafety of his kingdom during his abſence, embarked for the continent with a fleet of 300 ſhips, accompanied by many of the chief nobility of England; and, after a quick and eaſy paſſage, landed at Antwerp, the capital city belonging to John duke of Brabant. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced, Edward did not take the field till the enſuing ſpring, when he marched at the head of 40,000 men, and encamped between Marchiennes and Douay. He had not, however, been long in this ſituation before he received advice that Philip was advancing, with a formidable army, to give him battle, in conſequence of which he immediately broke up his camp, and marched with all expedition to meet the enemy.

The two armies ſoon came within ſight of each other, and having formed their reſpective encampments, remained in that ſtate for ſix days, neither party ſeeming deſirous to come to action. At length Edward ſent an herald to Philip offering him battle, which being accepted, the following Friday was the day appointed for deciding the quarrel. But while both parties were preparing with equal ardor for the engagement, Philip received a letter from Robert king of Naples (who was eſteemed a great aſtrologer) foretelling him ill ſucceſs whenever he ſhould fight the Engliſh. This ſo operated on the mind of Philip, that though Edward, on the day appointed, drew out his

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the ſovereignty. Edward, as ſon to Iſabella, ſiſter to the late king, claimed his right to the crown of France, notwithſtanding he had done homage for Guienne to Philip de Valois, and by that act acknowledged him as ſuperior lord. But an unjuſt cauſe ceaſes to appear ſuch when there is reaſon to hope for ſucceſs. Opportunity determines the conduct of the greater part of mankind; and that now offering Edward was determined to embrace it, and, if poſſible, make himſelf maſter of the throne of France; to which it is to be obſerved, he was more ſtrongly induced, in order to puniſh Philip for having taken part with the Scots.

his forces early in the morning in order of battle, the former declined coming to an engagement. In conſequence of which Edward, the next day, wheeled off towards Aviſnes for the ſake of a more convenient ſituation, and ſent word to Philip that he would wait for him all Sunday in order of battle. This, however, was a challenge the French king did not think proper to accept. On the contrary, he broke up his camp, and after fortifying his frontier towns with ſtrong garriſons, returned with his forces to Paris; in conſequence of which Edward retreated, put his German troops into winter quarters, and marched with his own forces to Bruſſels.

Edward had entered into engagements with the duke of Brabant to ſtay in the Low Countries till the war ſhould be ended; but he found it impoſſible to fulfil his promiſe. His abſence had occaſioned many diſorders in England, where bands of robbers diſturbed the peace of the nation; and the adherents of Bruce had not only recovered what they had loſt in Scotland, but alſo invaded the northern counties of England. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons for Edward's leaving the continent; but, in order to ſatisfy the duke of Brabant, who ſtrongly objected to his departure, he left him four Engliſh lords (beſides his queen, who was at Antwerp) as pledges for his return.

A. D. 1340. Having thus ſettled matters for the preſent on the continent, Edward embarked for England, and, on the 21ſt of February landed at Harwich. He immediately proceeded to London, and the next day iſſued out writs for aſſembling a parliament at Weſtminſter on the 29th of March. The members, at this meeting, ſhewed an uncommon alacrity in aſſiſting their monarch, and providing for the ſecurity of the realm againſt all invaders. They granted the king a large ſupply for carrying on the war with France; and orders were iſſued for fortifying Southampton and the Iſle of Wight; for fitting out a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail to protect the coaſts; for ſending ſupplies of proviſions to the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and for raiſing bodies of foot and horſe to defend the marches of Scotland. In grateful return for theſe ſingular marks of affection Edward granted a full remiſſion of all debts due to the crown, and of all proſecutions on foreſt-treſpaſſes ſince his acceſſion to the throne; to which he likewiſe added a confirmation of the two great charters.

While Edward was making the neceſſary preparations for returning to the continent, he received advice from the duke of Gueldres, that the French had got together a powerful fleet to intercept him in his paſſage. In conſequence of this upwards of forty ſail of large ſhips were immediately fitted out for his convoy, and furniſhed with every article neceſſary to withſtand the attack of an enemy.

All things being ready, Edward embarked with his forces early in the morning of the 13th of June, attended by the principal nobility of his kingdom. The next day they eſpied the French fleet in the harbour of Sluys upon which Edward, after giving orders for making preparations to engage, ſent ſome knights on ſhore to bring him an account of their numbers; but they returned with their intelligence ſo late, that he could not begin the engagement that evening, and his fleet was obliged to lay all night at anchor.

Early the next morning Edward ſaw the enemy's fleet lying about a mile from the harbour, and ranged in three diviſions, each under the command of an admiral. In conſequence of this he immediately drew up his ſhips in like order, placing the largeſt in the firſt line, well provided with archers and men at arms. The ſecond diviſion was ordered to keep at ſome diſtance to windward, and prevent the firſt from being encloſed by the enemy; and the third was reſerved for the protection of the tranſports, which were loaded with baggage and military ſtores.

Having thus formed the line of battle, and obtained the weather-gage, Edward bore down upon the enemy, and a deſperate engagement enſued, which laſted from ten in the morning till ſeven at night. The ſhips engaged yard-arm and yard-arm with incredible fury, and the Engliſh noblemen and knights exerted all their power in ſignalizing themſelves under the eye of their ſovereign, who animated them by his own example. The Engliſh archers made a terrible ſlaughter among the French and Genoeſe, and the men at arms attacked them at ſo cloſe quarters that multitudes, in deſpair, leaped over-board, and periſhed in the ſea. The firſt diviſion of the French was totally defeated, and the ſecond greatly diſordered, when admiral Morley arriving with ſome Flemiſh ſhips joined the Engliſh, and falling on the ſhattered ſquadrons of the enemy, bore down all oppoſition, ſo that Edward obtained a compleat victory.* Two of the French admirals, with upwards of 20,000 men, were ſlain, and the greater part of their largeſt ſhips taken; while the loſs on the part of the Engliſh amounted to about four thouſand. Edward received a ſlight wound in the thigh, and on that account remained all night on board his ſhip. The next day he landed with all his forces at Sluys, and immediately ſet out on his march to Ghent, where he found his queen had, a ſhort time before, been delivered of a ſon named John, and who was afterwards duke of Lancaſter.

The naval victory obtained by Edward over the French, added a luſtre to his power among the different allies; and he ſoon marched from Ghent at the head of an army of 150,000 men, compoſed of Engliſh, Germans, Flemings and Gaſcons. The firſt attempt was the ſiege of Tournay, which Edward had no ſooner inveſted than he detached 50,000 men, under the command of Robert D'Artois, with orders to poſt himſelf near St. Omer's to prevent any aſſiſtance from that garriſon in behalf of the beſieged. Robert's troops were chiefly compoſed of tradeſmen, who had never faced an enemy, and were wholly ſtrangers to military diſcipline. From ſuch troops very little could be expected; and accordingly they were totally routed by a ſally from the garriſon, notwithſtanding the great abilities of their general.

This defeat, however, did not intimidate Edward, who puſhed the ſiege of Tournay with the utmoſt

* This defeat was conſidered in France as having given ſuch a fatal blow to the naval force of that kingdom, that none of Philip's courtiers durſt acquaint him with the loſs, till his buffoon diſcovered it to him by the following artful jeſt: Coming into the royal preſence, he cried out ſeveral times, "Cowardly Engliſhmen! Daſtardly Engliſhmen! Faint-hearted Engliſhmen!" The king aſked him what he meant by that exclamation? "Becauſe, ſaid he, they durſt not leap into the ſea as our gallant Frenchmen did."

utmoſt vigour, though the oppoſition he met with might have diſcouraged any other commander from continuing the attack*. At the end of ten weeks the city was reduced to great diſtreſs; and Philip, having collected a powerful army, advanced within a few miles of the Engliſh camp, not with a deſign to bring on a general engagement, but of being ready to aſſiſt the garriſon whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. Edward, exaſperated at the length of the ſiege, ſent an herald to Philip, challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France by ſingle combat, by an action of an hundred againſt an hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip ſent for anſwer that a vaſſal was not entitled to challenge his liege lord; and that the propoſal was made on very unequal terms; but if he would put alſo the kingdom of England on the iſſue of the combat, he would willingly accept the challenge.

But theſe diſputes were terminated by the interference of the counteſs dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip, who employed her good offices for bringing about a peace between two perſons ſo nearly related to her. Her zeal produced a ſhort ceſſation of hoſtilities, and which the pope in vain endeavoured to convert into a peace; but the demands of Edward were too exorbitant to be admitted. He required that Philip ſhould free Guienne from all claims of ſuperiority, and entirely abandon any farther protection to the Scots. Theſe conditions were accordingly rejected by Philip; and a prolongation of the truce only was agreed to for one year.

Edward had not yet received any ſupplies from England, and being, therefore, unable to pay his allied forces, they abandoned the confederacy; ſo that finding nothing of moment could be tranſacted on the continent, he embarked with his queen for England, and after a dangerous paſſage, landed on the laſt day of November, about midnight, at the Tower of London.

The real cauſe of the monies not being ſent to Edward while on the continent, aroſe from the nature of the ſubſidy granted for that purpoſe by the parliament. It conſiſted of corn and wool, on account of the great ſcarcity of money, and theſe articles could not be collected and diſpoſed of ſoon enough to anſwer his exigencies. But Edward attributed the defect to the negligence of his miniſters, and therefore determined to make them examples of his reſentment. Accordingly the biſhop of Chicheſter, chancellor, and the biſhop of Litchfield, treaſurer, were deprived of their offices, and committed to priſon. The archbiſhop, who was prime-miniſter, dreading the like fate, retired immediately to Canterbury, and determined to defend himſelf by the weapons of the prelacy.

He accordingly convened a meeting of the clergy in that cathedral, and pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould ſeize the perſons, lands, or goods of the clergy, or inform againſt a biſhop for any offence whatever.

A. D. 1341. The parliament met at Weſtminſter on the 23d of April, when the primate, who had received no ſummons to attend, preſented himſelf at the door of the houſe in his pontifical ornaments, and demanded admittance to his ſeat as the firſt peer of the realm. His requeſt was, however, denied for two ſucceſſive days, when Edward, fearful of the dangerous conſequences that might attend a quarrel with the clergy, prudently accepted ſome conceſſions made by the primate, who, in conſequence thereof, was again received into favour, and all animoſities buried in oblivion.

Soon after this an event happened which occaſioned the truce lately made between the kings of England and France to be broken, and hoſtilities again commenced. John III. duke of Britany, dying without iſſue, left his dominions to his neice Jane, married to Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France; but John de Montfort, brother to the late duke, laid claim to the duchy, and being determined, if poſſible, to ſupport his cauſe by ſome powerful alliance, applied to the king of England, offering to do him homage and acknowledge his title to the crown of France, if he would engage to aſſiſt him againſt Charles de Blois. This propoſal was readily embraced by Edward, in conſequence of which Montfort came over to the Engliſh court, and a formal alliance was concluded between him and Edward. As ſoon as this buſineſs was adjuſted Montfort returned to Nantes, where he ſoon after received a citation to attend the court of peers in France, in order to prove his title to Britany.

Montfort, ſuppoſing the treaty he had made with Edward was a profound ſecret, made no heſitation at obeying the ſummons, and accordingly repaired to Paris. But he was ſoon convinced of his error. Philip, at his firſt audience, plainly told him he had no right to Britany, and at the ſame time reproached him for having done homage to Edward, and entered into an alliance with a prince who was the profeſſed enemy of France. Montfort acknowledged his having paſſed over to England, but denied the charge of having done homage to Edward; adding, that he was ſatisfied of the goodneſs of his claim, and was ready to ſubmit to the judgment of his peers with regard to Britany. Philip told him his title ſhould be diſcuſſed within fourteen days, and enjoined him not to quit Paris, till the affair was adjuſted.

From this injunction Montfort was convinced he had every thing to fear, and therefore reſolved to make his eſcape. He accordingly left Paris during the night in the diſguiſe of a merchant, and reached Britany in ſafety. Philip was no ſooner informed of his eſcape, than, in a tranſport of rage and indignation, he inſtantly confiſcated the earldom of Montfort commanded the parliament of Paris, by his ſole authority, even without ſummoning the peers of France, or exhibiting any formal proceſs, to adjudge Britany to Charles de Blois; and the more effectually to carry the ſentence into execution, he ſupplied his nephew with a numerous army, under the command of his eldeſt ſon John duke of Normandy. Montfort, who was unable to face the French army in the field, ſhut himſelf up in Nantes, which was ſoon beſieged by the duke of Normandy. The city was ſtrongly fortified, and capable of holding out a conſiderable time againſt the enemy; but by the treachery of the inhabitants the city was delivered up, and Montfort being taken priſoner, was ſent to

* Tournay was, at that time, one of the nobleſt cities in Flanders, and contained above ſixty thouſand inhabitants. It was defended by a garriſon of fifteen thouſand men, commanded by Robert Butraud and Matthew de la Trie, marſhals of France; aſſiſted by the counts of Eu, Guiſnes, Foix, Narbonne, and other gallant noblemen, who were reſolved to periſh under the ruins of the city, rather than open their gates to the enemy.

to Paris, and confined in the great tower of the Louvre.

The captivity of Montfort ſeemed to put an end to all his pretenſions to Britany; but the heroic abilities and conjugal fidelity of his wife revived his drooping ſpirits, and animated his party with freſh life and vigour. Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Montfort, who then reſided at Rennes, no ſooner heard of the impriſonment of her huſband, than ſhe immediately convened an aſſembly of the inhabitants, appeared in the midſt of them with her infant ſon in her arms, and conjured them to preſerve from deſtruction the only remaining heir of that illuſtrious family who had ſo long held the ſceptre of Britany. Moved by the affecting appearance, and animated at the noble conduct of the princeſs, the whole aſſembly vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family. The inhabitants of all the other fortified towns in Britany embraced the ſame reſolution. The counteſs went from place to place, encouraging the garriſons, providing them with every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, and concerting their plans of defence, having done which ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebonne, where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours promiſed by Edward. In the mean time ſhe ſent over her ſon to England, in order at once to provide him a place of ſafety, and engage the king more ſtrongly by ſuch a pledge, to embrace with zeal the intereſt of her family.

Perſuaded that the reduction of Hennebonne, together with the captivity of the counteſs, would put a final period to all oppoſition, Charles de Blois inveſted the place with a large army, compoſed of French, Spaniards and Genoeſe. The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour, and the place defended with a bravery that would have done honour to the beſt general of the age. The French were repulſed in every attack, and perpetually harraſſed with ſoldiers from the garriſon. The counteſs was foremoſt in every danger, and led her troops with the utmoſt prudence and intrepidity. Perceiving that the beſiegers, in making an aſſault upon one part of the town had neglected to ſecure a diſtant quarter of their camp, ſhe ſallied out at the head of two hundred horſe, made a dreadful ſlaughter, and ſet fire to their tents, baggage and magazines.

But notwithſtanding the noble defence made by the counteſs and her brave garriſon, the town was at length reduced to the utmoſt extremity. Several breaches were made in the walls, and the enemy was preparing for a general aſſault. It was now thought neceſſary to offer terms of capitulation, and the biſhop of Leon was actually ſent for that purpoſe to the camp of Charles de Blois; but the counteſs, who had mounted one of the towers of the fortreſs, diſcovering the Engliſh fleet coming to her aſſiſtance, immediately communicated the joyful tidings to the garriſon, and the biſhop of Leon was recalled.

The French were confounded when they ſaw the Engliſh enter the harbour, and laid aſide their deſign of making a general aſſault. The Engliſh forces conſiſted of a body of men at arms, and ſix thouſand archers, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, one of the beſt captains of the age. The courage of the garriſon was now revived, they readily joined the Engliſh in a ſally, drove the beſiegers from their poſt, and obliged them to retire with precipitation.

The counteſs, however, found that this reinforcement was not ſufficient to enable her to take the field againſt the enemy, and therefore determined to paſs over to England, in order to ſolicit in perſon more effectual ſuccours from Edward. Her requeſt was readily granted, and a more numerous reinforcement was immediately embarked under the command of Robert d'Artois, and the earl of Northampton. The counteſs herſelf returned in this fleet, which was attacked in the paſſage, by a French ſquadron commanded by prince Lewis of Spain. The counteſs behaved with her uſual intrepidity, and the action continued with great obſtinacy till night put an end to the conteſt; and before the morning appeared a dreadful ſtorm ſeparated the two fleets; but the Engliſh reached the harbour of Hennebonne in ſafety.

Soon after their arrival Robert D'Artois marched with his forces againſt Vannes, which he carried by aſſault; but being dangerouſly wounded was confined to his room, during which a party of the enemy attacked and retook the place by ſurprize. Robert, however, had the good fortune to eſcape to Hennebonne, from whence he embarked for England; but ſoon after his arrival died in London of the wounds he had received during the aſſault of Vannes.

Edward was ſo irritated againſt the French for the death of D'Artois, that he vowed the moſt ſevere revenge. Accordingly, having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, he embarked at Sandwich on the 5th of October, and, after a very good paſſage, landed at Breſt. A few days after his arrival on the continent he laid ſiege to Vannes; but the place being then well fortified, he could not take it by ſtorm, and was therefore obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade.

While Edward lay before Vannes, the duke of Normandy appeared at the head of 40,000 men, whom he encamped in ſuch a manner as to cut off all proviſions from the Engliſh. In this dangerous ſituation Edward liſtened to the mediation of the pope's legate, and a truce was concluded for three years, which being ratified and confirmed on the 19th of January, 1343, Edward, a few days after, embarked for England.

This truce, however, was but of ſhort duration, owing to the conduct of Philip, who cruelly put to death ſome lords of Britany, under pretence of their being guilty of treaſon. Edward was ſo incenſed when he firſt heard of the fate of theſe noblemen, that he gave orders for beheading all the priſoners of Philip's party, but was prevailed on to recall the bloody ſentence by the remonſtrances of Henry, earl of Lancaſter. He, however, ſent for one of the principal captives, and told him with great emotion, that though the death of his countrymen beheaded at Paris, was a ſufficient reaſon for retailiating the ſame puniſhment on him and his fellow priſoners, yet he would not ſtain his reputation by imitating ſo bad an example; nor ſatiate his vengeance in the blood of the innocent; but would ſeverely puniſh the author of ſuch unparalleled treachery and barbarity.

A. D. 1344. Nor were theſe threats uttered in vain. Edward diſpatched the earl of Derby (ſon of Henry earl of Lancaſter, and one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen of his time) at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to begin hoſtilities in Guienne. For ſome time he was very ſucceſsful, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral places in the territories of the enemy. He attacked the count de Laille, the French general, who was

encamped at Bergarac, drove him from his entrenchments, and made himſelf maſter of the place. This ſucceſs animated the Engliſh, and they proceeded in their conqueſts with the moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity.

In the mean time count de Laille, having collected an army of twelve thouſand men, inveſted Auberauche, which had ſome time before fallen into the hands of the Engliſh. Derby haſtened to relieve the place, and arriving near the camp of the enemy in the night, Sir Walter Manny propoſed to attack the French immediately. His advice was followed with ſuch ſecrecy and ſucceſs, that the Engliſh entered one quarter of the French camp without reſiſtance, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that the counts de Laille, Perigord and Valentinois, were taken priſoners in their tents, before they had time to recover from their ſurprize; and their troops ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The confuſion was not, however, general. While one quarter was filled with diſorder, the other, where the count de Cominges commanded, fled to arms and advanced againſt the enemy. Elated with ſucceſs, the Engliſh attacked them with incredible fury, and the engagement became very bloody; when the garriſon, alarmed by hearing the trumpets ſound a general charge, and diſcovering by the light of the dawn the Engliſh enſigns, ſallied out, attacked the French in flank, and put them to flight. Above ſeven thouſand were ſlain, and twelve hundred taken priſoners, among whom were many noblemen and perſons of diſtinction.

The earl of Derby having defeated the main forces of the French in theſe parts, and poſſeſſed himſelf of many conſiderable places, marched to Bourdeaux, where, putting his troops into winter quarters, he embarked for England, in order to procure freſh ſuccours againſt the enſuing campaign.

A. D. 1345. In the beginning of this year John de Montfort, after having ſuffered a ſevere impriſonment in the caſtle of the Louvre, found means to make his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a beggar, and coming over to England, where his counteſs and ſon then reſided, did homage and ſwore fealty to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Britany. He then returned to that duchy, accompanied by the earls of Northampton and Oxford, with a conſiderable body of forces; and, taking the field early in the ſpring, reduced Dian and other fortreſſes on the ſea-coaſt. This ſucceſs encouraged him to inveſt Quimper-Corentin, which had been taken by Charles de Blois; but that competitor advancing with a numerous army to the relief of the place, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retired to Hennebonne, where he ſoon after died of a fever.

Soon after the death of Montfort, the earl of Derby arrived from England with eight thouſand men at arms, and joining his forces with thoſe of the earl of Northampton they took the field, and, in a ſhort time, made themſelves maſters of ſeverable conſiderable places, particularly St. Baſil, and St. Roche.

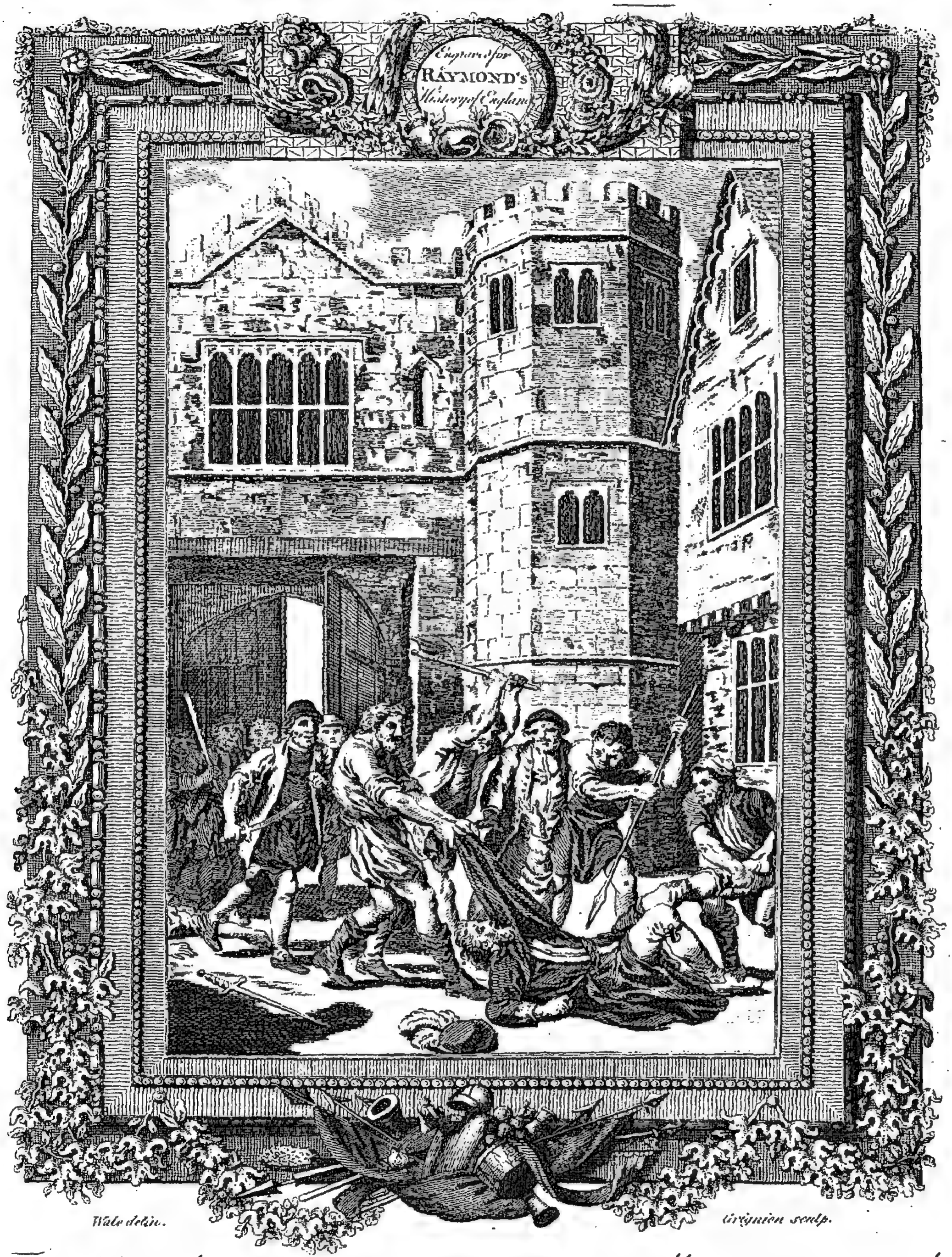
Alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh, Philip collected a numerous army, the command of which he gave to his ſon the duke of Normandy, aſſiſted by the duke of Burgundy. In conſequence of this, the earl of Derby, knowing how impolitic it would be to meet the French in the open field, determined to act on the defenſive, and endeavour only to preſerve the places already conquered. He therefore furniſhed all thoſe that were fortified with good garriſons, and large quantities of proviſions and military ſtores; having done which he paſſed over to England, to inform Edward of the dangerous ſtate of the provinces, and the proceedings of the French monarch.

A. D. 1346. Edward no ſooner received the earl of Derby's report, than he immediately determined to head his army in perſon againſt the enemy; and accordingly ſummoned all his allies on the ſide of Flanders to furniſh their quota of troops for the intended expedition. But here a diſappointment took place little expected by Edward. The allies refuſed to fulfil their engagements, and Jacob Ardevelt, the popular leader of Ghent, who had been ſo ſtrenuous in the cauſe of Edward, was no more. The circumſtances which occaſioned his death were as follow:

Deſirous of transferring the government from the earls of Flanders to the prince of Wales, Ardevelt had propoſed, in a meeting of the ſtates, to inſiſt that their count ſhould renounce his alliance with Philip de Valois; and in caſe he perſiſted in maintaining that connection, that they ſhould transfer their allegiance to young Edward, adding, that they had nothing to fear from the reſentment of either their own ſovereign or the king of France, as the Engliſh monarch was both able and willing effectually to ſupport them. Aſtoniſhed at this unexpected propoſal, and afraid of contradicting ſo popular a leader, the ſtates deſired time to conſult their conſtituents, as they had no authority to determine a queſtion of ſuch importance without their conſent. The requeſt was too reaſonable to be denied, and the aſſembly broke up in great confuſion. Ardevelt's enemies laid hold of this attempt to ruin him: they charged him with having embezzled conſiderable ſums of the public money; and of having made large remittances to England, whither he intended to retire, in order to enjoy in tranquillity the riches he had procured by deceiving the people. The giddy multitude eagerly ſwallowed the bait prepared for them. The idol they had ſo long worſhipped was now devoted to deſtruction: they thirſted for the blood of a perſon, for whoſe preſervation, but a few weeks before, they would willingly have ſhed their own. Ardevelt ſoon felt the effects of this fatal change in the ſentiments of the people. The enraged populace ſurrounded his houſe, forced the door, and, after having killed moſt of his guards, dragged him into the ſtreet, where he was cruelly hacked and murdered by his enraged and ferocious countrymen.

The death of Ardevelt, and the deſertion of moſt of the German allies deſtroyed all hopes of Edward's being able to attack France on the ſide of Flanders. He therefore embarked at Portſmouth with his forces for Guienne; but was prevented from putting to ſea by contrary winds. During this interval Godfrey de Harcourt, one of the moſt powerful noblemen of Normandy, and who, with ſeveral of his countrymen, had joined Edward, perſuaded him to change his plan of operations, and, inſtead of landing in Guienne, to make a deſcent in Normandy, the inhabitants of which he repreſented as diſaffected, degenerate and defenceleſs.

The advice of Harcourt being taken by Edward, as ſoon as the wind would permit he ſet ſail from St. Helen's, and in two days landed without oppoſition at La Hogue, where he knighted his eldeſt



The celebrated JACOB VAN ARDEVELT cruelly MURDERED by the Populace at GHENT, for having espoused the Cause of EDWARD III. King of England against PHILIP of France.

eldeſt ſon the prince Wales, a youth then only ſixteen years of age.

The firſt thing Edward did was to deſtroy the ſhips at La Hogue, Barfleur and Cherbourgh; having done which he marched at the head of his forces to Valogne, and from thence to Carentan, both of which places readily opened their gates on his approach. From hence he proceeded to St. Lo, which ſubmitted after a faint reſiſtance, and, continuing his march, arrived in the neighbourhood of Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy. This place was defended by a large body of troops under command of count d'Eu, conſtable of France, and count Tankerville, chamberlain of Normandy. Theſe generals, confiding in their valour, ſallied out with their forces againſt the Engliſh; but met with ſo warm a reception that they were ſoon defeated. The two generals, with many knights and principal officers were taken priſoners, and the greater part of their forces put to the ſword. The Engliſh then entered the city, which they plundered of all its moſt valuable treaſures. The booty was conſiderable, the whole of which, together with all the perſons of diſtinction, was embarked, and ſent to England.

Though the city of Caen was taken, yet the caſtle ſtill held out; but Edward, thinking the reduction of it would be of little conſequence, left the place, and marched towards Rouen, the capital of Normandy. In his route he took the towns of Louvre and Liſieux; but on advancing to the banks of the Seine he found the bridge already broke down, and the French monarch poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the river, at the head of a prodigious army. Edward did every thing in his power to provoke Philip to battle. He laid the whole country waſte, and burnt the ſuburbs of Port l'Arche, Vernon, and Mullien. The ſame fate attended the noble palace of St. Germain; and ſome of the light troops carried their ravages into the very heart of the country Edward made another attempt to paſs the Seine at Poiſſy, but met with the ſame diſappointment; the bridge was broken down, and Philip's army appeared on the oppoſite bank of the river. Some ſtratagem was therefore neceſſary to elude the vigilance of Philip. Accordingly the Engliſh monarch marched with great rapidity, farther up the Seine; but by a ſudden countermarch during the night, returned to Poiſſy, repaired the bridge, routed the militia left to guard the paſſage, croſſed the river, and advanced, with quick marches, towards Flanders. In this route he burnt the ſuburbs of Beauvais; and defeated, with great ſlaughter, the inhabitants of Amiens, who were marching to reinforce their king's army. But he ſoon found himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation: all the bridges that were over the Somme were either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded; and the whole country was in a moſt deſolate ſtate. Philip was alſo advancing againſt him at the head of 100,000 men; and Godemar de Faye was ſtationed on the oppoſite ſide of the Somme, with a numerous army, to obſerve his motions.

In order to extricate himſelf from this dangerous ſituation, Edward cauſed a reward to be offered to any perſon who would lead his army to a place where he might paſs the Somme; and a peaſant of Normandy, preferring riches to the ſafety of his country, pointed out a ford below Blanchetaque, where the ſtream was not above a foot in depth at low water. This diſcovery revived the courage of the Engliſh; they decamped at midnight, and reached the ford about ſun-riſing the next morning, a little before the tide of flood made up the river. The place exactly anſwered the deſcription given of it by the peaſant; but the oppoſite bank was guarded by Godemar de Faye, at the head of twelve thouſand men. This oppoſition was not, however, ſufficient to intimidate Edward, who, plunging himſelf into the ſtream, called out, "Let all who love me follow my example." Animated by the preſence and example of their ſovereign, the ſoldiers followed with the moſt amazing intrepidity. The French made a noble ſtand; but nothing was capable of ſtopping the career of the Engliſh: they were not intimidated by any oppoſition; and after a bloody diſpute, put the enemy to flight, and gained the oppoſite bank, juſt as the van of Philip's army appeared under the command of the king of Bohemia.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the vexation of Philip at this incident. He had traced the Engliſh many miles by the ſmoaking ruins left behind them, and thought himſelf ſure of overtaking the invaders. But it was in vain to repine; the tide of flood was made up the river, and rendered a paſſage impoſſible, while the Engliſh purſued their march without farther oppoſition.

After proceeding ſome miles, Edward, thinking it would be impoſſible to purſue his march over the extenſive plains of Picardy, without expoſing his van to inevitable deſtruction from the French cavalry, determined to make a halt, and venture a general engagement. He accordingly choſe an advantageous ſpot of ground near the village of Creſſy; and to ſecure his flank from the furious attacks of the French horſe, threw up a large entrenchment, and extended it round a ſmall wood, where he depoſited his baggage. Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, he drew up his army on a ſmall eminence, and divided it into three lines. The firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Geoffrey Harcourt of Normandy, the lords Stafford, Chandois, Delaware, Holland and Cobham, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. This line conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand archers, and ſix thouſand Welſhmen. The ſecond line was commanded by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, aſſiſted by the lords Willoughby, Roſs, Baſſet of Sapcote, and Malton; and conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, two thouſand four hundred archers, and four thouſand bill men. The king himſelf commanded the third line, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and five thouſand three hundred bill-men.

In this poſition Edward waited the approach of the enemy, who in a few days appeared within ſight of the Engliſh army. Philip reſolving to give battle, immediately divided his forces into three lines, the firſt of which was led by John de Luxembourgh, king of Bohemia, and compoſed of three thouſand men at arms, twenty-nine thouſand infantry, and fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi. Theſe were placed oppoſite to the Engliſh archers. Charles, duke of Alencon, brother to Philip, led the ſecond diviſion, conſiſting of four thouſand men at arms, and twenty thouſand infantry. The third diviſion was headed by Philip in perſon; and formed a body of reſerve, amounting to twelve thouſand men at

arms, and fifty thouſand foot.

The two armies being thus prepared for battle, Edward, in order to animate his troops, rode through every rank, and uſed the moſt forcible arguments to inſpire them with the noble reſolution of endeavouring to obtain a conqueſt, or periſh in the attempt. He told them that the great number of the enemy ſhould be ſo far from intimidating, that it ought to inſpire them with courage; that confuſion would be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch multitudes of undiſciplined forces; and that the order in which he had placed them, added to their own reſolution, would be abundantly ſufficient to repel all the attacks of the French army. Adding, "I requeſt nothing from you, but that you imitate my example, and that of the prince of Wales." The troops caught the courage and noble intrepidity of their ſovereign, and ſeemed anxious to be led againſt the enemy.

The battle was begun by the Genoeſe croſs-bow-men, but the Engliſh archers poured in ſuch a dreadful ſhower of arrows, that they were unable to ſupport the ſhock, and fell back, in great diſorder, upon the duke d'Alençon's cavalry. Another diſcharge of arrows from the Engliſh doubly encreaſed the confuſion; and the whole body ſeemed to be in a ſtate of hurry, terror and diſmay. At length the duke d'Alençon, having diſengaged himſelf from the flying Genoeſe, made a circuit with his cavalry, and fell upon the flank of the firſt battalion of Engliſh archers. The battle now became deſperate and bloody. The French opened a paſſage through the archers, and advanced againſt the prince of Wales, who received them with ſuch firmneſs and reſolution, that numbers of them were ſlain; but the prince himſelf was ſtill in the greateſt danger of being ſurrounded by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy. The earls of Arundel and Northampton perceived his ſituation, and detached a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. Philip ſeeing this ſent three ſquadrons of French and German knights to the aid of his brother the duke d'Alençon. The prince was now attacked both in front and rear; and a meſſenger was diſpatched by the earl of Warwick to the king, to inform him of the danger of his ſon, and deſire him to order a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. The king aſked the meſſenger if his ſon was ſtill alive, and being anſwered that he was, and had performed the moſt aſtoniſhing feats of valor, he bade the meſſenger depart, and tell his generals from him, "That they ſhould no more ſend to him while the prince was alive, he being determined that the honor of the day ſhould be wholly his; and that he muſt now, if ever, win his ſpurs." This anſwer being delivered to the prince in the hearing of his followers, they ſeemed to be inſpired with freſh courage: they were more than a match for the increaſing numbers of the enemy, who exerted all their efforts to break again the compacted phalanx of the Engliſh, who, in their turn, attacked the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were unable to ſtand the ſhock. A dreadful carnage enſued, princes, peers, generals, knights, and common ſoldiers, fell promiſcuouſly, and formed a frightful heap of ſlain.

Enraged to ſee the two firſt lines of his army totally defeated, Philip advanced at the head of the body of reſerve, which the confuſion that prevailed in the French army had hitherto prevented from engaging. Confounded at the ſight of ſeeing ſuch numbers of their countrymen ſlain, and the whole plain filled with fugitives, the troops anſwered not the courage of their leader, who gave ſignal proofs of his valor and capacity as a general, but it was too late. The French refuſed any longer to face the Engliſh, and a general flight enſued. Philip himſelf was wounded, and carried off the field of battle. The ſtandard of France was thrown down, and the whole French army diſperſed, every one providing, in the beſt manner, for his own ſafety.

As ſoon as the magnanimous Edward found the victory was compleat he moved from his ſtation, and, taking his helmet from his head, ran to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in the moſt affectionate manner in ſight of the whole army, ſaying, "My gallant ſon, heaven grant you may perſevere in the glorious courſe you have begun! The heroic manner in which you have acquitted yourſelf to-day ſufficiently proves you deſerve that crown you are born to wear."

Such was the iſſue of the famous battle of Creſſy, which was fought on the 25th of Auguſt, 1346, when, by a moderate computation, there fell by the ſwords of the Engliſh twenty-four baronets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand infantry; together with the principal nobility of France, and the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. The creſt of the former of theſe two monarchs conſiſted of three oſtrich feathers, and as he had acted in the capacity of a volunteer, he took the motto Ich Dien, which, in the German language, ſignifies *I ſerve*. This device young Edward aſſumed to himſelf in memory of the victory, and the princes of Wales have ever ſince retained it in their arms.

Though mercy was refuſed to the living during the battle of Creſſy, the dead were treated with the greateſt marks of humanity. Edward ſent the body of the king of Bohemia to his family; cauſed the field of battle to be conſecrated, attended in perſon the funerals of the noblemen who fell in the action, and ordered the common ſoldiers to be interred with the greateſt decency.

Having ſtaid three whole days in the performance of theſe laudable offices, Edward led his victorious army towards Calais, which he inveſted on the third of September. The garriſon made a gallant defence, under the command of John de Vienne, who repulſed the beſiegers in all their aſſaults. Edward, ſeeing there was no probability of reducing the place by ſtorm, reſolved to ſtarve the garriſon into a ſurrender, and accordingly ordered huts to be built for his army during the winter. The governor, perceiving his deſign, ſent about ſeventeen hundred uſeleſs hands out of the town, that the garriſon might ſubſiſt the longer, and Edward, with a generoſity not common in thoſe times, not only ſuffered them to paſs unmoleſted, but likewiſe gave them money to relieve their neceſſities.

While Edward was carrying on the war with France, the counteſs of Montfort was diſplaying her heroic abilities in Britany. Charles de Blois, at the head of a numerous army, inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Reen, and puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. The place was of too much importance for the counteſs to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without making one attempt for its relief. She therefore put herſelf at the head of her little army, and having received a reinforcement of Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the

French during the night, routed the whole army, and took Charles de Blois priſoner. This misfortune called another heroine from obſcurity. The counteſs of Blois, in whoſe right her huſband claimed the duchy of Britany, ſeized the reins of government, and became a powerful rival to the counteſs of Montfort. She was her equal both in the field and cabinet; and the war was carried on with the ſame vigour as before her huſband's captivity.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent the Scots had recalled David Bruce from France, who at the inſtigation of Philip, invaded England at the head of a very powerful army. As David's intention was to ravage the country, he levied the moſt oppreſſive contributions, and committed the moſt dreadful diſorders in his march, which he extended to the gates of Durham. The diſtreſs of the people animated queen Philippa to march in perſon to their defence; and having collected an army of twelve thouſand men, ſhe led them againſt the Scottiſh invaders. Her army was divided into four bodies, the firſt commanded by lord Piercy; the ſecond by the archbiſhop of York and lord Neville; the third by the biſhop of Lincoln and lord Mowbray; and the fourth by Baliol in perſon. In this order the Engliſh approached the army of Bruce encamped at Neville's-Croſs, near the city of Durham. Bruce drew up his army in three lines; the firſt, conſiſting of French auxiliaries and the flower of the Scottiſh nobility, was commanded by the king in perſon; the ſecond by Robert, high-ſteward of Scotland and the earl of Marche; and the third by the earls of Murray and Douglas.

The battle was begun by a troop of Genoeſe croſs bow-men, who ſerved in the diviſion under Robert; but they were ſoon routed by the more experienced Engliſh archers. Robert perceived the ſuperiority of the latter, and preſſed on furiouſly with his men at arms, to begin a cloſe fight with the detachment under lord Piercy. The Engliſh archers opened immediately to the right and left, to let the enemy paſs, but cloſed again immediately, and galled them dreadfully with their arrows in flank, while they were engaged in front with the Engliſh infantry. Robert, however, maintained the fight with the greateſt intrepidity; and it was for ſome time doubtful to which ſide Fortune would give the victory. Baliol ſaw the danger, and led up his diviſion to the aſſiſtance of lord Piercy. The Scots were now ſtruck with a panic, and immediately betook themſelves to flight. Baliol, who was not deficient in military abilities, inſtead of purſuing the fugitives, wheeled ſuddenly about, and fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity on the flank of the diviſion commanded by the king. David fought with great intrepidity, and, aſſiſted by his friends, made a noble ſtand againſt the attacks of the Engliſh; but the conteſt was unequal; the whole diviſion was broken and put to flight, and the king himſelf taken priſoner. The third diviſion, under the earls of Murray and Douglas, ſtill ſtood firm, but were ſoon broken when attacked by the whole force of the Engliſh. Murray was ſlain in endeavouring to rally his men, and Douglas taken priſoner. Robert rallied his men after he had given way to the attacks of the Engliſh, and retreated in excellent order, by which the other fugitives had time to join him, and form a body; but the victors did not think proper to purſue them.

Never did the Scots receive a more fatal blow than at this battle. No leſs than fifteen thouſand fell in the action; and, from a liſt of the ſlain, and thoſe who were taken priſoners, it appeared that there was ſcarcely a noble family in Scotland that did not ſhare in the public calamity.

The next day after the battle queen Philippa returned with her army to London, taking with her David Bruce and about thirty Scotch noblemen her priſoners, whom ſhe confined in the Tower. A few days after ſhe embarked at Dover, and paſſed over to the Engliſh camp before Calais, where ſhe was received with all the reſpect due to her rank and diſtinguiſhed valour.

The garriſon and inhabitants of Calais had held out againſt all the efforts of the Engliſh to take it. But they were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. Philip was no ſtranger to their wretched condition, and reſolved to march to their relief. He accordingly aſſembled a very numerous army, and advanced towards the place; but he found the Engliſh camp ſo well ſecured by entrenchments, encompaſſed with moraſſes, that he could not attempt to force it without expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, and therefore retreated with his army.

A. D. 1347. The garriſon of Calais, deſpairing of relief, and being almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, at length deſired to capitulate; in conſequence of which John de Vienne, the governor, appearing on the walls, made the ſignal for a conference; and Edward ſent Sir Walter Manny to hear what he had to propoſe. The governor told him, that having now no farther hopes of relief, he was willing to ſurrender the place, and deſired no other conditions than that the lives and liberties of the garriſon ſhould be ſecured. Manny anſwered, that Edward was ſo exaſperated againſt the inhabitants of Calais for their pertinacious reſiſtance, that he was ſure he would receive no conditions that ſhould confine him with regard to their puniſhment. "Is this" replied Vienne, the treat-
"ment to which brave men are entitled? Would not your king have expected the ſame conduct from any Engliſh knight in my condition, which I have performed for my ſovereign? The noble defence made by the inhabitants of Calais certainly merits the eſteem of every prince, much more of ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we muſt periſh, we ſhall not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet ſo reduced, but we can ſell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is, doubtleſs, the intereſt of both ſides to prevent theſe deſperate extremities; and I expect that you yourſelf, brave knight, will interpoſe your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny, ſtruck with the juſtice of theſe remarks, exerted all his intereſt with Edward in behalf of the brave garriſon of Calais. He repreſented the dreadful conſequences that might reſult from treating them with ſeverity, which, he ſaid, could not fail of increaſing the miſeries of war, already ſufficiently calamitous. Edward felt the whole force of his obſervations, and thought proper to mitigate the ſeverity of the conditions he had demanded. He only inſiſted that ſix of the principal citizens ſhould repair to his camp with the keys of the fortreſs, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper, and on theſe conditions he promiſed to ſpare the lives of the reſt of the inhabitants.

The horror and confuſion which theſe ſevere conditions excited in the breaſts of the inhabitants

may

may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. They endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of the victor by the moſt humble ſubmiſſions and affecting remonſtrances. But Edward was inflexible; and it was reſolved by a council of the garriſon to ſubmit to the maſſacre that muſt follow from the refuſal, rather than devote ſix of their brethren to an ignominious death, for no other reaſon than that of having done their duty to their king and country. But before the council broke up, Euſtace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, ſtept forth, and offered to lay down his life for the ſafety of his friends and companions. Affected with this uncommon inſtance of magnanimity, three of his own relations declared themſelves ready to ſhare in the glorious ſacrifice; and two others were quickly found who followed their example. Theſe willing victims marched out of the town, barefooted, in their ſhirts, with halters about their necks; and, when they came to the Engliſh camp, preſented the keys of their city, and proſtrated themſelves at the feet of Edward, who, ſtill burning with reſentment, gave orders that they ſhould be carried to immediate execution. Their backs were already turned on the remorſeleſs maſter of their fate, and they were proceeding, mournful, though determined, to meet their doom, when the queen, who was then big with child, pierced with the afflictions of virtue in diſtreſs, fell on her knees before Edward, and beſought him with tears to ſpare the lives of thoſe brave men, whoſe only crime was their attachment to their ſovereign. Edward could not withſtand the force of conjugal affection; he relented, and the hercic burghers were pardoned. But the compaſſion of Philippa did not terminate here: ſhe conducted the almoſt famiſhed victims to her tent, ordered them a noble repaſt, made them a preſent of money and clothes, and ſent them back to their friends in ſafety.

The victorious Edward being now maſter of Calais, took every precaution in his power to ſecure his conqueſt. He knew it would be impoſſible for him ever to make the inhabitants real friends to his government, and therefore obliged them all to leave the town, which he peopled with his own ſubjects from England, and, for their ſecurity placed therein a ſtrong garriſon.

Soon after Edward had obtained the acquiſition of Calais, he liſtened to the mediation of the pope, and after concluding a truce with Philip, returned with his forces to England.

A. D. 1348. But the terms of this truce were very ill obſerved; and it was not long before an attempt was made to recover Calais, by corrupting the governor. One Aimery de Pavia, an Italian knight, brave and intrepid in war, but a ſtranger to every principle of honour and fidelity, was entruſted by the Engliſh monarch with the command of this important fortreſs. Geoffrey de Charny, governor of St. Omer's, found means to open a negotiation with Aimery; who, in conſideration of twenty thouſand golden crowns, promiſed to admit a certain number of Frenchmen into the fortreſs; and the moſt proper methods were accordingly taken to inſure ſucceſs. Edward, informed of the deſign by Aimery's ſecretary, prepared to turn the contrivance to the deſtruction of the enemy. He ſent for the governor to London, and reproached him with his crime; but promiſed to ſpare his life, if he would aſſiſt him in taking vengeance for the perfidious attempt. Aimery readily agreed to this double treachery; a day was appointed for the admiſſion of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of a thouſand men, under Sir Walter Manny, departed ſecretly from London, taking with him the prince of Wales, and, without being in the leaſt ſuſpected, arrived at Calais in the evening before the day appointed for delivering up the place. He immediately made a proper diſpoſition for the reception of the enemy and kept all his forces, as well as the garriſon, under arms. On the appearance of Charny, a choſen troop of French ſoldiers was admitted at the poſtern by the governor, who received the ſtipulated ſum. All the French who entered were immediately made priſoners, while Charny was waiting with impatience for the ſignal to enter the town in triumph. At length the great gates were thrown open, and the Engliſh ruſhed out under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, both Edward and the prince of Wales ſerving as volunteers. Charny was aſtoniſhed, but determined to diſpute the victory with the enemy. He accordingly drew up his men in a ſquare battalion, and maintained the fight with great reſolution. During the conteſt a valiant knight, named Euſtace de Ribaumont, fought in ſingle combat with Edward, whom he beat twice to the ground, and who as often recovered himſelf with the moſt ſurpriſing agility. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt Ribaumont owned himſelf conquered, and delivered his ſword to the king. In the mean time Charny maintained the fight with great obſtinacy, till, perceiving his retreat cut off by another detachment from the town he ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the officers were conducted to Calais, where they ſpent the evening with Edward, who treated them with great reſpect, and then firſt diſcovered to them that he had been preſent in the action. The king declared Ribaumont the braveſt knight he had ever encountered, and reſtored him to his liberty without ranſom. As for Aimery he was removed from his office, and Sir John Beauchamp appointed governor of Calais in his ſtead; ſoon after which Edward, with his ſon the prince of Wales, and the Engliſh nobility, returned to England.

A. D. 1349. As Edward had been always fond of Windſor Caſtle as a country retreat, he now made it the ſeat of a military order, which he founded in honour of St. George, the patron of England. A garter of blue velvet with the inſcription *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe* was the ſymbol of union and concord choſen for this noble fraternity, which, from hence, was called the order of the Garter*.

But the happineſs and tranquillity which now prevailed in the Engliſh court, and indeed throughout the kingdom in general, was ſuddenly changed into ſorrow and mourning, by a moſt deſtructive peſti-

* The Order of the Garter, which was inſtituted at this time, is ſaid to have owed its origin to the following circumſtance: Edward was greatly enamoured with the counteſs of Saliſbury, who having, at a court ball, dropped her garter, the king took it up; and obſerving that ſome of his courtiers ſmiled, as if he had not obtained that opportunity merely by accident, he called out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*. That is, "Evil be to him that evil thinks." Theſe words became the motto of the order. It conſiſted of twenty-ſix perſons including the ſovereign; and ſoon after became a capital object to courtiers, who ſtill conſider it as one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours they can receive.

peſtilence which was diſperſed into moſt parts of Europe. It firſt appeared in the northern parts of Aſia; and, after ſpreading over all that country, continued its deſtructive progreſs from one end of Europe to the other. The weſtern parts of England firſt felt this dreadful ſcourge, which ſoon after reached the capital, and raged, with unremitting fury, near two years, ſo that hardly one tenth part of the inhabitants ſurvived; and it was computed that in London only no leſs than 50,000 perſons periſhed.

The Scots took advantage of this misfortune to renew their ravages in the northern parts of England; but they paid dearly for their conduct. Above five thouſand of them were ſwept away by the plague, and the reſt returned to their own kingdom, to diſperſe the peſtiferous ſeeds of this dreadful diſeaſe among their countrymen.

A. D. 1351. Towards the latter end of this year the French monarch, having, notwithſtanding the truce with Edward, made ſome captures at ſea, was ſo elated as to fit out a powerful fleet, with a vague deſign of making a deſcent on England. But his expectations were ſoon deſtroyed by the gallant Edward, who ſtood towards them in the channel, with an Engliſh fleet, which entirely defeated the combined navy of France and Spain, and induced the latter power to ſue for a truce for twenty years, which Edward readily granted, from a view of its being advantageous to the commercial intereſts of his ſubjects.

A. D. 1352. This was the laſt warlike tranſaction in which Philip de Valois was engaged, as he ſoon after paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by his ſon John duke of Normandy. Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had acquired the title of Fortunate; but the tranſactions that took place during his holding the ſovereignty were very little demonſtrative of the propriety of this epithet, though his bad ſucceſs was leſs owing to his want of courage and conduct, than to the better fortune and ſuperior proweſs of his rival Edward.

John, who ſucceeded Philip on the throne of France, was a prince poſſeſſed of many virtues, but they were rather of a private than public nature. With a heart full of the juſteſt ſentiments of honour and ſincerity, he was, of all others, the moſt improper perſon to ſway the ſceptre of France in thoſe turbulent times; he wanted that maſterly prudence and foreſight, that penetration and ſagacity, which the ſituation of his affairs required. His relation, Charles, king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Bad, threw the kingdom of France into great confuſion, in which ſtate it continued near three years, when that prince entered into a private treaty with the Engliſh, and even ſeduced the dauphin to engage in his intrigues; but the French prince, being at laſt convinced of the folly of ſuch deſtructive connections, invited the king of Navarre, and the noblemen of his party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were all betrayed into the hands of John, who immediately ſent them to priſon.

A. D. 1356. The ſeizing and confining the king of Navarre was highly reſented by Edward; and the prince of Wales (generally known by the name of the Black Prince from the colour of his armour) having the preceding year made a ſucceſsful expedition into Guienne, Edward now ſent him a meſſage, requeſting him to purſue his conqueſt with the utmoſt vigour. In obedience to this meſſage young Edward advanced into Quercy at the head of two thouſand men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and four thouſand foot. The ſucceſs of this young warrior was aſtoniſhing: he waſted Quercy, the Limoſin, and Auvergne, advanced to Berry, and after ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon Bourges and Iſſodun, took Vierzon by ſtorm. Here he refreſhed his army, and received the firſt intelligence that the king of France was poſted at Chartres, on the other ſide of the Loire, all the fords of which were ſtrongly guarded.

Young Edward now perceived it was impracticable to advance farther, and therefore reſolved to retreat to Bourdeaux. John perceiving his intentions, croſſed the Loire, and marched with ſuch expedition, that he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Poictiers. Edward, knowing a retreat was now impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and all the prudence of the oldeſt and moſt experienced commander. He poſted his men in a place of difficult acceſs, full of hedges, buſhes and vineyards, where neither the enemy's cavalry could attempt to pierce, nor their infantry attack him without great diſadvantage: at the end of a narrow lane, the only avenue by which the French could advance to attack his main body, he placed a ſquare battalion of the flower of his Engliſh archers; nor could the enemy avail themſelves of their great ſuperiority of numbers, till theſe were broken.

The French army, which conſiſted of above 60,000 men, was encamped between Beauvoir and Maupertuis, and had John known how to have made a proper uſe of his numerous forces, his ſucceſs had been infallible without hazarding a battle. Prince Edward was already ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that a few days would have been ſufficient to have forced him to ſurrender at diſcretion. But the imprudent ardour of the French nobility would admit of no reſtraint; they imagined themſelves ſure of victory, and advanced immediately to attack the Engliſh. Juſt before the charge was ſounded, the cardinal of Perigord reached the French army; and at his intreaty the battle was deferred till he had viſited the Engliſh prince, and endeavoured to ſave the farther effuſion of human blood, by an advantageous peace. Edward told the cardinal he would agree to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour, and that of his country. He offered to purchaſe a retreat to Bourdeaux, by reſigning all the conqueſts he had made, and ſtipulating not to ſerve againſt France during ſeven years. Theſe offers were haughtily rejected by John, who peremptorily inſiſted, that the prince himſelf, together with an hundred of the chief nobility in his army, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners; and on theſe conditions he offered a ſafe retreat to the Engliſh army. The anſwer of the prince was that of an hero, who fears death much leſs than diſhonour. He declared that neither himſelf nor his knights ſhould be taken but in battle; and that he would rather ſacrifice his life than conſent to terms of ſo infamous a nature.

The ſword was now to determine the important conteſt, and the next morning the time fixed for determining the fate of thouſands. Edward employed the whole night in ſtrengthening the poſt he had ſo judiciouſly choſen with new entrenchments; and detached a body of choſen men, under the command of an experienced officer named de Greilly, with orders to make a compaſs round the hill, and keep himſelf concealed under covert of the hedges and ditches with which it was ſurrounded, till the battle ſhould begin, and then to

fall with the utmoſt fury on the French rear. He then divided his troops into three diſtinct bodies, but ranged in ſo cloſe and compact a manner, that they ſeemed to form only a ſquare battalion: the front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges; and the flanks were ſecured on one ſide by a ſteep hill, and on the other by a moraſs. The earl of Warwick was ſtationed on the ſide of the hill, with the troops which compoſed the van; the rear, commanded by the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, was poſted behind about a ſtone's caſt from the lane through which the French muſt march to the attack. At the end of this lane was a pretty large gap, where Edward took his poſt at the head of the main body, which extended itſelf among the vines and buſhes; the weaker part of the field being inloſed by the carriages and baggage waggons. The French army was alſo divided into three bodies, the firſt of which was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond by the dauphin of France, aſſiſted by his two brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the third, which conſiſted of 40,000 of the beſt troops in France, was led by the king in perſon.

Both parties having made the neceſſary preparations for engaging, the battle was begun about nine o'clock in the morning by three hundred choſen Frenchmen, who marched up the lane towards the main body of the Engliſh; but were ſo galled by the archers, who lined the hedges, that one half of them were ſlain before they reached the front of Edward's diviſion, where all the reſt were cut to pieces by an advanced party commanded by lord Audley. The marſhals Clermont and Andrehen, who with a body of choſen cavalry had advanced cloſe behind the men at arms to ſupport them, met with ſo warm a reception from the earl of Warwick, and at the ſame time ſo impetuous an attack from the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, at the head of a detachment from the rear, that Clermont was killed on the ſpot, and Andrehen obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner: moſt of the corps ſhared the fate of the former.

The firſt attack of the French being thus rendered abortive, the dauphin advanced to the charge, but not without great difficulty; his men, diſpirited at the fate of their companions, were not ready to follow their leader. In this critical moment de Greilly fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity upon their rear, and threw them into terrible diſorder: the Engliſh archers plied them with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows from every quarter; while the other infantry with ſwords and battle-axes ruſhed upon them and made the moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The French threw down their arms and betook themſelves to flight, while three principal officers, to whom the care of the dauphin and his two brothers had been particularly committed, carried them off the field of battle. The whole diviſion followed their leaders, and the duke of Orleans, ſtruck with the ſame panic, fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

But the grand diviſion, which was headed by John in perſon, aſſiſted by his principal nobility, ſtood firm and ſeemed determined to diſpute the victory with the Engliſh, who were far inferior in numbers. Edward, far from being diſmayed, mounted his horſe, and advanced at the head of his army to begin the attack. The dreadful ſtruggle for victory now commenced, and the moſt violent ſhock enſued. John exerted his utmoſt efforts to retrieve by valour what he had loſt by his imprudence. The prince of Wales fell with the moſt amazing impetuoſity on a body of German cavalry placed in the front, and a ſtubborn conteſt enſued. Nor did the Germans give ground till their three leaders, together with the conſtable of France, were ſlain, when they fled with the utmoſt precipitation from the field of battle.

The French monarch now ſaw himſelf reduced to a ſmall battalion of faithful friends, who were continually leſſening by the ſwords of the Engliſh. At laſt, wearied out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with numbers, he weilded the ſword but faintly, and might eaſily have been ſlain; but every one was emulous of ſo noble a prize, and therefore, as they approached, called out to him to ſurrender, and offered him quarter. Unwilling, however, to yield himſelf a priſoner to any perſon of inferior rank, he cried out, "Where is my couſin the prince of Wales; to him only will I yield." Being informed that Edward was in another part of the field, he ſtill perſiſted obſtinately to defend himſelf, till Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, made his way through the croud of aſſailants, and requeſted John to yield himſelf his priſoner. John, after being aſſured that he was a knight, threw down his gauntlet as a ſignal of ſurrender, and both he and his ſon Philip were made priſoners.

Young Edward (who was at this time in purſuit of the flying enemy) no ſooner heard of the captivity of John, than he immediately diſpatched the earl of Warwick, and the lord Cobham, at the head of a ſmall detachment, to enquire into his ſituation, and, if poſſible, reſcue him from the hands of the ſoldiers. Warwick luckily arrived ſoon enough to ſave his life. The Engliſh had taken the royal priſoners from Morbec; the Gaſcons claimed the honour of detaining them; and ſome of the brutal ſoldiers, rather than give them up to their rivals, threatened to put both the illuſtrious captives to death. Both parties were over-awed at the preſence of Warwick, who, approaching the captive monarch with the greateſt marks of reſpect, offered, in the moſt polite manner, to conduct him to the tent of Edward.

The conduct of the victorious prince, on this occaſion, did him no leſs honour than the great abilities and valour he had diſplayed in the field of battle. Inſtead of indulging a ſupercilious pride (too commonly the attendant on youthful warriors) he came from his tent to meet the captive king with all the marks of a ſincere regard. He ſympathized with his misfortunes: comforted him in his afflictions; paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory to capricious fortune. He ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the royal priſoner, and himſelf waited on him at table, as if he had been one of his retinue; and when preſſed by the king to ſit down, declared with the greateſt modeſty, "that it was not for a ſubject like him to ſit in the preſence of ſo great a monarch."

The noble example of the prince was imitated by all the officers throughout the Engliſh army; and the French priſoners were treated with the greateſt tenderneſs and humanity. The ſpoils taken in the French camp were ſo great that the meaneſt individual in the Engliſh army found himſelf placed beyond the reach of want during the remainder of his life. Indeed the ranſoms of the noble priſoners alone were more than ſufficient for that

that purpoſe; though theſe were very moderate. The extent of the fortunes of all were conſidered, and no more was exacted of them than they could eaſily ſpare; no man was that day impoveriſhed for his misfortunes; they had ſtill ſufficient to perform their military ſervice for the future in a manner ſuitable to their rank and quality.

Edward now ordered a ſolemn thankſgiving to be performed in the Engliſh camp for the late victory. This was continued for eight ſucceſſive days, at the expiration of which Edward ordered the camp to be broke up, and then marched at the head of his forces to Bourdeaux, taking with him his two royal priſoners.

A. D. 1357. While Edward was at Bourdeaux, pope Innocent VI. who then filled the papal chair, ſent the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital to him, with orders to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to bring about a peace; but failing in their negotiation, they confined their requeſt to a truce for two years. The prince, not chuſing to act of himſelf, wrote a letter to his father, deſiring his advice in ſo critical an affair. Edward ſent him full powers to act as he thought moſt conducive to the honour of his country. Being inveſted with theſe powers, the prince made no heſitation to comply with the requeſt of the cardinals, and accordingly ſigned the truce at Bourdeaux on the 23d of March.

Young Edward ſtaid about two months on the continent after ſigning the truce, in order to ſettle the affairs of Guienne; having done which he embarked with his royal captives, and landed at Sandwich in Kent on the 25th of May. He was received by the inhabitants of every place through which he paſſed with the greateſt expreſſions of joy, but repeatedly refuſed thoſe honours which were offered, deſiring that the reſpect intended for him might be transferred, with every mark of attention and civility, to the French monarch. He was met in Southwark by a thouſand of the principal citizens of London on horſeback; and the mayor diſplayed, on this occaſion, all the pomp of the city. The entry was truly magnificent. John was dreſſed in his royal robes, and mounted on a ſtately white courſer, remarkable for its ſize and beauty, as well as for the richneſs of its furniture. Young Edward rode on the left hand of his priſoner, on a little black palfry, and in a meaner dreſs, as if ſtudious to avoid every mark of diſtinction. The ſtreets through which they paſſed were ſuperbly adorned with plate, tapeſtry, and armour. The proceſſion reached Weſtminſter-hall about noon, where king Edward, ſurrounded by a ſplendid circle of the nobles, and other great men, received his royal priſoner in all the pomp of ſtate, but at the ſame time with all the courteſy as if he had been a neighbouring prince, who had come voluntarily to pay him a friendly viſit. All the pretenſions of Edward to the crown of France ſeemed to be forgotten, and John, though in captivity, received all the honours due to majeſty. He behaved with ſuch propriety on this occaſion as to be truly deſerving the generous treatment he received; and, though conquered and a priſoner, preſerved the dignity of a king. John was provided with an apartment in the royal palace, till the Savoy could be fitted up for his reception, and the French princes and noblemen brought over with him as priſoners were permitted to have their liberty on condition of remaining in London on their parole of honour.

John was not the only royal priſoner at this time in England. David Bruce was ſtill in confinement at Odiham in Hampſhire, the Scots having refuſed to pay his ranſom; but a circumſtance ſoon happened which procured his enlargement. Some time before the arrival of the prince of Wales from the continent, Edward had obliged Baliol to relinquiſh his right to Scotland, on condition of receiving an annual penſion of 2000l. Young Edward, moved by the intreaties of his aunt, the queen-conſort of Scotland, now prevailed on his father to conſent to a negotiation for the releaſement of her huſband; the conſequence of which was, that conferences were opened at Berwick, where it was agreed and concluded, "That David ſhould be ſet at liberty, acknowledged king of Scotland, and an independent monarch, on his giving hoſtages for the payment of one hundred thouſand marks ſterling in ten years, by equal portions; and that a truce ſhould ſubſiſt, and be inviolably obſerved by both nations, till the whole ſhould be paid." This treaty being ratified, David, after a captivity of eleven years, was releaſed, returned to Scotland, and reaſſumed the throne of his kingdom.

Soon after the ratification of this treaty the two cardinal legates, who had negotiated the truce with prince Edward at Bourdeaux, arrived in London, with propoſals for a peace: but of ſo ſtrange a nature, that Edward refuſed to return them any anſwer. Baffled in this attempt, they demanded, in the name of his holineſs, the arrears of the tribute formerly paid to the ſee of Rome, amounting to a thouſand marks. Edward treated this demand as an obſolete and ridiculous claim; and bid them tell the pontiff, "That he held his kingdom of God alone, and acknowledged no other ſuperior, nor would he pay tribute to any mortal upon earth."

A. D. 1358. So great a familiarity had ſubſiſted between Edward and his royal priſoner, John king of France, that the two monarchs, in the beginning of this year, made a private treaty of peace between themſelves, the ſubſtance of which was to this effect: "that, in conſideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs ſhould enjoy Guienne, the Angoumois, Xaintonge, Perigord, Quercy, the Limouſin, Poictou, Touraine, Calais, Guiſnes, the Boulonnois, and the county of Ponthieu, free and independent of the crown of France: and that John and the French nobles, who had been taken priſoners with him, ſhould pay, for their ranſom, four millions of crowns." Theſe articles were ſent over to the regent of France, who laid them before a meeting of the ſtates, by whom they were rejected with diſdain, as deſtructive at once to the honour and ſafety of the nation. Edward was highly exaſperated at this refuſal, and determined to renew the war as ſoon as the truce, which had been made by his ſon the prince of Wales, was expired.

On the 12th of November this year died Iſabella, the king's mother, whoſe ambition and unjuſtifiable paſſion for the infamous Mortimer, had proved fatal to her wretched huſband. She died at the caſtle of Riſings, in the 63d year of her age, and was buried in the choir of the Grey Friars, now called Chriſt Church in London.

A. D. 1359. Edward ſeldom formed any deſign of a public nature, but he would, if poſſible, carry it into execution. The truce with France was now expired, and he determined immediately to invade that kingdom. He accordingly

ingly embarked for the continent, and landed at Calais at the head of an army of 100,000 men. The dauphin, thinking this force irreſiſtible, was too prudent to hazard a deciſive action, and therefore ſuffered the enemy to ſpend their fury in the open country, while he induſtriouſly employed himſelf in putting the moſt conſiderable towns in a proper ſtate of defence.

Edward, after waſting the province of Picardy, and entering Champagne, was deſirous of having the royal diadem of France placed on his head in the city of Rheims. He accordingly inveſted the place, where three months were ſpent in fruitleſs endeavours to take it, during which ſo many of his men died, that he thought it prudent to raiſe the ſiege.

Early the following ſpring Edward entered Burgundy, which, together with the Nivernois, were preſerved from his ravages, by paying the contributions he demanded. The Brie and the Gatinois were next plundered with the utmoſt cruelty; after which he advanced to the gates of Paris, burnt the ſuburbs of that city, and challenged the dauphin to give him battle; but not being able to make that prudent prince change his plan of operations, he ſpread his army into the different provinces of Maine, Beauſſe, and the Chartraine. In this laſt province Edward was overtaken by ſo dreadful an hurricane, that it ſeemed to threaten the diſſolution of the univerſe. The ſhock of the elements, in thunder, lightening, and hail ſtones of a prodigious ſize, ſtruck the boldeſt with terror. No leſs than ſix thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, were killed on the ſpot. Edward, with all his courage, was not proof againſt this dreadful ſcene: he conſidered it as a warning for him to ſheathe the deſtructive ſword of war upon equitable terms. Penetrated with theſe ſentiments, he leaped from his horſe, and proſtrating himſelf on the ground, with his arms extended towards the church of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, he vowed to agree inſtantly to a peace with France, if it could be obtained upon juſt and honourable terms.

Soon after this incident a negotiation for peace * was opened at Bretagne, and a treaty concluded on the following conditions: "That the king of England ſhould renounce his pretenſions to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Tourain, and Anjou; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Perigord, the Limoſin, Agenois, Quercy, Bigone, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rovergne; and enjoy theſe territories in the fulleſt manner, and without any feudal ſubjection or homage. That the diſpute between Charles de Blois and John de Montfort, with regard to the duchy of Britany, ſhould be candidly diſcuſſed, and referred to arbitration, under the ſanction of both kings; but if their good offices proved ineffectual, neither ſhould take any part in the quarrel, though the ſovereignty of Britany ſhould remain to the king of France, and John de Montfort be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his eſtates in that kingdom: And laſtly, that the king of France ſhould renounce alliance with the Scots, and Edward his connections with the Flemings." Forty hoſtages, (among whom were the two ſons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many of the chief nobility of France) were given as ſecurities for the performance of theſe articles.

In conſequence of this treaty, the king of France was immediately ſet at liberty, and embarked for Calais, where he was met by Edward, and the treaty was ſolemnly ratified between them. Soon after Edward embarked with his hoſtages for England, and landed at Dover on the firſt of November, from whence he immediately proceeded to London amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1361. The concluſion of the war between France and England was productive of dreadful diſorders in the former kingdom. Great numbers of adventurers, who had enliſted under Edward's banners, being now unemployed, joined different bands of robbers, and deſolated many of the inferior provinces. Habituated to pillage, and ſtrangers to fear, they committed the moſt dreadful ravages, and were known by the name of "The Companies." At length John, marquis of Montferrat, being at war with the Viſcontis, lords of Milan, took the Companies into his pay, and freed France from theſe formidable bands of ruffians.

A. D. 1362. In the beginning of this year a moſt dreadful peſtilence broke out in France, which carried off upwards of 30,000 inhabitants in Paris only, and ſpreading into England, raged with equal violence in London. Among others ſwept away by this contagion was Henry duke of Lancaſter, who, from his great humanity, had obtained the epithet of The Good Duke. His only ſurviving ſiſter had been ſome time married to John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth ſon, who, in right of his brother-in-law, was ſoon after created duke of Lancaſter.†

A. D. 1363. No payment having been yet made by France for the ranſom of their monarch, the nobles, who were ſtill hoſtages in London, began to grow weary of their confinement, and the duke of Anjou, the ſon of John, broke his parole, and eſcaped to Paris. This act, ſo contrary to the principles of honour and juſtice, gave great uneaſineſs to John, who determined to repair to England, and deliver himſelf up to Edward, till the conditions of the treaty ſhould be fully executed. His council in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him from his deſign: his purpoſe was fixed, and every argument loſt its force. "If (ſaid he) "juſtice and good faith were baniſhed from the "reſt of the earth, they ought yet to retain their "habi-

* It is the opinion of ſome hiſtorians that the ſtorm was the principal circumſtance that occaſioned Edward to liſten to terms of accommodation; but others are of opinion, that it aroſe from the obſervations made by the duke of Lancaſter. That nobleman repreſented to Edward, that the acquiſition of the crown of France was far from being advanced by his making ſuch deſtruction in different parts of the country: that in one day he might loſe the advantages he had been ſeveral years obtaining; and that a peace, in his then circumſtances, might be concluded, which would annex ſeveral provinces to England.

† This year was likewiſe remarkable for the marriage of Edward the Black Prince with his couſin, Joan of Kent, the beautiful daughter of the late earl of Kent, who had been beheaded in the beginning of Edward's reign by the intrigues of queen Iſabella and the infamous Mortimer; and for her exquiſite beauty, ſhe was generally known by the appellation of "The Fair Maid of Kent." The young hero, who had raiſed the honour of the Engliſh to ſo exalted a pitch, was now created prince of Aquitaine, and inveſted with the property of many of the noble poſſeſſions ceded to the Engliſh by the treaty of Bretagne. He ſoon after croſſed the ſea, and fixed his reſidence at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, beloved and reſpected by all ranks of people.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

EDWARD The BLACK PRINCE



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Woodstock
June 15. 1330.

Beat the French at Poictiers
Sept 19. 1350.

Died
June 8. 1376.



EDWARD *the* BLACK PRINCE *waiting on his Royal Prisoner* JOHN KING *of* FRANCE, *after defeating him at the Battle of* POICTIERS.

"habitations in the breasts of princes." He accordingly returned to England, in order to substitute himself in the place of his son the duke of Anjou; and took up his residence in the palace of the Savoy, where he continued to reside, and was royally entertained at the expence of the king, till the 8th of April in the following year, when, having been some time ill, he paid the debt of nature His remains were carried into France, and buried at St. Dennis.

A. D. 1365. In the beginning of this year the king summoned a parliament at Westminster, when several laws were made which tended to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. Edward also issued out a proclamation for apprehending a number of robbers and lawless banditti that infested different parts of the kingdom, consisting chiefly of soldiers that had been disbanded at the conclusion of the peace with France: and that these delinquents might be more easily andspeedily brought to trial, he enlarged the judicatory powers of the city of London. He next applied himself to the removal of another evil, namely, the corruption of the judges. The lord chief justice Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Skipwith, one of the judges, were, for their partiality and extortion, imprisoned, heavily fined, and rendered incapable of ever after holding any public employment.

A. D. 1367. While peace and tranquillity continued to remain in England, Edward the Black Prince, who had been now near four years in his principality of Aquitaine, engaged himself in assisting Peter (surnamed the Cruel, from his sanguinary and revengeful disposition) to recover his kingdom of Castile. Peter was placed in the seat of power while a minor, and in very unfavourable circumstances. His father, Alphonso XI. had seven natural children by his mistress, Eleanor of Gusman; and settled such considerable fortunes on them, that they defied the royal authority; while their mother, who enjoyed still more power, insulted the queen dowager. The people of Castile were therefore divided into two parties, one of whom joined the queen mother, and the other Eleanor.

When Peter came of age, and took the reins of government into his own hands, he was obliged to maintain a war against the faction of his natural brothers. Being victorious in a decisive battle he took Eleanor prisoner; and to gratify his mother's revenge, put her to death. Soon after, he married Blanche of Bourbon, who falling in love with the grand master of St. Jago, (one of those very bastards who was then at war with her husband) she joined the faction, for which Peter shut her up in a castle. This greatly augmented the fury of the faction, and Peter was obliged to fight against the king of Arragon and his natural brothers at the same time; but victory still followed his standards, and he made a cruel use of it. He seldom forgave a crime; so that all his relations who had appeared in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment, and among the rest the grand mas- of St. Jago. During these troubles, Blanche of Bourbon died in confinement; and it was universally reported that she was basely taken off by poison.

Henry of Transtamare, one of the natural sons of Alphonso, animated with a desire of revenging at once both the death of his mother, and that of the grand master of St. Jago, entered into a treaty with Charles V. king of France, and a powerful army was soon raised, under the command of John de Bourbon. Bertrand du Guesclin, a native of Britany, famous for his military abilities, was appointed general in this expedition; and had the address to engage the Companies, (now returned from Italy) to follow him into Castile.

This powerful confederacy so alarmed Peter, more especially as the greater part of his subjects had deserted him, that, to secure his own safety, he thought it most adviseable to quit his dominions. He accordingly repaired to the frontiers of Portugal; but being refused admittance into that kingdom, went to Bourdeaux, in order to solicit the protection and assistance of the Black Prince.

Edward readily espoused his cause, and undertook to replace him on the throne of Castile. He accordingly set out at the head of his army, and after passing the Pyrennees, divided his forces into three bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men. On his approaching the confederate troops, all the Companies immediately left du Guesclin's army, declaring they would never draw their swords against Edward, whom they considered as their native prince. But notwithstanding the desertion of the Companies, Henry de Transtamare and du Guesclin were still at the head of an hundred thousand men. Both armies now approached each other, and soon after was fought on the banks of the Ebro, near the village of Navarette, the famous battle of that name, between Peter and the Black Prince on one side, and Henry de Transtamare and du Guesclin on the other. Edward acquired more honour in this battle than at either that of Cressy or Poictiers, because the contest was much longer disputed. A compleat victory was at length obtained by Edward, and not less than twenty thousand of the enemy fell on the field of battle. Bertrand du Guesclin, and the marshal of Ardrehen were taken prisoners: Henry de Transtamare fled for safety to Arragon; and Peter was re-established on the throne of Castile.

But Edward had soon reason to repent having engaged himself in the cause of a man, who was at once a stranger to humanity, justice, and gratitude. No sooner were his ends answered, than Peter refused advancing the money which he had agreed to pay Edward for his assistance; and that prince, seeing his army daily decrease by sickness, and finding his own health greatly impaired by the excessive heat of the climate, was forced to return to Guienne, without receiving any reward for his services.

A. D. 1368. From the great expence that had attended the late enterprize in favour of Peter, and the large sums of money required to pay the troops, prince Edward was under the necessity of laying a new tax on his principality. The nobility of Guienne made strong remonstrances against this imposition, and at length appealed to the king of France, as their lord paramount. Charles, who, directed all his affairs by the principles of policy rather than of justice, admitted the appeal, and summoned the Black Prince to appear personally in his court at Paris. Exasperated at so insolent and unjust a summons, the prince, with all the spirit of a young warrior, returned for answer that he was ready to obey, but if he did, it should be at the head of an army of sixty thousand men.

This threat was far from intimidating Charles: he knew the declining years of the English monarch, the languishing state of the Prince of Wales's health, and the great animosity which the inhabitants of the conquered countries had expressed against the English. He therefore determined

mined to take up arms, and, if poſſible, recover thoſe provinces which had been ſubdued in the reign of his father.

A. D. 1370. A numerous army being raiſed, Charles commenced hoſtilities in Ponthieu, where he met with very little oppoſition, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the principal places in that province. In the mean time the dukes of Berry and Anjou (brothers to Charles) invaded the ſouthern provinces, and were ſo ſucceſsful that they ſoon produced a very important revolution. The ſtate of the Black Prince's health would not permit him to mount on horſeback, or exert his uſual activity. The brave Chandois, conſtable of Guienne, was ſlain in one action, and his ſucceſſor taken priſoner in another. The prince ſaw the progreſs of the French with the utmoſt regret, but it was not in his power to prevent it; and his illneſs increaſed ſo faſt, that he was at length obliged to throw up his command, and return to England.

A. D. 1371--73. The Engliſh monarch, incenſed at the injuries he had received from Charles of France, determined on a ſevere revenge; but the natural infirmities of age would not ſuffer him to attend his armies in perſon. He therefore diſpatched Sir Robert Knolles, a very courageous and experienced general, over to the continent, at the head of an army of 30,000 men. Sir Robert advanced into the heart of France, and extended his incurſions even to the very gates of Paris; but without being able to bring the enemy to a general battle. He then entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, both of which he laid waſte; but a part of his army being defeated by a body of forces under the command of the conſtable of France, the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed, ſo that inſtead of reaching Guienne (as was intended) they took ſhelter in Britany, whoſe prince had entered into an alliance with England.

A. D. 1374. Early in the ſpring of this year, the duke of Lancaſter, at the head of 25,000 men, went over to Calais, and proceeded on his march from thence to Bourdeaux. But the duke's efforts were far from being crowned with ſucceſs. The rear of his army was ſo dreadfully harraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and his foraging parties ſo frequently cut off, that hardly half his army reached the place of their deſtination.

All the endeavours of the duke of Lancaſter and Sir Robert Knolles were ineffectual againſt the ſuperior power of the French. One province after another fell into the hands of the enemy, till at length Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais were the only places that remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. Theſe were alarming circumſtances to the once victorious Edward, who to prevent worſe conſequences, was glad to conclude a truce with (at that time) his more powerful enemy the king of France.

A. D. 1376. The paſſion for military glory that fired the breaſt of Edward during the vigour of his life was now extinguiſhed, and all his honours buried in the grave of folly and voluptuouſneſs. His virtuous queen Philippa had been ſome time dead, and he now attached himſelf to an infamous and artful woman named Alice Pierce, who gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the weak monarch as to render him an abſolute dupe to her caprice.

This lady ſoon made herſelf ſo publickly odious and contemptible by her avarice and inſolence, that the parliament at length interpoſed, and after preſenting a ſpirited remonſtrance to the king, ſhe was baniſhed the court. Edward alſo ſatisfied his parliament in another requeſt. The nation had, for ſome time, entertained a jealouſy of the great power of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and were fearful leſt he ſhould ſeize the crown on the death of the king. Edward, therefore, to remove their fears, declared, in full parliament, Richard (ſon to Edward the Black Prince) his heir and ſucceſſor to the throne of England.

Soon after this declaration, the Prince of Wales paid the debt of nature, to the great grief of his relations in particular, and the nation in general. He died at Windſor on the 8th of June, in the 46th year of his age. The character of this prince is truly amiable. His valour and military talents, which procured him the admiration of all Europe, form only a ſubordinate part of his merit. His humanity, generoſity, affability, and moderation, gained him the eſteem of all the world; even the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory would have received a luſtre from his virtues; they were celebrated by his greateſt enemies. Charles of France, though his kingdom had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from his valour, gave a noble mark of his high eſteem for this celebrated hero. He cauſed a ſolemn ſervice to be performed for the repoſe of his ſoul, in the church of Notre Dame, and aſſiſted himſelf in perſon, attended by the principal part of his nobility.

As ſoon as the funeral obſequies of the Black Prince were performed, the parliament teſtified their regard to his memory, by paying their reſpects to his ſon Richard, as heir apparent to the throne: they alſo petitioned the king that he might be created Prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, and inveſted with all his father's honours and poſſeſſions, except thoſe aſſigned to his mother as her dower. This petition was readily complied with by the king, and Richard ſoon after received the honour of the Garter.

A. D. 1377. Infirm from age, and indolent through the prevalence of an unſeaſonable paſſion, Edward entirely neglected the affairs of government, while the artful and ambitious Lancaſter, by ingratiating himſelf with the princeſs of Wales and her ſon Richard, ſo increaſed his influence, that he obtained the reſtoration of Alice Pierce, the king's favourite miſtreſs, to her former power. In concurrence with this infamous woman he committed the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice, maltreated the worthy, rewarded the moſt abandoned, and, wholly regardleſs of the public intereſt, purſued the gratification of every ſordid, ambitious, and venal principle.

It is little to be wondered at that ſuch a perverſion of authority, and violation of honour and juſtice, ſhould occaſion a general diſcontent throughout the kingdom. The citizens of London in particular remonſtrated againſt Lancaſter's proceedings; but, inſtead of meeting with any redreſs, were treated with contempt, the conſequence of which was, that he ſoon felt the effects of their reſentment.

One John Wickliff, a doctor of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, had publiſhed his belief upon ſeveral articles of religion, wherein he differed from the common doctrine. He ſoon gained a number of followers in the kingdom, and among others the duke of Lancaſter and the lord Piercy, earl-marſhal. Wickliff being ſummoned to appear before the biſhop of London at a ſynod held by that prelate in St. Paul's cathedral, the duke and marſhal accompanied him thither, thinking their

their preſence would be a powerful protection; and, in the courſe of the examination, the duke and marſhal inſulted the biſhop, and even proceeded to threats, upon which the ſynod broke up in great confuſion. The populace of London, who adored the biſhop, and were glad of any opportunity to be revenged on thoſe whom they knew to be their oppreſſors, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and, running to the Savoy (the magnificent palace of the duke of Lancaſter) rifled the houſe, and ſearched every where for his perſon, which, in all probability, they would have ſacrificed in the height of their fury; but, on advice of the danger that threatened him, he had eſcaped, with the lord Piercy, to the court of the princeſs of Wales, then at Kennington in Surry, where they remained till the tumult was ſubſided.

As the truce lately made with France was now expired, hoſtilities were again commenced on the continent between the Engliſh and French forces. The latter laid ſiege to a ſtrong fort near Calais, which was delivered up by the treachery or cowardice of the commanding officer. On the other hand, the brave Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, made an inroad into the French territories, from whence he returned to Calais loaded with ſpoils.

During theſe tranſactions Edward, who had retired to Shene (now Richmond) was ſeized with a violent fever, which, in a few days, increaſed to ſuch a height, as to leave no hopes of his recovery. In this piteous ſituation all his pretended friends deſerted him, Alice Pierce alone excepted, who watched the royal body with great care till he appeared to be in the agonies of death, when ſhe baſely ſtripped him of his rings and jewels, and then left him without a ſingle friend or domeſtic to cloſe his eyes. It happened, however, that a prieſt of his houſhold ſoon after entered the room, and finding the deſerted monarch yet alive, addreſſed to him ſome pious exhortations, to which the latter endeavoured to reply, but in words too inarticulate to be underſtood. At length, making a final effort, he pronounced the word Jeſus, and then expired, on the 21ſt of June, 1377, in the 65th year of his age, and 51ſt of his reign. His remains were interred in the abbey at Weſtminſter.

Such was the end of Edward III. one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre, whether conſidered as a warrior, a legiſlator, a monarch, or a man. He was tall of ſtature, but ſo juſtly proportioned, and had ſo noble and majeſtic an aſpect, as at once to engage affection, and command reſpect. Acute, penetrating, and ſagacious, he concerted the moſt prudential plans: bold, active and enterprizing, he vigorouſly executed his projects. He was a true lover of the conſtitution of his country, and ſhewed himſelf, on all occaſions, as anxious to defend the privileges of the people, as to preſerve the prerogatives of the crown. In his private character, he was humane, affable, generous and ſincere; and, in ſhort, poſſeſſed as many virtues as any monarch that had ever ſwayed the Britiſh ſceptre.

Edward had a taſte for the liberal arts much above what could be expected for the age in which he lived. The proofs we have of his taſte in architecture are, the edifices of Windſor Caſtle, King's Hall in Cambridge, and the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen (now the room where the Commons of Great-Britain aſſemble) all which he built, and the two laſt liberally endowed.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Edward III.

A. D.

1330 Gunpowder was this year invented by one Swarth, a monk of Cologne.

1331 The art of weaving cloth brought from Flanders to England by John Kemp, to whom the king granted his protection.

The rains were ſo violent, and continued ſo long, this year, that the harveſt did not begin till Michaelmas.

1336 A tax was laid on every bag of wool exported. Engliſh merchants paid 40*s.* per bag, and foreigners 3*l.*

A great dearth happened this year, and prodigious deſtruction was made among the cattle by a murrain.

1337 A Law was made by the parliament that no wool of Engliſh growth ſhould be exported, and that all cloth-workers, from whatever foreign parts they came, ſhould be received and encouraged. In this parliament the king created prince Edward, his eldeſt ſon, duke of Cornwall, being the firſt in England that bore the title of Duke. He was veſted with the dukedom by a wreath being placed on his head, a ring on his finger, and a ſilver verge in his hand; ſince which time the eldeſt ſon of the king of England is born Duke of Cornwall.

This year was alſo remarkable for the king's commiſſion for ſeizing the eſtates of the Lombards, or uſurers, who were grown odious on account of their extortions.

1339 It rained almoſt continually this year from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, when a froſt came on which laſted twelve weeks.

1340 Copper Money firſt uſed in Scotland and Ireland.

This year Thomas Blanket ſet up a loom at Briſtol, for weaving thoſe woolen cloths that, from him, bear that name.

1344 Gold firſt coined in England.

Among other acts of parliament paſſed this year was that called the *ſtatute of proviſions*, which excluded foreigners from Engliſh eccleſiaſtical preferments, and reduced the papal authority in England; which act has ſince been frequently renewed and called the *ſtatute of præmunire*.

This year the king gave an honourable invitation and reception to all perſons of diſtinction, whether natives or foreigners, whom he entertained with the greateſt politeneſs, magnificence and liberality. To avoid all diſtinction of rank he erected a circular hall 200 feet in diameter at Windſor, where he feaſted all the knights at one table, which was called the Round Table, in memory of the great Arthur, who, it is ſaid, firſt inſtituted an order of knighthood by that name.

1348 St. Stephen's Chapel at Weſtminſter built by order of the king.

1349 A dreadful plague in London, which carried off above 50,000 of the inhabitants.

This year alſo there was a continued rain, which laſted from Midſummer to Chriſtmas.

1352 The largeſt ſilver coin at this time in England was that to the value of four-pence.

1357 Coals firſt imported into London.

1361 This year great deſtruction was made both among men and beaſts by dreadful ſtorms of thunder and lightning; and to add to thoſe calamities, the plague again broke out with great violence, which was diſtinguiſhed from that already mentioned by being called the Second Mortality. It carried off, in London only, 57,374 perſons, among whom was Henry duke of Lancaſter.

1362 The ſtaple of wool fixed at Calais.

1364 In the month of January this year Edward III. king of England, John, king of France, Peter, king of Cyprus, and David king of Scotland, were magnificently entertained by Sir Henry Picard, then Lord-Mayor of London.

1371 The Charter-Houſe in London finiſhed by Sir Walter Manny.

1374 A tournament held in Smithfield.

1377 A tax of four pence a head levied by parliament on every perſon in the kingdom above the age of fourteen.

Several perſons, remarkable for their genius and learning, flouriſhed during the reign of Edward III. among whom the moſt remarkable were the following:

Geoffrey Chaucer (the greateſt poet of his time) a man of quality, and who made a conſiderable figure not only in the court of Edward, but likewiſe in that of his ſucceſſor Richard II. He was poſſeſſed of an admirable fund of humour, painted

ed the manners of life with great ſtrength of colouring, and helped to improve and purify the Engliſh language. But it was the fate of this great poet (though poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, and a more ample genius) to fall into misfortunes in private life. He died in the year 1400, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory, which is ſtill in good condition, and placed in that part of the abbey called the Poet's Corner.

William of Wickham was conſidered as one of the moſt learned men of the age in which he lived. His great and uſeful talents, eſpecially in architecture, recommended him to the favour of Edward III. who appointed him ſurveyor to the re-building of the caſtle at Windſor, which was executed in the plain but magnificent manner it now appears. He was afterwards made ſecretary of ſtate, and, after enjoying other preferments, was at length promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. He died on the 27th of September, in the year 1404.

Thomas Wikes wrote an Hiſtory of England, beginning at the Conqueſt, and ending with the death of Edward I. He was a canon regular of Oſney, near Oxford; and that part of his work relative to the wars of the barons is clear and explicit.

Wickliffe was a divine writer, and the firſt man in Europe who ventured to bring religion to the teſt of ſcripture and eccleſiaſtical antiquity. The auſterity of his life, and the ſanctity of his manners, added great weight to his doctrine. He was indefatigable in his labours, and generally went about barefooted in the habit of a pilgrim. He tranſlated the New Teſtament from the Vulgate, and died in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire.

CHAP. II.

RICHARD II. ſurnamed of BOURDEAUX.

Acceſſion and coronation of Richard II. A regency appointed during the king's minority. A famine in England. Wat Tyler's rebellion. Diſputes relative to the papacy. The French make preparations for invading England, but their deſigns are rendered abortive. Richard particularly attaches himſelf to Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, and Michael de la Pole, the chancellor. The nobles enter into a confederacy againſt the king's favourites, and the parliament not only oblige him to remove the chancellor from his office, but alſo uſurp the regal authority. The confederate lords, with the duke of Glouceſter at their head, take up arms, and impeach many of the king's miniſters, ſeveral of whom are tried, condemned and executed. Richard takes the reins of government into his own hands, and makes a great change in the miniſtry. Goes over to Ireland at the head of a powerful army. Returns to England in order to ſuppreſs the Lollards. Marries Iſabella, daughter of Charles VI. king of France. Orders his uncle the duke of Glouceſter to be arreſted, and ſent priſoner to Calais, where he is ſoon after aſſaſſinated. Quarrel between the dukes of Norfolk and Hereford. Richard again goes over to Ireland. Henry, duke of Lancaſter, during his abſence, takes up arms, and being joined by a powerful confederacy, makes himſelf maſter of Briſtol. Richard returns from Ireland with a conſiderable body of forces to oppoſe him, but the greater part of his ſoldiers deſerting him, he retires, for ſafety, to Conway Caſtle in Wales. Is enſnared into the hands of the duke of Lancaſter, who conveys him to London, and commits him priſoner to the Tower. The king makes a formal reſignation of his crown, by delivering up the enſigns of royalty, and is ſoon after depoſed by the parliament.

A. D. 1377. AS Richard had been publicly declared heir to the crown by the late king, ſo no diſputes could take place relative to the ſucceſſion. He was, therefore, immediately on the death of his grand-father Edward III. proclaimed king of England, and, on the 15th of July following, ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter *.

As young Richard was under eleven years of age at the time of his acceſſion to the throne, ſo, of courſe, he was incapable of directing the affairs of government. In conſequence of this, a council of regency was appointed to rule the nation during his minority, at the head of whom was the duke of Lancaſter, one of the king's uncles, who had taken upon himſelf the chief direction of public affairs during the latter part of the late reign.

In the month of October the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter in order to conſider of proper meaſures to be taken for carrying on the war with France. The commons at firſt declined giving their opinion in a matter of ſuch importance without the advice and aſſiſtance of the duke of Lancaſter, but as that nobleman could not attend, they granted a liberal ſupply for the intended purpoſe.

In the mean time the Scots (in violation of the truce concluded in the late reign) ſurprized and took the town and caſtle of Berwick, on which the earl of Northumberland marched againſt them with an army of ten thouſand men, and ſummoning the fortreſs to ſurrender, was anſwered by the governor that the place had been taken by virtue of a commiſſion from the king of France, in whoſe name he would defend it to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this anſwer, the earl immediately

* It is at this coronation we meet with the firſt mention in hiſtory of a champion, who appeared compleatly armed, in Weſtminſter-hall, where the king dined. He was attended by the high conſtable and marſhal of England, and preceded by the heralds. When the champion reached the middle of the hall he threw his gauntlet on the ground, and challenged all perſons whatſoever, who ſhould dare to diſpute his majeſty's title to the crown. The origin of this cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is however utterly unknown: for though this is the firſt time we find it mentioned by hiſtorians, it is doubtleſs, of a much earlier date; ſince Sir John Dimmock, who performed the office at the coronation of Richard II. was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to the manor of Scrivelſby, in Lincolnſhire, held by him in right of his wife, the daughter of Sir John Marmion.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

RICHARD II.



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born January 6. 1367. | *Crowned July 16. 1377.* | *Assassinated Anno 1406. by Exton & others.*

mediately prepared for inveſting the place, which he ſoon took by aſſault, and the governor, with the whole garriſon, were put to the ſword.

A. D. 1378. During theſe tranſactions the French miniſtry were concerting meaſures for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigour, and had concerted a ſcheme for diſpoſſeſſing the Engliſh of all the important places they held on the continent; but they received ſome check in carrying their deſigns into execution by the death of their king, who left his throne to Charles VI. then a minor under twelve years of age. This event might have been of conſiderable advantage had the duke of Britany (before in alliance with the Engliſh) continued firm to his engagements; but that prince, now thinkit moſt to his intereſt to enter into alliance with the French concluded a treaty with the new king; ſo that the Engliſh could expect no aſſiſtance from that quarter.

A. D. 1379. This year was unfortunately uſhered in by a dreadful plague, which broke out in the north of England, and greatly depopulated that part of the country. The Scots took advantage of this calamity, by making irruptions into thoſe parts, where they not only plundered many towns and villages, but likewiſe committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities; and the duke of Lancaſter, inſtead of endeavouring to puniſh them for their conduct, propoſed a treaty of peace, which being gladly embraced by the Scots, was concluded for three years.

A. D. 1380. An incident now happened of a moſt ſingular nature, and which threw the government into the utmoſt ſtate of confuſion. The monies already granted for carrying on the war with France being inſufficient, the parliament, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies, impoſed a new and extraordinary tax of three groats on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age; but at the ſame time ordained, that, in levying this tax, the rich ſhould relieve the poor by an equitable compenſation. As the money was immediately wanted, and the common method of gathering it would take ſome conſiderable time, the court farmed out the grant to a ſet of rapacious collectors, who extorted it with the utmoſt rigour from the people. This impoſition, added to the cruelty and preſumptuous behaviour of the tax-gatherers, occaſioned one of the moſt ſingular inſurrections recorded in the annals of hiſtory.

The people had already acquired ſome idea of independence, and given ſeveral indications of their deſire of breaking thoſe chains which had ſo long been impoſed upon them by the haughty nobility. Enthuſiaſm alſo aſſiſted to augment this deſire, and make the populace acquainted with their own importance. One John Ball, a turbulent but popular preacher, viſited various parts of the kingdom, and every where inculcated on his audiences the maxims of equal right and liberty to all the goods of nature; and diſplayed to them the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions introduced by a few inſolent rulers, in order to aggrandize themſelves, and degrade the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies. Doctrines like theſe, ſo agreeable to the populace, were embraced with avidity, and kindled in the minds of the vulgar thoſe ſparks of rebellion which were ſoon blown into a flame by the inſolence of collectors appointed to gather the new tax.

A. D. 1381. The inſurrection began at Deptford in Kent, where one of the tax-gatherers, going to the houſe of Walter, a Tyler by profeſſion, (afterwards better known by the name of Wat Tyler) demanded three groats for one of his daughters. The peaſant refuſed to comply with the demand, urging, that ſhe was under the age preſcribed by act of parliament. The inſolent tax-gather told him ſhe was not, offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and, at the ſame time laid hold of the girl. Enraged at this inſolence, Tyler beat out the fellow's brains with his hammer. The action was highly approved by the populace of the neighbourhood, who inſtantly flew to arms, and their example was ſoon followed by the peaſants of Eſſex, Surry, Suſſex, Hertfordſhire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. The place appointed for a general rendezvous was Blackheath, where the inſurgents aſſembled to the amount of 100,000 men, under their principal leaders Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.

The number of regular troops then in the kingdom was very inconſiderable, ſo that the government was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and had every thing to fear from this lawleſs aſſembly. In this critical ſituation a council was called in the Tower, where a reſolution was taken to ſend a meſſenger to the inſurgents, to enquire the cauſe of their tumultuous meeting. The mutinous rabble received the meſſengers with the moſt haughty inſolence; and returned for anſwer, "That they were come to ſpeak to the king about certain important affairs; and deſired he would repair to the camp in perſon, and hear what they had to propoſe." Many of the council, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, the treaſurer, oppoſed the king's going in perſon to treat with the rebels; thinking it at once both derogatory to his dignity, and dangerous to his life. But it being repreſented to the council, that the inſurgents were in full march for London, and that it would be impoſſible to prevent their gaining admittance into the city, the king went down the river in a barge, as far as Rotherhithe; but on approaching the ſhore, perceived ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence, that he thought his perſon in danger, and, putting back, returned to the Tower.

By this time the inſurgents approached London, where, being joined by the city rabble, they threatened to burn the ſuburbs firſt, and then the capital itſelf, if the gates were not immediately opened. Intimidated by this threat, which they were able to carry into execution, their demand was complied with. They entered the city, and immediately gave a looſe to every ſpecies of exceſs. They plundered the houſes of the moſt wealthy citizens, and abuſed their perſons, together with thoſe of their wives and daughters. A party of them ran immediately to the duke of Lancaſter's palace in the Savoy, and ſoon reduced that magnificent ſtructure, together with all its ſplendid furniture, to aſhes. Another party ſet fire to the Temple; while a third repaired to the elegant monaſtery of St. John of Jeruſalem, at Clerkenwell, near Smithfield, and burnt the whole ſtructure, together with all the books, records and papers.

The inſurgents continued their riotous proceedings, in different places, the whole night, and early the next morning divided themſelves into three bodies. The firſt diviſion, under Jack Straw, marched to Highbury-manor, about two miles to the northward of London. The ſecond retired to Mile-End; and the third, under the command of Wat Tyler himſelf, took up their ſtation in St. Katherine's, and round the Tower, to prevent the eſcape of the miniſters and noblemen who had ta-

ken ſhelter in that fortreſs, and whom the rabble had devoted to deſtruction. The king, who had alſo retired thither for ſafety, finding the fortreſs, which was but weakly garriſoned, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, incapable of making any long defence, found means to eſcape during the night; and hearing that the rebels at Mile-End were the moſt tractable, and had expreſſed a deſire of treating with the government, he repaired thither, and demanded to know the reaſon of their aſſembling in ſo tumultuous a manner; telling them, he was their king, and that he was come to hear and redreſs their grievances.

The rebels inſiſted upon a general amneſty; the abolition of all ſlavery; liberty of trade in all market-towns, without paying either toll or impoſt; and that a ſtated rent ſhould be laid upon lands, inſtead of the ſervice impoſed upon villanage. Theſe requeſts the king readily granted, but inſiſted on their immediately laying down their arms. They obeyed the royal requeſt, and inſtantly diſperſed, leaving only a few belonging to each pariſh to carry down with them the charters of enfranchiſements and pardon.

But the rebles under Wat Tyler were not to be ſo eaſily pacified. Being of a more ferocious diſpoſition, they were determined to revenge themſelves on the heads of the nation, and, if poſſible, carry the romantic ſcheme of government they had formed into execution. Accordingly, while the king was treating with one diviſion of the inſurgents, Wat Tyler demanded admittance into the Tower; and the garriſon were ſo intimidated at their numbers that they refuſed to defend the place, and the gates were accordingly thrown open. This puſillanimous conduct raiſed the inſolence of the rabble to the higheſt pitch; and their behaviour was at once both inſolent and barbarous. They ſeized Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, lord-treaſurer, and dragged them to Tower-hill, where they were both beheaded.

But theſe victims, inſtead of ſatiating the vengeance of the rebels, only tended to encreaſe their unwarrantable proceedings. Every perſon of any note who fell into their hands fell ſacrifices to their lawleſs barbarity. The citizens now ſaw their error in admitting ſuch a turbulent multitude into the city. Their ſavage practices roufed them to revenge, and recovered them from their conſternation. Walworth, the lord-mayor, and Philpot, one of the aldermen, promiſed the king, that they would ſupport him againſt the rebels, provided ſome method could be found to amuſe them with propoſals. Sir John Newton was therefore ſent to acquaint them, that the Eſſex men had accepted certain conditions from the government, in conſequence of which they had retired peaceably to their habitations; and that he was impowered to offer them the ſame terms, on their making the ſame ſubmiſſion. But the ſavage plebeians, flufhed with their late ſucceſs, had now formed the moſt chimerical deſigns; they propoſed to murder the king, together with all the whole nobility, and bury all government in general anarchy, in order to deſtroy every ſpecies of ſubordination, and render all men equal. Tyler, therefore, made no other anſwer to the king's meſſage, than that he would conſent to a peace if he liked the terms. Three different charters were ſent ſucceſſively by Richard in the ſpace of a few hours, but they were all rejected with the moſt provoking inſolence.

The miniſtry and principal men of the city were now thoroughly exaſperated, and Richard, attended by the lord-mayor, and chief officers of London, rode to Smithfield. Sir John Newton was again ſent to the ring-leader, inviting him to a conference with the king, in order that his majeſty might know his demands, and, if poſſible, give his conſent to their being granted. Tyler now ſeemed to be alarmed, and moved towards Smithfield, at the head of the rabble, with a very ſlow pace. Newton told him the king was waiting for him, and deſired he would quicken his march. "Make what haſte you pleaſe yourſelf," replied the inſolent rebel, "I ſhall take my own time." The true reaſon for this delay aroſe from his expecting a large reinforcement from Hertfordſhire and the adjacent counties, and therefore would willingly have deferred the conference till their arrival.

But the government was now in a capacity to defeat their ſchemes, and therefore unwilling to ſuffer them to exerciſe their ſavage barbarity any longer. The magiſtrates of London had aſſembled a large body of well-armed and well-affected citizens, and Sir Robert Knolles was juſt arrived at the head of a thouſand veterans. When Tyler, therefore, came into Smithfield, where the king waited for him, Sir John Newton told him, that both decency and duty required he ſhould be uncovered in the preſence of his ſovereign; but the rebellious leader, inſtead of complying, was ſo highly offended, that he would have ſheathed his dagger in Newton's heart, had not the king ſuddenly advanced, and drew off his attention, by aſking what he had to requeſt? Tyler was greatly diſconcerted; and made ſuch extravagant propoſals, and delivered himſelf in ſo incoherent a manner, that the king could make no reply. He demanded that all the antient laws ſhould be aboliſhed; that all bondmen ſhould be free; that all warrens, parks and chaces ſhould be laid open, and that every perſon, the poor as well as the rich, ſhould have free liberty to fiſh, fowl, and hunt in every part of the kingdom. He added ſeveral other particulars relative to the levelling ſcheme he had formed, but in ſo confuſed a manner that they were not underſtood.

The king not being able to comprehend the meaning of what this illiterate leader had advanced, returned no anſwer, which Tyler conſidering as a contemptuous refuſal, raiſed his dagger, and at the ſame time laid hold of the bridle of the king's horſe. Walworth, the mayor, who had with difficulty curbed his reſentment at the behaviour of this audacious rebel, was now ſo exaſperated that he rode up to him, and diſcharged ſo violent a blow on his head with the mace he carried in his hand, that Tyler fell ſenſeleſs from his horſe, when Philpot with his ſword immediately diſpatched him.

As ſoon as the Kentiſh-men ſaw their leader fall, they immediately made preparations for taking a ſevere revenge, and a dreadful ſlaughter might have enſued, had it not been for the great courage and amazing preſence of mind of Richard. He rode up alone to the incenſed multitude, whom he addreſſed with a chearful, but reſolute air in words to this effect: "My good people, what is the "meaning of this diſorder? Would you kill your "king? Give yourſelves no concern about the "death of that traitor: I will be your captain: "follow me, and you ſhall have whatever you "can reaſonably deſire." After ſaying this the king

king turned his horſe, and moved towards the fields of Iſlington; and the inſurgents, confounded at the death of their leader and magnanimity of Richard, implicitly followed him, without knowing whither they were going. They had no ſooner left the city than they perceived a large body of forces marching towards them under the command of Sir Robert Knolles; in conſequence of which a panic immediately ſeized the whole multitude, who threw down their arms, and begged for quarter. Sir Robert would have perſuaded the king to put a number of them to death, in order to ſtrike a terror among thoſe who had aſſembled in other parts of the kingdom; but Richard, with equal juſtice and lenity, obſerved, that as many had joined them more from force than inclination, he was not willing to puniſh the innocent with the guilty. He therefore granted them a general pardon, and they immediately diſperſed.

Richard now returned to the city, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on Walworth the lord-mayor, John Philpot, Nicholas Brambre, and Robert Laud, aldermen, for their ſignal ſervices on this occaſion; and likewiſe beſtowed grants of land to the amount of 100l. per annum to the firſt; and 40l. to the reſt, to be enjoyed by them and their heirs for ever.

The reduction of the Kentiſh rebels ſo alarmed thoſe in the other parts of the kingdom, that they were glad to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the king's mercy. The charters of enfranchiſements and pardon granted to the rebels of Eſſex were revoked; the common people were reduced to the ſame ſtate of ſubmiſſion in which they had formerly been placed, and ſeveral of the ringleaders were executed in different parts of the kingdom.

Soon after this tumult had ſubſided a treaty of marriage was concluded between the king, and Anne, ſiſter of Winceſlaus, king of Bohemia. The princeſs landed at Dover a few days before Chriſtmas, and immediately proceeded with her retinue to London. The nuptials were celebrated on the 14th of January following, and the young queen was crowned with great pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey.

A. D. 1382. In the beginning of this year a moſt violent diſpute took place relative to the papacy, and which threatened to involve all Europe in confuſion. On the death of Gregory X. Brigano, biſhop of Barri, was elected pontiff, and took upon him the name of Urban VI. But his paſſionate and turbulent diſpoſition rendered him a very improper perſon to be placed at the head of the church. He had not been long ſeated in the papal chair, when the cardinals, ſhocked at the cruelty of his diſpoſition, withdrew to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the late election void, and choſe the count of Geneva in his ſtead, who took upon him the title of Clement VII. He was a perſon of a different character to Urban, being polite, humane, liberal, and allied to moſt of the princes in Europe.

Germany, England, Flanders and Hungary, declared for Urban: France, Scotland, Savoy and Lorraine, for Clement. All the religious orders were divided, and the univerſities alſo joined in the conteſt. The two popes beſtowed on each other the appellations of Antichriſt and Uſurper, and proceeded to mutual excommunications. Clement preached up a cruſade againſt Richard and his ſubjects; while Urban not only fulminated his excommunications againſt all the adherents of Clement, but alſo ſent over a commiſſion to Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, nominating him the leader of a cruſade againſt his rival. And with this commiſſion he ſent the biſhop plenary powers, as his legate, to grant the ſame indulgences to all who engaged in the expedition as to thoſe who carried arms againſt the infidels.

A. D. 1383. The publication of this cruſade in England anſwered the moſt ſanguinary wiſhes of Urban. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and almoſt all ranks of people, engaged in it with the moſt aſtoniſhing ardour. The greateſt diſpatch was uſed in embarking the forces, and the biſhop landed at Calais on the fourth of May, at the head of 50,000 foot and 2000 horſe. His firſt attack was upon Gravelines, which he took by aſſault. This ſucceſs ſo alarmed the inhabitants of Dunkirk that they readily opened their gates to the victor, and moſt of the towns on the ſea-coaſt, as far as Sluys, followed their example.

Alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh, the count of Flanders reſolved to lead his forces againſt them; which was no ſooner known by the biſhop, than he marched to meet the enemy and a bloody battle enſued, in which the count was totally defeated. The king of France, at the head of an army of an hundred thouſand men, now advanced to check the progreſs of the cruſaders. The prelate, on a general muſter of his forces, found that they amounted to ninety thouſand men, occaſioned by the continual arrival of freſh reinforcements from England. But many of theſe were the very dregs of the people, and at once ignorant of diſcipline and impatient of command. It was, however, reſolved in a council of war, to fight the French army; but this was oppoſed by a large party of the troops, who inſiſted on their beſieging Ypres, where they expected to acquire an immenſe booty. It was in vain to oppoſe this ſtrange determination; and the biſhop, in order to prevent a mutiny in his army, was obliged to undertake the reduction of that place. The approaches were carried on with great intrepedity; but the biſhop was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after loſing great numbers of his men, and retreat to Dunkirk. From hence he diſpatched a meſſenger to Richard for a reinforcement; but from the negligence of the king they were not ſent. In conſequence of this diſappointment, the biſhop gave up all hopes of being able any farther to oppoſe the enemy, and therefore, embarking with the ſmall remains of his army, returned to England.

Thus ended this mighty enterprize; and no farther attempts were made by the Engliſh for ſupporting the claim of Urban to the papacy. The other powers, however, on the continent, continued to oppoſe each other for ſome years, during which many lives were loſt, and the greateſt enormities committed by the adherents to the contending diſputants for the pontifical dignity.

A. D. 1384. The people had entertained the higheſt idea of Richard, from thoſe diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments and abilities which had been ſo repeatedly diſplayed by his father; and the remarkable inſtance he ſhewed of his intrepidity and preſence of mind in appeaſing the Kentiſh rebels, gave them the moſt pleaſing expectations of his future conduct. But it was not long before they found themſelves greatly diſappointed. As Richard advanced in years, the weakneſs of his head, and the badneſs of his heart, became the more apparent, and his want of conduct and

capacity was too plainly diſcovered by the ſtupidity of every ſcheme he formed, and his abſurd method of proceeding in every enterprize he undertook.

The Scots had made great inroads in the northern counties of England, and committed the moſt violent outrages on the innocent inhabitants. In conſequence of this a large army was raiſed to chaſtiſe their inſolence. Richard headed his troops in perſon, and entered Scotland by Berwick; while the Scots, who dreaded a pitched battle, abandoned the low country, croſſed the Engliſh borders on the weſt, and plundered the counties of Weſtmoreland, Cumberland and Lancaſhire. In the mean time Richard advanced to Edinburgh, and deſtroyed all the towns and villages in his way. He reduced that city to aſhes, as alſo Perth, Dundee, and ſeveral other places in the low country. But when he was adviſed, by his moſt experienced officers, to march towards the weſtern coaſt, in order there to wait the return of the enemy, and take ſevere revenge on them for the cruel devaſtations they had made, he fooliſhly rejected their council, and returned with his forces to England, after putting the nation to great expence, and gaining no advantage by the expedition.

A. D. 1386. The French had ſome time formed the deſign of invading England, and they now determined to carry it into execution. They accordingly collected a prodigious fleet and army for that purpoſe, and all the nobility of France were engaged in the enterprize. The French army, when reviewed at Arras, conſiſted of eighty thouſand men at arms, with their followers on horſeback, beſides a prodigious number on foot. Twelve hundred and eighty-ſeven ſhips of all ſorts were ready at Sluys to carry over this numerous army; and ſeveral warlike engines of a new conſtruction were put on board the fleet. This amazing armament engaged the attention of all Europe. The Engliſh were intimidated, particularly the citizens of London. The militia of the kingdom were ordered to the ſea-coaſt; the ports and harbours were put in a poſture of defence; and all the beacons on the coaſt prepared for giving the alarm, whenever the enemy ſhould appear. A fleet was alſo fitted out to guard the channel, and every prudent meaſure which reaſon could ſuggeſt was purſued to render abortive the deſigns of the enemy.

But this grand ſcheme was in a great meaſure fruſtrated by means of the very people by whom it was concerted. Ambition and envy, ſo often the deſtruction of public undertakings, had poiſoned the French councils. The duke of Berry, a prince of a covetous and aſpiring diſpoſition, was no friend to this undertaking, in which he thought neither his dignity nor intereſt had been ſufficiently conſulted, and therefore determined to render the whole abortive. In order to this, he proceeded ſo ſlow in aſſembling the troops, that it was the middle of September before he joined the army at the head of his diviſion. The forces were, however, embarked, and the fleet ſailed out of the harbour with a fair wind. But they had not left their own coaſt above two hours before the wind changed to the oppoſite quarter, and a dreadful ſtorm ſucceeded, which, in a few hours, ſcattered the whole navy. Some of the ſhips were driven back into the harbour of Sluys; ſome were daſhed on the rocks, others foundered at ſea, and many of the ſtragglers were taken by the Engliſh. Such was the end of thoſe mighty preparations, which had, for ſome time, ſpread a general terror throughout the kingdom.

A. D. 1387. Richard had, for ſome time, regretted the reſtraint he lay under from his uncles (the dukes of Lancaſter, Glouceſter and York) and therefore was now determined to ſhake off their authority, and give a full ſcope to his own maxims. He accordingly placed his confidence in Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, but of very diſſolute manners, more calculated to corrupt the prince than to govern the kingdom. This favourite engroſſed the affection of Richard, who knew not how to ſet bounds to his liberality. He created him duke of Ireland, and conferred on him for life the ſovereignty of that iſland; even the whole authority of the government was, by degrees, lodged in his hands. Michael de la Pole, the chancellor whom he had created earl of Suffolk, was another of his favourites; but as this man was poſſeſſed of great military talents, and had ſerved in the army with applauſe, the duke of Ireland was the moſt obnoxious to the people.

From the great attachment of Richard to theſe two favourites, the princes of the blood, and chief nobility, ſaw themſelves ſtripped of their power, and in order to recover their influence, determined to attack the favourites. Accordingly, an impeachment was drawn up againſt the chancellor, and the duke of Glouceſter undertook to carry it into the houſe of lords. It was, however, thought proper to obſerve the appearance of decency at leaſt, and accordingly the commons ſent a meſſage by their ſpeaker to the king, importing, that unleſs the chancellor was removed, they could not proceed in the diſpatch of public buſineſs. Richard, little expecting a motion of this nature, received the addreſs with an indignation he could not conceal. He told the ſpeaker very ſharply, "That it would better become the parliament to attend to the buſineſs for which they were ſummoned, than to concern themſelves with his ſervants." Nor did he give them leave to renew their addreſs: he abruptly left the place, and immediately retired to Eltham in Kent.

It was no ſooner known that Richard had withdrawn himſelf from the national council, than a meſſage was ſent him by the duke of Glouceſter and the biſhop of Ely, deſiring him, in the name of the parliament, to return: declaring, in caſe of refuſal, that they would immediately diſſolve themſelves. Richard, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt, agreed to the impeachment being carried on againſt Suffolk; but at the ſame time it was ſtipulated that no attack ſhould be made againſt any other of his miniſters. The accuſation laid againſt the earl was at once both frivolous and unjuſt; but innocence was a poor defence againſt the turbulent envy of the barons. Suffolk was convicted, and adjudged to pay a fine and ranſom to the king; and in the mean time was committed to the cuſtody of the duke of Glouceſter, who, as conſtable of the kingdom, confined him in the caſtle at Windſor.

The impeachment of Suffolk, and the conſequences ariſing therefrom, were but preludes to the intentions of the barons. Glouceſter and his aſſociates indeed, obſerved their ſtipulation with the king: they attacked no more of his miniſters; but they went much farther by attacking the regal power. The king was deprived of his authority, and the exerciſe of the ſovereign power intruſted to fourteen commiſſioners, whoſe juriſdiction was limited to a twelve-month, though it was ſufficiently evident,